

1921

# The People's Year Book



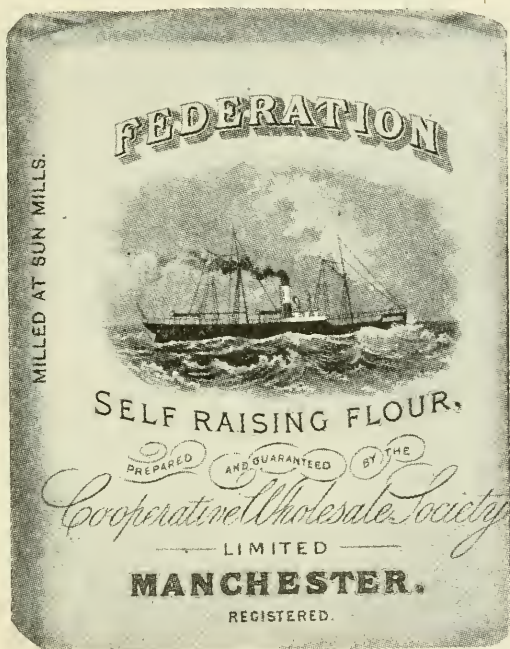
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**YEAR BOOK**

AND  
ANNUAL OF THE ENGLISH & SCOTTISH  
WHOLESALE SOCIETIES

1921

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

FOURTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION.

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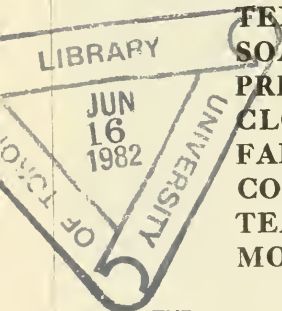
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## PREFACE.

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THE present issue of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK (the fourth of the series) combines the special features and comprehensive range which have gained for the publication a distinctive place amongst its congeners and made it indispensable as a work of reference for the Co-operative and kindred movements as well as for citizens in general, interested in social objects and imbued with a genuine desire for economic, political and social advance.

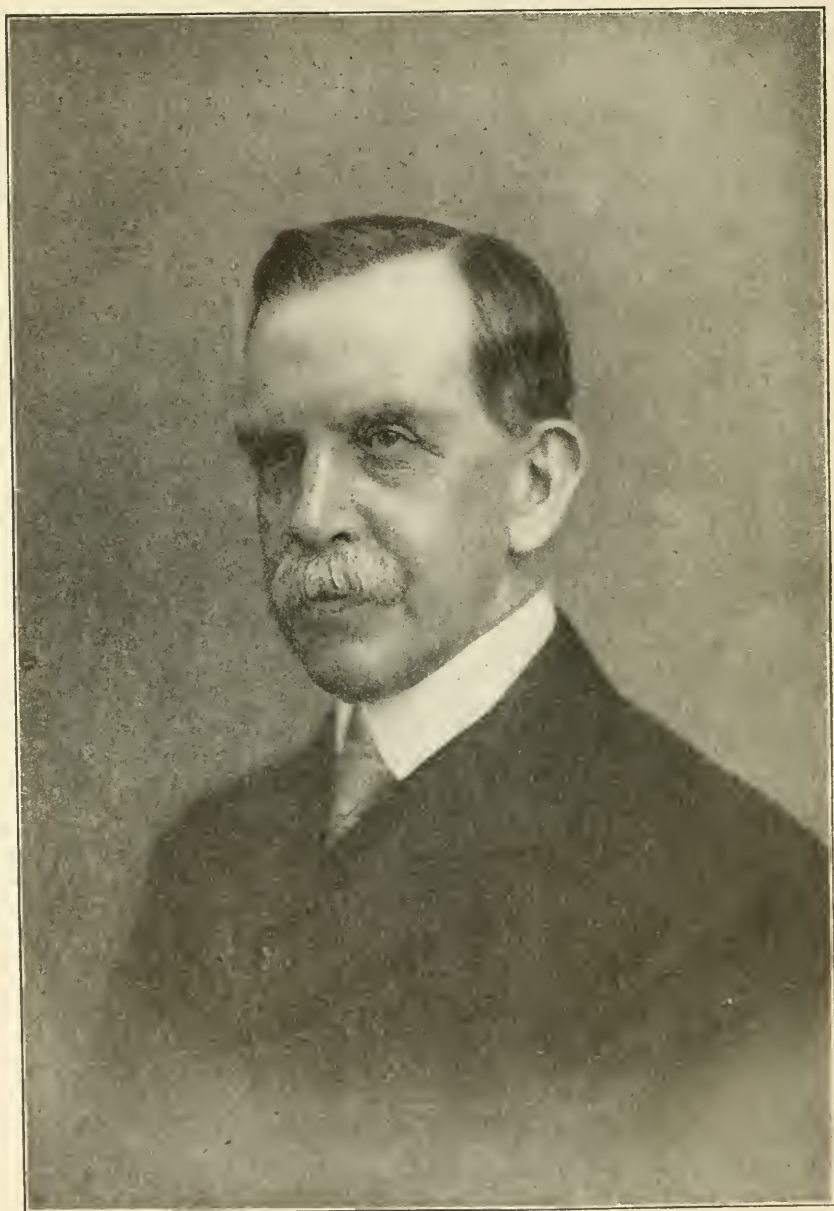
One of the characteristics of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK has been the incorporation, within the limits of space, of additional features year by year, and, in this regard, the present volume will fully sustain comparison with its predecessors. To the Co-operative movements both at home and abroad the YEAR BOOK for 1921 is calculated to be of special interest in view of the series of articles it contains dealing with the relations of Co-operative movements to politics in many lands—articles enabling Co-operators for the first time on record to realise the political attitude of Co-operative movements under many and diverse conditions and to view the Co-operative trend or trends of events (politically speaking) on an international scale. In view both of the arresting character of the subject and the international repute of the authors (including Professor Charles Gide, Victor Serwy, G. J. D. C. Goedhart, Heinrich Kaufmann, Antonio Vergnanini, and Dr. Oskar Schär, amongst others) it may be anticipated that this series of articles will be widely read and discussed.

As regards the economic aspect and progress of Co-operative movements both at home and abroad, these have been delineated with no less plenitude than that in previous years, to the end that the volume may justify its reputation as the international year book of the Co-operative world.

As regards the kindred movement of Labour, the attention devoted to its manifold aspects is indicated by the mass of industrial labour statistics, the review of Trade Unionist progress, the record of outstanding events (given both in review form and diary) together with Factory and Workshops and International Labour office reports and so forth.

Add thereto the special articles dealing with the Course of Capitalism, the Source of British supplies, the Housing question and the Women's movement and the information given with regard to Taxation and the movement of prices, plus an array of serviceable statistics, and it will be seen that no efforts have been spared to enhance the utility of the volume as a work of reference for the people. These efforts—it may be stated, by the way—included the commissioning of authoritative articles descriptive of Irish and Indian affairs—articles which, we regret to say, by some mischance have failed to reach their destination.

J. H., Editor.



Mr. GEORGE THORPE, J.P.

## Mr. GEORGE THORPE, J.P.

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SINCE our last issue, Mr. George Thorpe, J.P., who has been a member of the Board of Directors of the C.W.S. since 1898, has been elected President of the Society, the vacancy having been created by the retirement of Mr. T. Killon. The election took place on April 23rd of this year.

Mr. Thorpe was born in 1854. Eight years later he went to work as a hurrier boy at a coal mine. At twelve years of age, owing to an explosion caused through fire-damp, his parents transferred him to the woollen industry, in which he remained till his election to the C.W.S. Board. He had no day school experience, but at the age of twenty joined a night-school class at Dewsbury, and afterwards attended science classes at the Old Mechanics' Institute, gaining prizes for chemistry and allied subjects. For many years he was a speaker on temperance. Having shaped himself for public life and the control of other men, he was elected a member of the Dewsbury Town Council, and withdrew after four years in order that his municipal service should not interfere with his duties for the C.W.S.

Mr. Thorpe has had a long and faithful co-operative career. For 46 years he has been a member of Dewsbury Society, was on the committee for nine years, and for four years occupied the presidential chair. For several years, too, he was a worker in the Co-operative Union organisation, and presided over the Co-operative Congress at Bradford in 1911. Politically, Mr. Thorpe is a strong Liberal, having been associated with Liberalism in Yorkshire for over 40 years, and for a time was the president of the Dewsbury Liberal Association.

These few lines give us some indication, at least, of the active career, and the character, of the new president. Born and reared in the humble circumstances of a Yorkshire pit and factory boy, he has risen to a position of the greatest utility and responsibility in the British co-operative movement. He has been well trained for the post, having had actual experience of the business side of the organisation in regard to its retail and wholesale operations. He has applied to the enterprise and expansion of the Wholesale Society a practical mind. His knowledge of mining, agriculture, and woollen fabrics has made him of considerable value to a movement whose chief aim is the control and ownership of industry on collective lines. Mr. Thorpe is a man who takes a level-headed view of matters at all times. He is a cogent speaker, and always displays a sound knowledge of the meaning and purpose of the co-operative principle towards the spread of which he has done as much as most men who have applied themselves to it. The best interests of the movement will be well safeguarded in his hands, and we wish him every success in his position of great trust and confidence.



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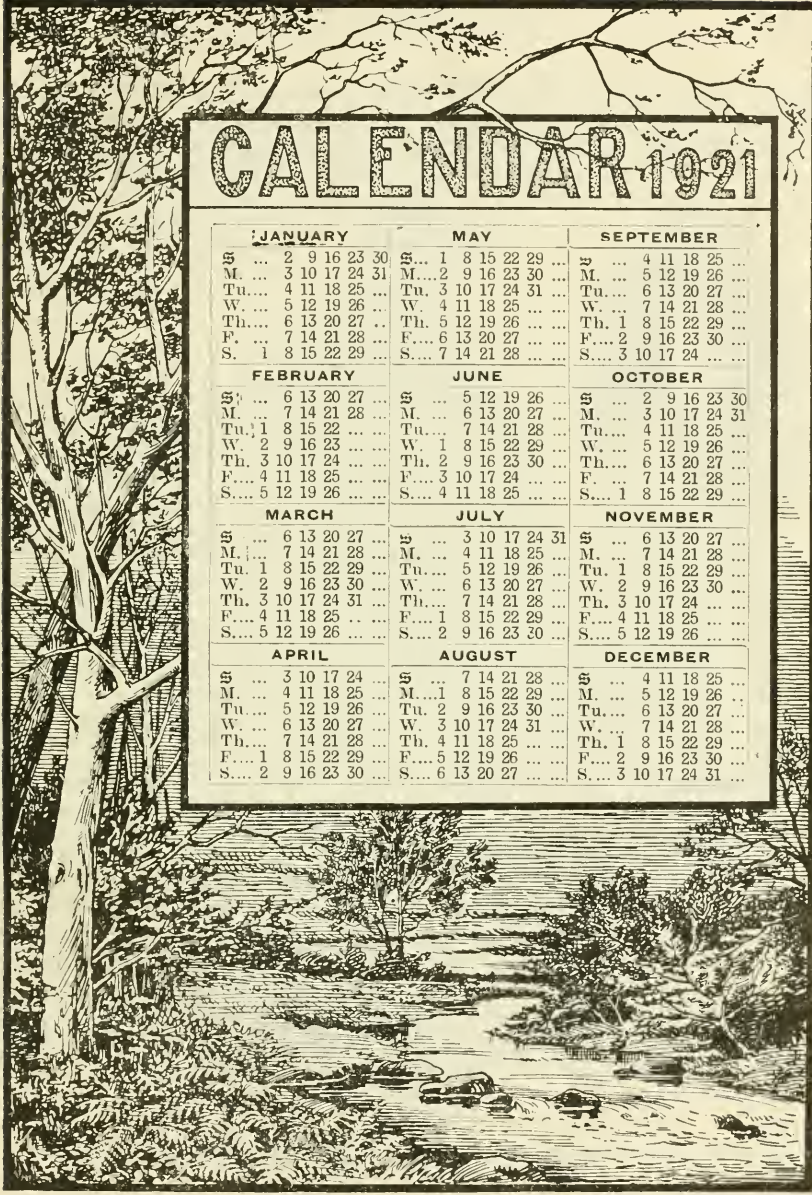
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JANUARY					MAY					SEPTEMBER											
S	...	2	9	16	23	30	S	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	S	...	4	11	18	25	...
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Th	...	6	13	20	27	...	Th	...	5	12	19	26	...	Th	...	1	8	15	22	29	
F	...	7	14	21	28	...	F	...	6	13	20	27	...	F	...	2	9	16	23	30	
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FEBRUARY					JUNE					OCTOBER											
S	...	6	13	20	27	...	S	...	5	12	19	26	...	S	...	2	9	16	23	30	
M	...	7	14	21	28	...	M	...	6	13	20	27	...	M	...	3	10	17	24	31	
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W	...	2	9	16	23	...	W	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	W	...	5	12	19	26	...
Th	...	3	10	17	24	...	Th	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	Th	...	6	13	20	27	...
F	...	4	11	18	25	...	F	...	3	10	17	24	...	F	...	7	14	21	28	...	
S	...	5	12	19	26	...	S	...	4	11	18	25	...	S	...	1	8	15	22	29	
MARCH					JULY					NOVEMBER											
S	...	6	13	20	27	...	S	...	3	10	17	24	31	S	...	6	13	20	27	...	
M	...	7	14	21	28	...	M	...	4	11	18	25	...	M	...	7	14	21	28	...	
Tu	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	Tu	...	5	12	19	26	...	Tu	...	1	8	15	22	29
W	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	W	...	6	13	20	27	...	W	...	2	9	16	23	30
Th	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	Th	...	7	14	21	28	...	Th	...	3	10	17	24	...
F	...	4	11	18	25	...	F	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	F	...	4	11	18	25	...
S	...	5	12	19	26	...	S	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	S	...	5	12	19	26	...
APRIL					AUGUST					DECEMBER											
S	...	3	10	17	24	...	S	...	7	14	21	28	...	S	...	4	11	18	25	...	
M	...	4	11	18	25	...	M	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	M	...	5	12	19	26	...
Tu	...	5	12	19	26	...	Tu	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	Tu	...	6	13	20	27	...
W	...	6	13	20	27	...	W	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	W	...	7	14	21	28	...
Th	...	7	14	21	28	...	Th	...	4	11	18	25	...	Th	...	1	8	15	22	29	
F	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	F	...	5	12	19	26	...	F	...	2	9	16	23	30
S	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	S	...	6	13	20	27	...	S	...	3	10	17	24	31



## JEAN FRANÇOIS MILLET: AN ARTIST OF THE PEOPLE.

IN opening the Liverpool Exhibition of Modern Art for 1920, Mr. John Galsworthy, the novelist and playwright, commented on the new democratic demand that beauty should be brought into the lives of the people. The speaker did not deny the value of production, trade and industry, but he claimed an equal importance for the diffusion of the sense of beauty.



JEAN FRANÇOIS MILLET.

And if matters of art are not to be left to the few but are to be included in serious efforts for co-operative welfare, we can begin that process no better than by claiming popular attention for the works of Jean François Millet. The son of a peasant, accustomed to every kind of work on the land, and living always the simple, family life of a countryman, the great painter of "The Angelus" and "The Gleaners," concentrated his whole power upon presenting the natural dignity and rough, strong beauty of manual labour under the open sky.

The artist suffered and struggled for his ideal. As the eldest son—born in 1814—he could not be spared from his father's holding till his brothers grew up. The bursary of £40, which eventually took him to Paris, continued for little more than one year. While his delicate first wife faded and died he had to paint anything that would sell for a few francs. When again happily married, the revolutionary period of 1848 came to depress his chances of livelihood. Later, in 1850, he plunged again into poverty by resolving only to paint subjects of his own choice. A single picture of Millet's, "The Angelus," has been sold for £32,000; yet at different times from 1850 to 1854, living with his increasing family in a three-roomed cottage in Barbizon, the great artist, who already had produced "The Sower," was literally in want of bread. Even in 1860 he was glad to accept a sure £360 a year for all his work for three years. Fame and honour now came rapidly; but in 1875 he died at no more than sixty years of age.

"I do not wish to suppress sorrow," said Millet. "Sorrow gives most strength to an artist's utterance." When called upon to design a figure of Liberty, Millet pictured the goddess without the red cap of revolution. Her brows were bound with ears of wheat. Freedom, to Millet, did not mean revolt. It lay in patient labour to gain the hard-won bounty of nature, and he presented this life of labour with prophetic sublimity.

R.



Leeds Gallery,  
Augustin Rischgitz,  
London.

**THE SOWER.**

*J. F. Millet.*



## THE BELGIAN MEMORIAL.



The Memorial—the work of a Belgian Sculptor and a British Artist—has been given as a token of gratitude for British hospitality by Belgians who were refugees in England during the War. The Memorial—placed opposite Cleopatra's Needle, on the Thames Embankment—was unveiled on October 12th, 1920.

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

A further rise of prices in 1920—the highest recorded in great measure for any year since 1914—is a fact of unmistakable significance as to the ominous trend of affairs and the disastrous policy of the world's rulers which has brought, or helped to bring, things to this pass. Two years it is since the war ended. For two years the elder statesmen of Europe have been ostensibly occupied in the reconstruction of the welfare of nations with the outstanding result of a Balkanised Europe, and the raising of the cost of living to heights never recorded before. The mentality of the elder statesmen is expressed in their works. The thing of most moment is to them the last thing that matters.

### THE UNITED KINGDOM.

How we stand in the United Kingdom is shown by the comparative figures denoting the percentage increase in retail food prices since July, 1914, as officially recorded: July, 1915, 32 per cent.; July, 1916, 61 per cent.; July, 1917, 104 per cent.; July, 1918, 110 per cent.; July, 1919, 109 per cent.; and in July, August, September, October and November, 1920, respectively, 158, 162, 167, 170 and 191 per cent. Thus, during the war period there was an annual increase in points to the following extent: in 1915, 32; in 1916, another 29; in 1917, another 43; in 1918, another 6. Then in 1919 (the first year of peace) there was a decrease by a solitary point, but in July, 1920, the increase over the preceding year amounted to no less than 49 points, an increase surpassing even that of 1917 in the high tide of war, and more ominous still, succeeded by further increases in the following months.

How the increase since 1914 has affected the urban and semi-urban and rural population, the official figures indicate:—

### AVERAGE PERCENTAGE INCREASE FROM JULY, 1914, TO JULY, 1920, AND AFTER.

	1920.				
	July.	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
Large towns (population over 50,000) ..	162	164	170	173	194
Small towns and villages.....	155	159	164	167	187
The United Kingdom as a whole.....	158	162	167	170	191

As to other items of necessary expenditure the official estimate for July, 1920, of the increase over pre-war rates is as follows:—

Clothing 330 per cent., coal 135 per cent. (and in September 145 per cent.), fuel and lighting combined 130 per cent. (and in September 135 per cent.), while the average increase in the cost of all items—food, rent, clothing, fuel and light—combined in accordance with their relative importance in pre-war working-class family expenditure, and allowance being also made for the increase in the prices of soap, soda, domestic ironmongery, brushware and pottery, tobacco, fares

and newspapers, the resultant figure for July 1st, 1920, is calculated at 152 per cent., and for November 1st at 176 per cent. above pre-war rates. In the Labour world, as is known, there prevails a fervent conviction that a different calculation would have demonstrated increases in excess of these figures. Meantime official figures for last November denoted a necessary expenditure of £2. 18s. 2d. on food-stuffs and of £2. 15s. 2d. on the common necessities of life for every £1 spent in 1914 if the same standard of living is to be maintained.

#### FRANCE.

In France, the consumers' afflictions are greater considerably than in the United Kingdom, as shown by the fact that the general level of retail prices of food, fuel and lighting collectively, exceeded, in Paris, the average of retail prices prevailing in July, 1914, by 273 per cent. ; while in other French towns with over 10,000 inhabitants the average prices in the third quarter of 1920 surpassed by 279 per cent.—those prevailing in the second quarter of 1914.

In Paris, in fact, the figure for 1920 exceeded by 112 points that of 1919, which exceeded that of 1918 by 55 points. In other words the rise in 1919 was more than double that in 1918, and the rise in 1920 was more than double that in 1919. In the other towns also the increase of points in 1920 over the previous year (amounting to 91) was more than double the increase of points, amounting to 44, which represented the increase over 1918.

#### ITALY.

In Italy (a country which entered the vortex of war later than France and Great Britain) the percentage increase of food prices since July, 1914, stood in the same month in 1920 at a lower figure than in France, but at a higher one than in the United Kingdom, as shown by the percentage increase of 218 in Rome (in July) and of 354 in Milan (in August). Comparative figures reveal a striking increase recorded for 1920 as compared with that of 1919, inasmuch as the increase for 1919 was represented by three points over the previous year, whereas the increase for 1920 figured at 112 points over the level of 1919.

#### BELGIUM.

But of all the allied countries Belgium figures as the greatest sufferer as regards the increased cost of the prime necessities of life, for in June, 1920, the cost of food, fuel and lighting in Brussels exceeded the pre-war scale to the extent of 362 per cent. as compared with the 254 per cent. recorded for the prime necessities of life in the previous year.

#### HOLLAND.

Turning next to the European countries which stood outside the war, we find that Holland, in colloquial phrase, has come best off, as

expressively indicated by the recorded figures for Amsterdam of 110 per cent. increase in the food bill of an average working-class family in 1919 and of 117 per cent. in 1920 as compared with the cost prevailing in the pre-war period. Thus, although the cost of living has more than doubled, the total increase compares favourably with that of other countries; while the comparatively small increase recorded for 1920 over that of the year previous forms a striking contrast with the striking upswing in the countries dealt with above.

#### SCANDINAVIA.

Of the three countries, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, the most advanced agriculturally, has experienced the least comparative rise in the cost of living, as shown by the cost of maintaining an average Copenhagen working-class family of five persons at the pre-war standard of July, 1914. By July, 1920, this cost had increased to 154 per cent. as compared with 112 per cent. twelve months before, so that the increase for the twelve months' figures at 42 points—a fact which shows that the latest upswing in Denmark has been almost on a par with that in the United Kingdom.

Next take Norway, which has endured the greatest increase of the three kingdoms, taking the last six years as a whole, although the latest upswing has been of lesser dimensions than that in Denmark inasmuch as the cost of maintaining the standard of living of an average urban family consisting of four persons (which had in 1914 an income of about £83 per annum) had increased by July, 1919, to 189 per cent., and in July, 1920, to 219 per cent., the increase between the two dates thus amounting to 30 points or 12 less than in Denmark.

As for Sweden the latest figures show that the cost of living between July, 1914, and August, 1920, had increased to a considerably greater extent than in Denmark, but to a lesser extent than in Norway; the latter circumstance being connected with the noteworthy fact of an actual decrease by 2 points during the last twelve months, as indicated by the 208 per cent. increase over the pre-war figure by August, 1920, compared with the 210 per cent. increase recorded for July, 1919. The basis of calculation is the cost of maintaining a typical family of four (man, and wife and two children) at the pre-war standard of living, which entailed an expenditure of £111 per annum in 1914. The above figures relate to the principal towns of Sweden taken together, but in Stockholm the rise has exceeded the average as indicated by a total increase amounting to 216 per cent. as compared with 208 per cent. for the principal towns altogether.

#### SWITZERLAND.

As regards Switzerland the figures recorded by the Statistical Department of the Swiss Co-operative Union show that the cost of living has undergone an annual increase from 1914 up to the present time. By the first of August, 1920, the cost of maintaining a typical working-class family had increased to 2697·77 francs as compared

with 1043·63 francs on June 1st, 1914. Thus by August 1st, 1920, the cost of living had increased by 158½ per cent. as compared with 150 per cent. in June, 1919. The figures show that the total increase has just exceeded that of Denmark, though Denmark has felt the force of the recent upswing in prices to a far greater extent.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

The statistical figures for the United States show a continuous annual increase in prices since 1915 although the total increase between July, 1914, and July, 1920, is considerably below that recorded for the countries of Europe in general. All the same the United States has participated in the recent abnormal rise as shown by the 115 per cent. total increase recorded in 1920, as compared with the 86 per cent. total increase recorded in 1919. In plain language the American consumer had to spend 7s. 9d. in 1919 and about 9s. in 1920 for what he paid 4s. 2d., or a dollar for, in 1914.

#### THE BRITISH DOMINIONS OVERSEAS.

Like other parts of the world, the British Dominions Overseas have celebrated the peace era by beating their record in the matter of prices, and in this connection Canada holds the foremost place by virtue of a total increase of 121 per cent. in food prices by August, 1920. In July the year previous the total increase was 86 per cent., or the same as in the United States. A year later the percentage increase of retail prices exceeded those in the contiguous territory by 6 points, so that Canadian consumers in 1920 had to expend £2. 4s. 2d. for what cost them £1 in 1914.

Next to Canada comes South Africa with a total increase of 97 per cent. recorded in July, 1920, then follows Australia with a total increase of 94 per cent. by July of the same year, and New Zealand with 71 per cent., which was the recorded figure of increase last August, these figures denoting respective advances of 58 points, 47 points and 27 points over the figures for 1919. Translated into currency terms this means that the average consumer in the three respective countries instead of spending a £ as in 1914 has had to pay somewhat as follows in 1919 and 1920. In South Africa, £1 7s. 10d. and £1. 19s. 6d. ; in Australia, £1. 9s. 5d. and £1. 18s. 10d. ; in New Zealand, £1. 8s. 10d. and £1. 14s. 2d. These advances, though much less than those in Europe, cannot be considered as inconsiderable by any means. And the same may be said of India, where the figures for Calcutta in August last denoted a 67 per cent. increase in food prices over the pre-war scale. In fact, 67 per cent. increase to a Hindoo living on the poverty line, as the majority do, is just about the worst affliction imaginable.

The official table appended will enable the reader to survey the whole range of increases which have been dealt with in detail.

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

Country.	Percentage Increase in Retail Food Prices since July, 1914.						Latest figures available.	
	July, 1915	July, 1916.	July, 1917.	July, 1918.	July, 1919.	Rise.	Date.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.			Per cent.
UNITED KINGDOM .....	32	61	104	110	109	191*	1920. Nov.	
FOREIGN COUNTRIES.								
Belgium† .....	..	..	..	..	..	362	June	
Denmark .....	28	46	66	87	112	154	July	
France (Paris)‡ .....	22	32	83	106	161	273	July	
„ (other Towns)‡ .....	23§	42§	84§	144§	188§	279	2nd Qr.	
Holland (Amsterdam) ....	..	..	42	76	110	117	July	
Italy (Rome) .....	5¶	11	37	103	106	218	July	
„ (Milan) .....	..	..	..	225	210	354	August	
Norway .....	..	60	114	179	189	219	July	
Sweden† .....	24	42	81	168	210	208	August	
Switzerland .....	19**	41**	78**	122**	150**	137	August	
United States .....	2¶	9	43	64	86	115	July	
OVERSEAS DOMINIONS.								
Australia .....	31	30	26	32**	47	94	July	
Canada .....	5	14	57	75	86	121	August	
India (Calcutta) .....	8	10	16	31	51	67	August	
New Zealand .....	12	19	27	39	44	71	August	
South Africa .....	7	16	28	34	39	97	July	

The latest statistics reveal a continuance of the world-wide increase of prices during the later months of 1920. In September the cost of food in Belgium had risen to 371 per cent. above pre-war prices; in Holland to 123, in Italy (Rome) to 224, in Norway to 236, and in Australia to 97; whilst in the following month of October the cost of food had risen in France (Paris) to 320, in Italy (Milan) to 380, and in New Zealand to 77 per cent. above pre-war prices. Only in a small majority of countries such as the United States, South Africa, &c., has there been some decline.

\* It should be noted that the figures for the United Kingdom relate to food only. For all items the increase is 161 per cent.

† The figure given also includes fuel, lighting, and clothing.

‡ Fuel and lighting are also included in these figures. § Figures for 3rd quarter.

¶ Decrease. || Figures for August. \*\* Figures for June.

## RISE IN COST OF LIVING

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

(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.
	s. d.	s. d.	per cent.	per cent.	s. d.	s. d.
1904.....	22 6	22 6	—	—	—	—
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 3
October 1st .....	56 9	54 0	127	117	8 9	9 2
1920—January 1st .....	60 0	58 0	140	132	8 4	8 7
July 1st .....	65 6	63 9	162	155	7 7	7 10
October 1st .....	68 3	66 9	173	167	7 3	7 5

## THE ROYAL ALBERT INSTITUTION LANCASTER.

A TRAINING HOME FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

Accommodation for 750 cases. Admission: (1) Full Payment from any part of the Country; (2) Reduced Payment, or Free by Election, from the Seven Northern Counties of England. Support urgently needed to maintain the charitable work carried on most successfully for fifty years past. For information and forms apply to SAMUEL KEIR, Secretary.

# Exchange Rates Current between the Leading Countries of the World

Week ending September 8th, 1920.

The chart printed below provides a quick and simple method of finding the average rate of exchange current between any two of the fourteen countries included.

For example, to find the rate between France and U.S.A. it is only necessary to—  
 (a) follow the line marked France till the U.S.A. column is reached. The figure given there is the value of the franc in cents, or

(b) follow the line marked U.S.A. till the France column is reached. The figure given there is the value of the dollar in francs.

	Eng-land.	France	Italy.	Hol-land.	Bel-gium.	Spain.	Por-tugal.	Swit-zer-land.	Ger-many.	Gr'ee.	Nor-way.	Swe-den.	Den-mark.	U.S.A.
	Pence	Francs	Lire	Fl.	Fres.	Pes.	Esc.	Frs.	Mks.	Dr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Cents.
England	—	51·63	77·78	11·19	48·51	23·82	20·46	21·64	179·6	32·99	24·62	17·65	24·75	355·5
France	4·6	—	1·51	·22	·94	·46	·40	·42	3·48	·64	·48	·34	·48	6·9
Italy	3·1	·66	—	·14	·62	·31	·26	·28	2·31	·42	·32	·23	·32	4·6
Holland	21·4	4·61	6·95	—	4·34	2·13	1·83	1·96	16·05	2·95	2·20	1·58	2·21	31·8
Belgium	4·9	1·06	1·60	·23	—	·49	·42	·45	3·70	·68	·51	·36	·51	7·3
Spain	10·1	2·17	3·27	·47	2·04	—	·86	·91	7·54	1·38	1·03	·74	1·04	14·9
Portugal	11·7	2·52	3·80	·55	2·37	1·16	—	1·06	8·78	1·61	1·20	·86	1·21	17·4
Switzerland	11·1	2·39	3·59	·52	2·24	1·10	·95	—	8·30	1·52	1·14	·82	1·14	16·4
Germany	1·3	·29	·43	·06	·27	·13	·11	·12	—	·18	·14	·10	·14	2·0
Greece	7·3	1·57	2·36	·34	1·47	·72	·62	·66	5·44	—	·75	·54	·75	10·8
Norway	9·7	2·10	3·16	·45	1·97	·97	·83	·88	7·29	1·34	—	·72	1·01	14·4
Sweden	13·6	2·93	4·41	·63	2·75	1·35	1·16	1·23	10·18	1·87	1·39	—	1·40	20·1
Denmark	9·7	2·09	3·14	·45	1·96	·96	·83	·87	7·25	1·33	·99	·71	—	14·4
U.S.A.	67·5	14·52	21·88	3·15	13·65	6·70	5·76	6·09	50·52	9·28	6·93	4·96	6·96	—
1 FRANK	—	25·22	25·22	12·11	25·22	25·22	4·53	25·22	20·43	25·00	18·15	18·15	18·15	486·6

Average price for week ( Bar Gold .. .. 115s. 5d. per oz.  
 Bar Silver .. .. 59½d. per oz.  
 From The Bulletin of the Federation of British Industries.



## CURRENCY AND PRICES.

THE following table given in an official publication\* serves to indicate the statistical relation between the volume of currency and prices, and also shows the relative increase of money in circulation in various countries.

### COMPARISON OF EXPANSION OF CURRENCY WITH RISE IN PRICES.

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF 1913.†

	Currency of all kinds. 1913=100	Wholesale Prices. 1913=100	Retail prices of Food. 1914=100
United States (March, 1920) . . . . .	177	253·0	196
United Kingdom (March, 1920) . . . . .	250‡	321·8	235
Switzerland (December, 1919) . . . . .	253	—	237
Denmark (January, 1920) . . . . .	255	—	251
Japan (October, 1919) . . . . .	274	266·3	—
Sweden (March, 1920) . . . . .	275	354·0	291
Netherlands (February, 1920) . . . . .	290	—	199
Norway (February, 1920) . . . . .	305	—	294
France (February, 1920) . . . . .	400	522·4	Paris 297
Italy (December, 1919) . . . . .	565	452·6	252

\* "Statement of Currency Expansion Price Movements, and Production in Certain Countries." Cmd. 734, 1920.

† The fact that retail prices of food have risen less than general wholesale prices is in part attributable to the control of prices by Governments extending, in certain cases, to the maintenance of retail prices below cost of production by means of subsidies.

‡ In the case of the United Kingdom, the circulation at the end of March, 1920, is compared with the circulation at the outbreak of the war.

## CURRENCY ITEMS.

In Denmark the Danish Exchange Commission has published its proposals for improving the Danish rate of exchange—proposals including the rationing of sugar and white bread together with restrictions on the import of luxuries, the restriction of credit and the increase of the customs duties.

In Czecho-Slovakia the Government has framed a Bill with the object of forming a foreign currency reserve fund to which the yield of the sugar export above a certain amount will be allocated; all this with a view to maintaining the exchange rate of the krone in other countries.

In November the introduction of the franc currency into the Saar district was stated to be only a matter of weeks and that the Saar industries would then have to pay treble the rate of wages and would hence be unable to compete with foreign countries.

## MONEY AND PRICES.

### INTERIM REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

**I**N August, 1920, the Joint Committee\* on the Cost of Living issued its interim report. The Committee directed its attention in the first place to the various financial and currency problems, both national and international, affecting the cost of living. And so the present report deals with the factors which have disturbed the general level of prices, and not with the influences which have been at work to raise the prices of particular commodities. These and other questions coming within the terms of reference will form the subject of a later report.

The present report bears the following signatures: J. H. Thomas (chairman), Mrs. Florence Harrison Bell, C. W. Bowerman, W. Bradshaw, F. Bramley, Mrs. Mary E. Cottrill, C. T. Cramp, J. Dickinson, Allan A. H. Findlay, Alex. Gossip, G. Hicks, Frank Hodges, Arthur Hord, J. Ramsay MacDonald, E. L. Poulton, Robert Smillie, R. B. Walker, and Arthur Greenwood (*Secretary*).

Evidence was given before the Committee by Mr. J. T. Day (Editor of the *Shoe and Leather Record*), Mr. Thos. Goodwin (manager of the C.W.S. Bank), Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A., the Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.A., Sir George Paish, and Professor A. C. Pigou, M.A. Memoranda were also submitted to the Committee by Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.A. (Lecturer at the London School of Economics), Mr. H. D. Henderson, M.A. (Lecturer in Economics, Clare College, Cambridge) and Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

The report deals with the subject, in three consecutive sections, viz., (1) The Problem, (2) British Policy, (3) International Policy.

#### THE PROBLEM.

The first section deals with the General

\* The Joint Committee consisted of representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, of the Labour Party, of the Co-operative Union, of the Triple Alliance, of the Federation of Engineering and Building Trades, of the National Federation of General Workers, and of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives.

Level of Prices, the changes in the Volume of Currency, the Results of Abnormal Currency Expansion, the necessity for National and International Action and Currency and Prices during and since the war. In the latter connection the Committee state:—

“It is not, however, universally agreed that the expansion of currency is the main factor in the rise of prices. It is sometimes urged that the cause is to be found mainly in the shortage of goods, *i.e.*, in deficient production. Mr. Goodwin, manager of the C.W.S. Bank, who gave evidence before the Committee, supports the latter view. Professor Pigou, another witness, took the contrary view, whilst Mr. Hugh Dalton, in a memorandum prepared for the Committee, suggests that the increase of currency rather than the decrease of goods is the dominant cause of the rise of prices. *We have arrived at the conclusion that so far as the rise in the general level of prices is concerned, the expansion of currency must be regarded as the main factor.*”

“It is clear, of course, that a shortage of production of commodities brought about directly or indirectly by the war, must have tended to raise the price level. But as Professor Pigou explained to the Committee ‘other things being equal, a shortage of things in general cannot raise prices in general more than in proportion to the shortage. It is true that a 10 per cent. shortage of a particular thing might easily raise its price by 100 per cent., but if this happened there would be less money available to spend on other things, and so their prices would tend to go down. A small fall in each of a great many things would match the large rise in the one thing. Since, therefore, there is reason to believe that the shortage of things in general, though large absolutely, is, expressed as a percentage, small, the shortage of things is probably not responsible for a large proportion of the general rise of prices.’”

“We are in agreement with this reasoning. Various estimates have been

made as to the fall in the world's production of commodities as a whole. Some suggest that it has been about 10 per cent.; other estimates put the figure at 20 per cent. We believe the latter estimate to be nearer the mark. It is obvious, however, that production has not diminished by a proportion which would account for the world rise in prices. The dominant cause must, therefore, be found in the 'money side' of the problem.

"It follows, therefore, that the first step is to deal with the currency and financial aspects of prices. This is not to say, however, that greater productivity over the whole world is not essential. It is, indeed, vitally important, but it will operate only gradually, and in any case its full effects cannot be obtained so long as Governments pursue an inflationist policy of financing themselves and so long as currency stability on the Continent is not attained."

#### BRITISH POLICY.

In Section II, on British Policy the Committee discuss the Future of Prices, the British Currency Problem, the Floating Debt, the Banking System, Government Expenditure and the Circulation of Gold. In regard to the British Currency Problem the Committee state—

"There has been a depreciation of gold relatively to goods, or to put it in another way, there has been a rise in general gold prices. But there has also been a depreciation of paper money in terms of gold. A pound note will not buy the amount of gold contained in a sovereign, and British Bills of Exchange will not sell in America at their par value. The price of an ounce of gold bullion on July 16th in terms of paper money was 106s. 6d. as compared with the pre-war price of 85s. based on the gold content of a sovereign. The depreciation of our paper currency, therefore, in terms of gold is about 20 per cent. The American rate of exchange on July 17th was 3·87½. That is to say a paper pound exchanged for 3·87½ dollars whilst the par of exchange, i.e., the value of the gold sovereign in terms of dollars is 4·87. This is accounted for chiefly by the depreciation of the paper pound in terms of gold, though also to some

extent by an adverse balance of trade. The results of this adverse exchange is that goods are obtained from the United States at a higher price. We were informed by Mr. Goodwin, of the C.W.S. Bank, that the effect of the present rate of exchange with the States was to add 5d. per lb. to the price of imported American bacon.

"It is clear that the restoration of the depreciated currency to full parity with gold would have a substantial effect upon prices. To cancel the depreciation of the currency, in the sense in which we are here using the term, would be to restore the gold standard and the gold exchange standard currency. This can be brought about only by a reduction in the volume of money in circulation."

#### INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

As regards the international side of the problems of finance and currency the Committee express their feeling that "the situation is far graver than the situation at home," and continues as follows:—

"We have already expressed our view that international action is vitally necessary for the restoration of the machinery of exchange and the rehabilitation of the economic systems of the Continent. Sir George Paish informed us that the decline of production in Europe amounted to between 30 per cent. and 40 per cent. On the other hand there has been excessive currency expansion and a corresponding rise of prices. The present position is chaotic. Economic restoration of the devastated areas and the re-establishment of productive industry elsewhere in Europe are prime needs. But the depreciation of currency and the collapse of the foreign exchanges, together with the prevailing uncertainty as to the financial clauses of the Peace Treaties have resulted in a lack of credit without which the economic situation cannot be remedied. Moreover, the state of war which still exists between many countries and the absence of real peace between others are further obstacles to currency stability and the resumption of trade activity."

The Committee then proceed to discuss the need for peace, and the questions of indemnities, of the reform

of Continental currencies, of the use of barter, and of an international loan.

"Several proposals have been made for the floating of an international loan. We ourselves incline to the view that *the League of Nations should issue interest bearing bonds, which it should distribute as the loan agreed upon to the borrowing countries.* The apportionment of the international loan amongst the various nations requiring Government assistance would be a matter for the League of Nations. The borrowing countries would sell the bonds they held to the public, or utilise them directly for the payment of goods purchased abroad.

"The allocation to the different Governments of their quota of the loan would, of course, be based upon relative needs as regards immediate requirements for productive purposes, taking into account the effects which a loan to a particular country would have upon the general economic restoration of Europe. . . .

"We consider that the international loan floated for purposes of economic restoration might, as and when it is redeemed, be utilised for other international purposes approved by the League of Nations.

"The effect of the proposals we have made above would be twofold. They would assist in restoring and stabilising foreign exchanges and improving national currencies; whilst on the other hand, they would assist the recovery of industry and stimulate productivity."

#### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

The main findings and recommendations of the Committee are summarised as follows:—

1. The rise in prices is due more to currency expansion than to contraction of production.

2. The first step, therefore, is to deal with the expansion of the currency in this and other countries and to deflate it, where this is possible, to an extent which will eliminate the depreciation of currency in terms of gold.

3. Such a process will not restore prices to the pre-war level, but in this country it would mean perhaps a reduction of the general level of prices by about 20 per cent. It would also cut at the root of the automatic rise of prices due to currency influences.

4. We look to the development of productive capacity all over the world to bring about ultimately a substantial fall in prices.

5. An attempt to secure a fall of prices to the pre-war level by a drastic restriction of the currency would, we hold, result in widespread unemployment, and, most probably, in a considerable fall in wages. By the operation of a steady improvement in productivity (through the participation of all countries in the trade of the world, the improvement of methods and machinery, and a far-reaching re-organisation of industry) the standard of life of the people would be maintained and automatically raised as prices fell.

6. We are of opinion that the present index numbers of prices should be superseded by new index numbers based upon the prices prevailing since the Armistice. (We shall give detailed consideration to this question in a later Report.)

7. In the interval, the adaptation of existing conditions to the present prices should be perfected.

8. As regards the currency question in this country, we suggest that—

(a) Legislation is necessary to regulate the conditions of issue of notes by fixing an absolute amount which the fiduciary issue must not exceed, this amount to be gradually and periodically reduced until the depreciation of British paper currency in terms of gold disappears.

(b) The Government should cease entirely to resort to bank credits to meet expenditure.

(c) The floating debt should be wholly or largely repaid, the remainder, if any, being funded.

9. We are of opinion that the banking system of the country should be publicly controlled.

10. It is essential that Government expenditure upon military and naval enterprises should cease.

11. As regards the international aspects of the problem of high prices, we think that—

(a) The re-establishment of peace throughout the world is a prime essential.

- (b) War indemnities should be defined, and reasonable in amount.
- (c) Every country should be required to take all possible steps to rehabilitate its currency.
- (d) In countries where a return to the gold standard is impracticable, a new parity of exchange should be established.
- (e) Until the machinery of exchange is re-established, the import and export of goods between different countries should be conducted, where other methods are not possible, by means of direct barter.
- (f) An international loan should be floated by the League of Nations (under conditions laid down by the League) in order to provide impoverished countries with a means of restoring their productive capacity.

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion the Committee state :—

“ We think it necessary to point out, before closing this report, that we do not wish to imply that the problem of high prices is an insoluble one. It is true that we do not conceive a very considerable fall of prices as practicable

in existing circumstances. But with a change of these circumstances, prices might fall substantially. We are convinced that the high cost of living is due largely to the defects and weaknesses of the industrial system. We accept the fact as expressed by Mr. H. D. Henderson in his Memorandum, that “ the present dilemma, in which it is virtually impossible to check the tide of rising prices, without paralysing trade and industry, represents one more instance of the growing instability, inadequacy and disintegration of the capitalist system. We have tried to avoid making proposals which would create industrial dislocation, or at least to ensure that dislocation should be reduced to a minimum. It is a powerful indictment of the existing industrial order that, apart from drastic and fundamental changes in its structure and purpose, the way to lower prices lies in the first instance through measures which might temporarily aggravate the evil. But this makes it all the more necessary for us, when we come to deal with the other side of our problem—the demand for and supply of goods and services—to consider what antidotes there may be to the possible aggravation of high prices due to the working of the industrial system.

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## CAMPAIGN OF CONTROL.

### NOVEMBER.

- 1919
7. Amended Cheese Order issued.
  8. Amended Meat (Maximum Prices) Order.
  14. Amended Sugar Order for Ireland.
  18. Milk (Use of Churns) Order.
  22. Maximum Prices Order as regards Pigs.
  25. Potatoes Order in reference to Sales under license.
  26. New Eggs (Prices) Order.

### DECEMBER.

1. Maximum charge for meals in catering establishments raised from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.
1. New schedule of wholesale prices for meat comes in force.
1. New Fish Prices Order.
4. Spirits (Restriction on Sales) Order takes effect.
8. Export of hides to Ireland, except under license, forbidden.
8. Imported Meat (Labelling) Order comes in operation.
8. Amended Prices Order for both imported and home-produced bacon, ham, and lard takes effect.
9. Amending Order for Beer Prices takes effect.
15. Amended prices schedules for poultry and game come into operation.
15. Butter ration of 1½ oz. per head per week reduced to 1 oz.
15. British Onions Order revoked.
29. Amended Order concerning flour and bread prices comes in force.

### JANUARY.

- 1920
1. Amended Orders concerning prices of canned salmon, fish, and imported bacon, ham, and lard take effect.
  1. Amended Order concerning potatoes takes effect.
  12. Maximum Prices Order for imported Wiltshire hams takes effect.
  12. Amended Order concerning jam prices comes in operation.
  18. Amended Order for wholesale prices of fish.
  21. Amended Order for retail prices of dried fruits comes in force.
  26. Amended Order for prices of butter.

### FEBRUARY.

1. Revocation of various Orders concerning cheese, margarine, oils, oil-cakes, and fats. Cream Order, 1918, and Use of Milk (Licensing) Order, 1918, also revoked. Canned condensed milk also freed from restrictions.
1. Amending Orders for meat prices and for sale of milk, butter, and hides.
4. Directions relating to the sale of sugar and butter come into force, and also directions for catering establishments and institutions.
6. New regulations issued with regard to live stock.

8. Revocation of the General License connected with the Fish Prices Order.
17. Butter Order revised and prices raised by 3½d. and 4d. per pound.
21. RESIGNATION of Mr. G. H. Roberts (fourth Food Controller) officially announced. Mr. C. A. McCurdy, K.C., M.P., appointed fifth Food Controller.
23. Frozen pig carcasses from North America come under control.

### MARCH.

1. Amended Beer Order still further amended.
7. Rats Order revoked.
15. New Maximum Prices Order for imported flour.
15. New price schedules for imported mutton and lamb.
20. Authorisation of the sale of fresh-water fish under certificate from the Fishmongers' Company down to June 15th, 1920.
20. New regulations concerning the sale and price of potatoes.
20. New Max Prices Order.
20. Revocation of Sugar (Restriction) Order.
20. Meat Prices re-scheduled.
22. Eggs (Prices) Order suspended and Poultry and Game (Prices) Order revoked. New regulations and prices for imported frozen poultry take effect.
22. Retail prices of sugar advanced.
23. Sale of Egyptian onions freed from restriction.
25. Dried fruits permitted to be exported without license to any country with which trading is allowed.
25. Potatoes (Export from Ireland) Order amended.
25. New Flour and Bread (Prices) Order comes in force.
29. Weekly sugar ration raised from 6oz. to 8oz., and as regards sugar supplied in catering establishments from 3oz. to 4oz.
31. Revocation of all Orders restricting the sale of home pigs and pork.

### APRIL.

1. Revocation of various Butter and Milk Orders relating to Ireland.
5. New Maximum Prices Order for bacon, ham, and lard.
10. Flour Requisition (Retail Dealers and Bakers) Order comes in force.
16. Revocation of directions issued under the Milk (Registration of Dealers) Order, 1918.
17. Maximum wholesale prices of imported meat re-scheduled.
19. Revocation of general licenses issued under various Meat Orders. An amended Meat (Maximum Prices) Order comes in force.
19. Ration of Government butter again raised to 1½ oz. per head per week.

19. Increased sugar prices come into operation.
20. New Orders concerning prices and description of beer and spirits come into force.
26. Order issued prohibiting the use of bread in the making for sale of sausages, black puddings, and meat pies, except under license.
26. Revocation of Meat (Retail Prices) Orders, 1918.
26. Imported mutton: retail prices de-controlled.
26. Bacon, Ham, and Lard (Sales) Order revised scale of prices, the changes taking effect by sections on April 26th, May 3rd, and May 10th.
15. Household Coal increased in price by 14s. 2d. per ton, and Industrial Coal increased by 4s. 2d. per ton.
17. Milk Order Amendment takes effect.
17. Fish allowed to be bought and sold free from the provisions of the Fish (Prices) Order, 1919. Restrictions imposed by the Cocoa Powder (No. 2) Order, 1918, also abolished.
19. Abolition of restrictions imposed by the Canned Meat (Net Weights) Order, 1918.
24. Butter (Labelling) Order comes in force, and also Cheese (Labelling) Order.

**JUNE.**

- MAY.**
3. Maximum wholesale price of imported refined lard fixed at 163s. 6d. per cwt., and retail price reduced from 2s to 1s. 8d. per lb.
10. Retail maximum price of hams sold whole reduced by 1d. per lb.
12. Revocation of Importers (Returns) Order, 1918, Imported Cheese (Returns) Order, 1919, and Imported Cheese (Importers' Prices) Order, 1919.
9. Final issue of the "National Food Journal."
30. Local Control Committees and Food Offices discontinued from this date, but District Food Offices under District Food Officers maintained in convenient centres to deal with the local food control work still remaining to be carried out.
- N.B.—In December the Government Butter ration was fixed at 2 ozs. per head.

# National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

(Incorporated by Royal Charter)

Patrons:  
 THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN  
 H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK

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241 Inspectors were at work throughout England, Wales and Ireland.  
 100,448 children were helped. 226,719 visits of Supervision were made.  
 One Inspector helped an average number of 416 children.

**Increased expenses are a wearisome commonplace.**

**What do they mean to the N.S.P.C.C.?**

**An additional £30,000 must be raised to meet expenditure during the year 1920-21, in all £130,000.**

### **IMPORTANT QUESTIONS.**

Is the work to be cut down? Are the Children to suffer?  
 Because funds are not forthcoming.

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TIMBER YARD.





## THE COAL INDUSTRY.

### PRICES, PROFITS, AND WAGES.

THE following statistics concerning the coal industry are quoted from the brochure entitled "Facts about the Coal Dispute," published by the Triple Industrial Alliance in Sep. last.

#### PRICE INCREASES.

Since 1914 there have been eight separate increases of coal prices and one temporary decrease:—

	Per Ton. s. d.
1915, standard increase under Limitation Act .....	4 0
1916, June 1st (South Wales and Forest of Dean only) .....	2 6
1917, October 12th .....	2 6
1918, June 24th .....	2 6
1918, July 8th .....	1 6
1919, July 21st .....	6 0
1919, December 1st, decrease in household coal .....	10 0
1920, May 12th, increase in household coal .....	14 2
1920, May 12th, increase in industrial coal .....	4 2

#### COAL OWNERS' PROFITS.

	Tonnage raised (millions).	Pithead price (per ton).	Profits and Royalties.	
			Amount (millions).	Per Ton.
		s. d.	£	s. d.
Average, 1889 to 1893 .....	178.0	7 4.18	11.7	1 3.78
.. 1894 to 1898 .....	195.5	6 2.16	8.7	0 10.68
.. 1899 to 1903 .....	224.3	8 8.76	19.2	1 8.54
.. 1904 to 1908 .....	249.8	7 10.94	17.2	1 4.52
.. 1909 to 1913 .....	270	8 9	19.1	1 5.5
Year 1914.....	265	10 0	21.5	1 7.5
.. 1915.....	253	12 6	27.4	2 2
.. 1916.....	256	15 7	43.8	3 5
.. 1917.....	248	16 9	33.7	2 8.5
January to June, 1918 (on annual basis) .....	236	20 0	26	2 4.5
July to September, 1918 (on annual basis) .....	218	24 10	45	4 0.5

It should be noted that the above figures include profits and royalties together. In order, therefore, to arrive at the actual amount of profits it is necessary to deduct royalties. These amount for all the later years covered by the table to about £6,000,000 per annum. The amount in some of the earlier years is smaller, but it is improbable that it is less at any time than £4,000,000, and if it is taken at £6,000,000

from 1908 onwards, this is approximately correct.

It should be further noted that profits from coke ovens and bye-product works, which were not under the Coal Control, are not included in war-time figures. They were estimated at a total of rather over £2,000,000 before the war, and at £6,500,000 in 1917 according to the tables supplied to the Coal Commission by the Board of Inland

Revenue. In view of the exceedingly high prices now prevailing for coke and bye-products, these profits at the present time cannot possibly be less than

£11,000,000. This sum is, of course, quite apart from the coalowners' annual guaranteed minimum profits of £26,000,000 on coal alone.

WAGES.\*

NUMBER OF MEN IN INDUSTRY, WAGES, & C.

Class of Worker.	Total Employed.	Present Wage.	
		s.	d.
Piecework getters .....	350,000 .....	21	9½
Daywork getters .....	42,000 .....	19	6½
Fillers, hauliers .....	111,150 .....	16	9
Timbermen, stonemen, &c. ....	117,000 .....	18	8½
Deputies .....	29,250 .....	18	9
Other labour underground .....	163,800 .....	15	5
Winding enginemen .....	5,850 .....	17	4½
Other enginemen .....	9,360 .....	14	11
Stokers .....	12,870 .....	14	8
Pitheadmen .....	14,040 .....	14	9
Screenmen .....	35,100 .....	14	0
Mechanics (carpenters, fitters, &c.)	35,100 .....	15	1
Other surface labour .....	57,330 .....	15	9½
Youths and boys (underground) ..	140,000 .....	9	6
"    "    (surface) .....	42,120 .....	7	6
Women and girls .....	5,030 .....	7	6
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>1,170,000</b>	<b>Average 16 6</b>	

Youths under 16 .....	100,000	
Youths, 16 and 17 .....	80,000	
Adults .....	990,000	Shifts worked per annum, 252·70.
<b>1,170,000</b>		

252·70 shifts multiplied by 16s. 6d. equals average wages per person per annum £209.

\* In October, 1920, the Miners received an immediate advance of 2/- per shift, to rise or fall in accordance with output after January 3rd, 1921.

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## 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
1919* .....	21·34	†18·55	16·06	1·89	19·44

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 1lb. Butter and 1lb. Margarine instead of 2lbs. Butter.

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

## FOR THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.

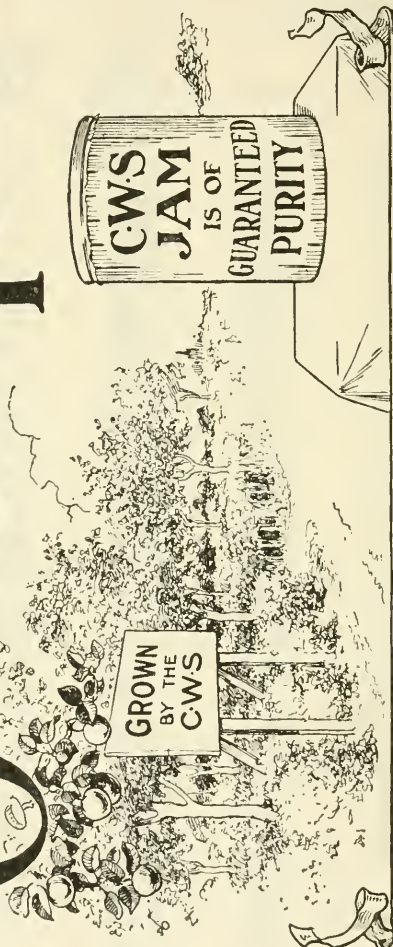
ON COST OF AVERAGE WEEKLY FAMILY ORDER  
BELOW FROM C.W.S. OFFICIAL RECORDS):—

AVERAGE PRICE PER LB.			Cost of Average Weekly Family Order of 21½lbs.	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
1·03	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
3·58	6·30	28·00	141·65	36·43	.....*1919

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, 1920, the average weekly cost figures at 165·92d.

# FROM ORCHARD TO TABLE.



C.W.S.  
JAM  
IS OF  
GUARANTEED  
PURITY

GROWN  
BY THE  
C.W.S.

C.W.S. JAM FACTORIES  
 MIDDLETON HULL READING ACTON  
 (LANCASHIRE) (YORKSHIRE) (BERKSHIRE) (MIDDLESEX)

## HOW IRELAND HELPS TO FEED GREAT BRITAIN.

AN idea of the importance to Great Britain of the Irish exports of farm produce, food and drink (says the *Financial Times*) can be gleaned from the fact that, with the exception of imports from America, the value of this produce imported into the United Kingdom greatly exceeds that of similar imports from the principal foreign countries and British possessions. For instance, in 1918 Great Britain imported produce from Ireland to the value of £78,254,000; from Canada, £61,474,000; Argentina, £51,236,000; British India, £38,342,000; Australia, £16,988,000; New Zealand, £16,033,000; Netherlands, £4,888,000; Denmark, £3,895,000; and the United States of America £251,742,000. These figures indicate with sufficient accuracy the importance of the part played by Ireland as a supplier of foodstuffs to Great Britain.

### AN INTERESTING COMPARISON.

Delving deeper into details it is interesting to compare the quantities and values of the chief articles of food and agricultural and dairy produce imported into the United Kingdom from foreign countries and British possessions with the corresponding exports from Ireland.

The value of cattle and beef exported from Ireland to Great Britain in 1918 exceeded the value imported from any other country. The Irish export amounted to a value of £23,716,000, the next largest import was from the United States of America, valued at £20,527,000. The import from Argentina, valued at £18,295,000, came third in order of magnitude. The Irish export of sheep and mutton, valued in 1918 at £2,504,000,

was also the third greatest, being exceeded by the imports from New Zealand, £5,077,000, and Argentina, £3,661,000. As regards the total value of bacon, hams, pork and live pigs, Ireland came third on the list with a value amounting to £6,119,000, as compared with £86,932,000 from the United States of America and £15,885,000 from Canada. The export of poultry from Ireland was much greater than that from any other country to the United Kingdom, Ireland exporting to Great Britain poultry to the value of £2,750,000, while the largest value of imports from other countries to the United Kingdom was from the United States, £173,000.

### BUTTER AND EGGS.

The Irish export of butter, 456,000 cwts., valued £5,437,000, was the second greatest in quantity and value; the export from Australia into the United Kingdom amounted to 540,000 cwts., valued at £6,723,000; that from New Zealand came third, value £4,599,000. The Irish export of eggs far exceeded, both as regards quantity and value, the imports from any other country, amounting to 8,770,000 gt. hundreds, valued at £15,603,000. The Irish export of potatoes, which amounted to 343,099 tons, valued at £1,908,000, was the largest import of potatoes into Great Britain. The quantity imported from the Channel Islands, though amounting to only 50,556 tons, was valued at £1,039,000, as their trade is chiefly in early potatoes. As regards oats, the export from Ireland (1,677,000 cwts.), was third, the United States (6,009,000 cwts.) and Canada (3,410,000 cwts.) being the largest exporters to the United Kingdom.

## LAND VALUES IN LONDON.

ACCORDING to a *Times* report (of June 9th, 1920), relating to land sales, in Cornhill, London, the land in one case realised £323,000 per annum per acre, and in the other £272,000 per annum per acre. These sums capitalised at 5 per cent. work out at £6,460,000 and £5,440,000 per acre respectively.

### AGRICULTURAL PRICES AND PRODUCE

(From the Ministry of Agriculture's Report for England and Wales, 1919).

IT will be seen that there has been a more or less continuous rise in the case of almost all produce over the whole period stated below, though cereals, potatoes, fruit, poultry and eggs, wool, and beans and peas have fluctuated somewhat.

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN THE PRICE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE DURING THE YEARS 1914-1919 AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE OF THE THREE YEARS 1911-1913.\*

	Percentage Increase or Decrease on 1911-13.					
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Cattle .....	+ 6	+ 36	+ 58	+ 105	+ 111	+ 132
Milk .....	+ 3	+ 17	+ 57	+ 91	+ 151	+ 200
Sheep .....	+ 13	+ 30	+ 57	+ 97	+ 110	+ 130
Pigs .....	+ 6	+ 29	+ 67	+ 126	+ 166	+ 176
Hay .....	- 23	+ 6	+ 52	+ 57	+ 87	+ 157
Wheat .....	+ 7	+ 62	+ 79	+ 132	+ 123	+ 123
Barley .....	- 4	+ 31	+ 88	+ 128	+ 108	+ 167
Potatoes .....	- 15	+ 9	+ 88	+ 137	+ 79	+ 135
Poultry and Eggs ....	- 2	+ 17	+ 44	+ 83	+ 184	+ 159
Fruit .....	- 16	- 5	+ 38	+ 54	+ 311	+ 218
Wool .....	+ 9	+ 59	+ 46	+ 62	+ 74	+ 208
Butter .....	+ 1	+ 17	+ 36	+ 77	+ 109	+ 115
Oats .....	+ 5	+ 52	+ 68	+ 151	+ 149	+ 164
Hops .....	- 54	- 32	- 19	- 9	+ 93	+ 113
Cheese .....	+ 4	+ 24	+ 49	+ 103	+ 133	+ 169
Beans and Peas .....	+ 8	+ 41	+ 70	+ 170	+ 377	+ 219
Vegetables .....	+ 8	+ 24	+ 54	+ 138	+ 157	+ 157

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AS COMPARED WITH THE THREE YEARS 1911-1913.

Year .....	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Percentage Increase 1		27	60	101	132	158

#### DAIRY PRODUCE SUPPLIES.

The following Table shows the yield per cow and the total milk production in Great Britain as estimated up to 1918 by the Committee on Milk Production :—

#### MILK PRODUCTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Estimated Annual Yield per Cow in Milk.	Annual Production, less Milk used for Calf-rearing.
	Gallons.	Million Gallons.
1909-13 .....	560	1,231
1914.....	575	1,253
1915.....	550	1,241
1916.....	525	1,164
1917.....	495	1,086
1918.....	436	955
1919.....	470	1,085

With the increase in the price of milk the production of butter and cheese at home undoubtedly declined, but no statistics are available to measure its extent. According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Food the total consumption of butter in the United Kingdom in 1919 was 180,000 tons, and of cheese 145,000 tons, of which 58 per cent. and 30 per cent. respectively were home produced. The place of butter was taken during the war to a very large extent by margarine, the production of which in the United Kingdom rose from about 115,000 tons in 1915 to 320,000 tons in 1919.

British butter was controlled in price throughout the year at 2s. 3d. per lb. for butter sold in bulk. Cheese was requisitioned by the Government, the price to producers varying from month to month and ranging from 1s. 5d. to 2s. 2d. per lb. for ordinary whole milk cheese. The average price of British butter at the markets from which returns are received, which include certain markets at which butter is sold at retail prices direct from the producer to the consumer, was in 1919 2s. 5d. per lb. against 2s. 4½d. in 1918, and the average wholesale price of Cheddar cheese was 150s. per cwt. in 1919 against 163s. 6d. in 1918.

MEAT SUPPLY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The following is the estimate of the meat supply of the United Kingdom for a period of years as given by Mr. J. B. Guild, of the Ministry of Food, in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society.

SUPPLY OF MEAT, UNITED KINGDOM.  
(In thousands of tons.)

Years (ended May 31st).	Beef and Veal.		Mutton and Lamb.		Pig Meat.	
	Home produced.	Im-ported.	Home produced.	Im-ported.	Home produced.	Im-ported.
Average 1909-10 to						
1913-14 .....	749	470	320	269	385	298
1914-15 .....	837	492	283	238	405	367
1915-16 .....	749	451	282	207	395	450
1916-17 .....	823	415	304	170	350	446
1917-18 .....	721	474	281	112	205	447
1918-19 .....	620	460	209	129	175	524

It will be seen that according to these figures the home production of meat decreased very considerably in 1918-19. The increased supply of feeding stuffs now available will no doubt enable farmers to increase the live weight of their stock to approximately its former level and the decline shown above will, it is hoped, prove to be a merely temporary outcome of the war.

AGRICULTURAL WEALTH OF CANADA IN 1919.

The gross value of the agricultural wealth of Canada in the year 1919, which has been estimated by the Dominion Government at 7,379,299,000 dollars, is made up, states H.M. Trade Commissioner at Winnipeg, as follows :—

	Dollars.
Agricultural production .....	1,975,841,000
Value of farm lands .....	2,792,229,000
Buildings .....	927,548,000
Implements .....	387,079,000
Farm live stock .....	1,296,602,000



# AGRICULTURAL RETURNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1920.

## Produce of Crops.

ESTIMATED TOTAL PRODUCE AND YIELD PER ACRE OF THE CORN, PULSE, AND HAY CROPS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE YEAR 1920, WITH COMPARISONS FOR 1919, AND THE AVERAGE YIELD PER ACRE.

Crops.	Estimated Total Produce.		Acreage.		Average Estimated Yield per Acre.	
	1920.	1919.	1920.	1919.	1920.	1919.
ENGLAND AND WALES.	<i>Quarters.</i>	<i>Quarters.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
Wheat .....	6,677,000	7,976,000	1,874,634	2,221,195	28·5	28·7
Barley .....	6,336,000	5,474,000	1,637,166	1,509,716	31·0	29·0
Oats .....	10,760,000	11,417,000	2,264,635	2,563,733	38·0	35·6
Mixed Corn ..	605,000	622,000	146,346	142,235	33·1	35·0
Beans .....	956,000	855,000	246,335	273,941	31·1	25·0
Peas .....	444,000	441,000	129,325	132,249	27·4	26·7
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>			<i>Cwts.</i>	<i>Cwts.</i>
Seeds' Hay* ..	2,588,000	1,769,000	1,674,512	1,501,253	30·9	23·6
Meadow Hay†	5,650,000	3,417,000	4,395,258	4,170,509	25·7	16·4

\* Hay from Clover, Sainfoin, and Grasses under rotation. † Hay from Permanent Grass.

## ESTIMATE OF ACREAGE UNDER CROPS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1920; AND COMPARISON WITH 1919.

Distribution.	1920.	1919.	Increase (+) Decrease (-)	
	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Arable Land .....	12,020,110	12,308,870	-288,760	2·3
Permanent Grass* .....	14,499,230	14,439,080	+ 60,150	0·4
Total Acreage under all Crops and Grass .....	26,519,340	26,747,950	-228,610	0·9

\* Excluding Mountain and Heath Land and for grazing.

The estimated wheat acreage in 1920 figures at 1,887,000, as compared with 2,221,200 acres in 1919 and 2,556,600 acres in 1918.

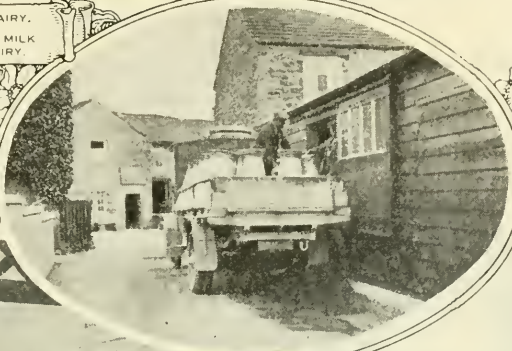
The estimated potato acreage figures at 544,300, as compared with 475,380 acres in 1919, and 633,830 acres in 1918.

## ESTIMATE OF LIVE STOCK IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1920; AND COMPARISON WITH 1919.

	1920.	1919.		per cent.
Horses .....	1,365,940	1,386,820	20,880 decrease	1·5
Cattle .....	5,546,900	6,194,540	647,640 decrease	10·5
Sheep .....	13,378,970	15,124,310	1,745,340 decrease	11·5
Pigs .....	1,994,740	1,798,470	196,270 increase	10·9

# C.W.S. CHEESE MAKERS

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## THE FUTURE OF BRITISH SUPPLIES. MAKING SURE OF FOOD AND MATERIAL.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

THE war over, we find ourselves shorter of commodities than ever before. It is not merely that things are dear, but that in some cases they are not to be had at any price. Important industries are held up by a lack of materials amounting to partial famine. This is bad enough, but it is worse that so many people seem to think that the shortages are wholly the consequence of war and that somehow or other they will right themselves. If that impression prevails, we shall, in the lifetime of many of those now living, encounter deprivations of a most severe character. It is the purpose of this article to direct attention to the essential facts of the supply situation.



SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

Through all the unrecorded and recorded history of mankind, extending as it probably does to much more than one hundred thousand years, down to a period which is so recent as to be almost a matter of yesterday, men consumed very little of many of the materials which we now regard as necessary to our comfort and common objects of civilisation. During almost the entire existence of the human species the quantity of metals, of fibres, of wood, of skins, consumed was exceedingly small and, moreover, there were comparatively few consumers. It was not until the eighteenth century that, through the brilliant discoveries of gifted men, the world became possessed of the means to produce commodities on a large scale. The discovery of steam; the smelting of iron in enormous quantities with coal fuel; the power to get coal through steam which, in its turn, meant the unlocking of enormous natural resources; meant that men were at last, after ages of industrial ignorance, dowered with gigantic means to produce. Let us observe what this means. *Power to produce means power to consume.* So, since the latter part of the eighteenth century, in a period which is a very short chapter in the history of men, the world has got to work on a big scale.

### THE WASTEFUL EXPLOITATION OF NATURE.

The powers thus acquired through the genius of a quite limited number of individuals were, and are, exercised irresponsibly by agents caring nothing for posterity. Armed with the railway and machine power, man has penetrated to all parts of the world, and wherever he has encountered easily won stores of material he has got them as

quickly as possible, with the object of gaining immediate wealth. The wastefulness of the process has been beyond all telling. Whether it was coal, or iron, or copper, or zinc, or tin, or timber, or mineral oil, or virgin fertility, the stores of Nature, accumulated during untold ages, have been raided as though they were illimitable. We have not realised, and we do not realise, what we are doing.

Take the matter of coal. For centuries vegetation accumulated. The accumulation was buried and carbonised and stored up for thousands of years. Thus Nature provided an amazing store of fuel, of energy, of power to do work. This marvel is ignorantly tackled by careless and unscientific men. They sink a shaft, very often in the wrong place, and proceed to get out that part of the coal which they can most easily win. The rest is re-buried, as wastefully as the lives are used in opening and working the mines. As a result, a great deal of the coal is sacrificed, never to be won except by methods too expensive to employ. Listen to Professor W. W. Watts, LL.D., speaking to the Geological Society of London on February 16th, 1912:—

In the past, it has frequently been the practice to neglect the poorer seams in order to get the better ones more expeditiously, although by this practice the poorer seams are in many cases irretrievably lost. . . . The haste with which coal in this country was taken out in the early days of coal mining, the rush to get that which was easiest and cheapest, the imperfection of the early machinery, and methods of coal getting, all have combined to render many of the older areas practically inaccessible, although in many cases, for the reasons just stated, very considerable amounts of coal, recoverable by modern methods, have been left in them.

#### UNSCIENTIFIC USE OF THE WORLD.

To-day, things are not so bad in regard to coal as they were, but they are still very bad. Here, as in America, an enormous amount of coal is wasted every year in the mines. And when it is got out of the mines it is used so wastefully that, according to the Coal Commission of 1905, 5lbs. are used to do the work of 2lbs.

Or take the case of timber. Timber is a very slow crop. If you plant it to-day, it will take forty years to yield a result. Yet men all over the world have attacked virgin forests and squandered them as though they could be quickly replaced. Only in a few parts of the world is there practised the scientific conservation of timber supplies. A year's issue of a single popular newspaper consumes a little forest, and no one stops to think that that forest will not quickly grow again.

Thus, also, with mineral oil. People who ought to know better, talk about mineral oil being a substitute for coal. It is a remark typical of the general ignorance which prevails among men of things which nearly concern them. The mineral oil in the world is so limited in quantity that in the lifetime of many of those now living it will have disappeared. In all probability thirty years will see the end of mineral oil in North America. Thus also it is with the world's most easily mined ores, whether of iron, or copper, or zinc, or lead, or tin. The lapse of only twenty or thirty years will see the best mines worked

out, and then the world will find itself confronted with the problem of utilising low-grade ores.

Thus, also, it is with the virgin fertility of the world. In modern times we have rapidly ploughed over rich deposits of soil which needed no manure. This is not a process of cultivation but of quickly using up soils which it has taken ages to prepare for us. That also is a process which soon comes to an end. When the virgin fertility has disappeared it becomes necessary to farm scientifically and at much greater expense.

The effect of the unscientific use of the world had begun to appear before the war began. Our own coal, for example, was getting more difficult to obtain year by year. The enormous growth of population throughout the world, combined with the spread of education and the desire for a higher standard of life, confronted the world with a new problem which was yet an old one. Malthus, it will be remembered, not realising the possibilities of the machine age, saw men multiplying more rapidly than the means of subsistence; he did not realise the possibilities of scientific work. In our later day it is not necessarily true that population will outrun the means of subsistence; but it may come to be true, if men do not realise that the development of the world and the conservation of supplies cannot be left, as in the past, to blind chance and to the operation of the forces of greed.

#### BRITAIN'S DEPENDENCY ON OVERSEAS PRODUCTS.

The case of the United Kingdom is a special one. Modern British wealth is a poor thing at the best, for it has merely consisted of veneering a mass of poor people with a thin layer of the comfortable and the rich. For what it is, however, British wealth had been built up, not upon native supplies, but upon overseas supplies. The process, broadly, was one of producing with the aid of our fine coal supply and of exchanging part of our production for the materials and foods which we could not produce ourselves.

We have only to consider the case for a moment to remind ourselves how much we lack of essential things. There are the coal mines, which are amongst the best in the world, and there is very fair iron, but for the rest we are very poorly found. Here is a list of the metals produced *from British ores* in a normal year before the war:—

#### *British Metal Production from British Ores Only.*

	Metric tons (2,204lbs.)
Iron .....	4,523,000
Lead .....	19,000
Copper .....	300
Zinc .....	6,000
Tin .....	5,000

It will be realised from these figures that if we had to depend on our own resources we should be a very poor country indeed. It is only by getting metals, and organic and inorganic fibres and other

materials from abroad in great quantities that we can sustain great industries. This is true not only of inorganic things like copper, but of organic things such as cotton. And it relates not only to exotic productions such as rubber, but to materials such as wool, bristles, or leather, of which we produce certain small quantities. If we gave ourselves up entirely to the breeding of sheep and quite neglected corn, we should not have enough wool for our purposes, nor would the wool be of sufficient variety. In short, oversea materials we must have.

But let us think what the future has in store in this connection. The world is going to make enormous progress during this present century. During the nineteenth century we lost the position of being the workshop of the world, which arose from our being the first country to exploit coal, and a few other countries rose to industrial eminence, notably America and Germany. In the twentieth century there will be an all-round industrial development, so that instead of being able, as in the past, to call for materials upon a world which neglected to use them, we shall find ourselves confronted with a world many parts of which will be demanding more and more materials.

To what does all this lead? The answer is that the time has gone by when the United Kingdom can afford to leave the matter of its oversea supplies to irresponsible agencies. We must take thought for the future, and, indeed, to go no further, the present situation urgently demands our care. It will not do to be dependent upon chance supplies from abroad; they must be secured in advance. How, then, to secure them?

#### WHAT WE NEED.

We cannot create ideal conditions in the world. We are not the masters of all the world. We cannot compel other countries to conserve or to develop their resources. It happens, however, that we are the head and front of a great Empire, which covers a large proportion of the world's finest land. Within the Empire at least, and that is saying a great deal, we can, by concert with our self-governing Dominions, and with those territories which are directly under our governance, take measures for the development and conservation of supplies. The only thing we have done in this connection worth mentioning is the establishment of the Dominions Royal Commission. What we need is a permanent Economic Council of the Empire, erected for the common good of all its citizens. To understand possibilities, let us have regard to two important materials in the concrete—cotton and wheat.

As to cotton, we are now chiefly dependent upon the United States, and, as we know, cotton is short and dear, so that a poor man in 1920 has had to pay 10s. to get a cotton shirt worth buying. That is the fault of those who went before us, and it immediately and acutely illustrates my point. How many people in Britain realise, I wonder, that cotton is not indigenous in the Southern States of America?

Cotton was a foreign plant in America, and its cultivation in the States not a natural thing but an artificial thing. Britain possessed vast territories quite as suitable for cotton growing, but she neglected the subject, although cotton was one of her staple industries. Thus, in the matter of cotton, we can help ourselves ; we can safeguard the future ; equally, if we like, we can, by neglect, bring our posterity to ruin.

Or consider wheat. In our own country we can do much more with wheat if we care to prosecute universal scientific farming instead of leaving the subject to persons who are sometimes very intelligent and sometimes very stupid. Outside this country there are splendid wheat lands in the Empire, which are not yet by any means fully developed. Such a Supreme Economic Council as I have suggested would make it its business year by year to plan out wheat developments, to safeguard the bread supply of the Empire's inhabitants. What we now do is at once amusing and serious. We leave the thing to chance, and every year, after the world's crops are sown, we make rough estimates of the acreage and begin to wonder whether the crop will be good or bad. If the thing turns out well, we rejoice ; if it turns out badly, we deplore the situation. Surely that is a process unworthy of intelligent men in a scientific age.

Better even than a Council of Empire would be a World Council to secure supplies, and that should be our final aim. The League of Nations should become not only an institution in prevention of war, but an instrument to safeguard the economic future of all the peoples. The nations of the world are in the truest sense dependent upon each other, and not until they are linked together co-operatively for production and exchange, will men realise in common citizenship of the world the greatest material and moral satisfaction.

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## RESEARCH WORK IN BRITISH COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has appointed a Committee consisting of

The Rt. Hon. Lord Chalmers, G.C.B. (Chairman),  
 Sir H. Birchenough, Bt., K.C.M.G.,  
 Sir J. Rose Bradford, K.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S.,  
 Sir W. Fletcher, K.B.E., F.R.S.,  
 Professor E. B. Poulton, F.R.S.,  
 Sir D. Prain, C.M.G., C.I.E., F.R.S.,  
 Sir H. Read, K.C.M.G., C.B.,  
 Sir S. Stockman,  
 Sir A. Strachan, K.B.E., F.R.S.,  
 Mr. A. B. Acheson, Colonial Office (Secretary) :

to consider and report what steps can be taken to secure the assistance of the Universities of this country in carrying out the research work which is essential to the protection of the inhabitants of the Colonies and Protectorates from disease and to the successful development of their veterinary, agricultural, and mineral resources.



## CANNED FOODS

These should be carefully handled. Avoid storing in damp places or in a room where steam enters, but store in a dry place which is not subject to great heat nor to extreme cold.

Salmon and Sardines get better by keeping, but Crab and Lobsters do not.

Fruits lose their flavour if they have been canned too long.

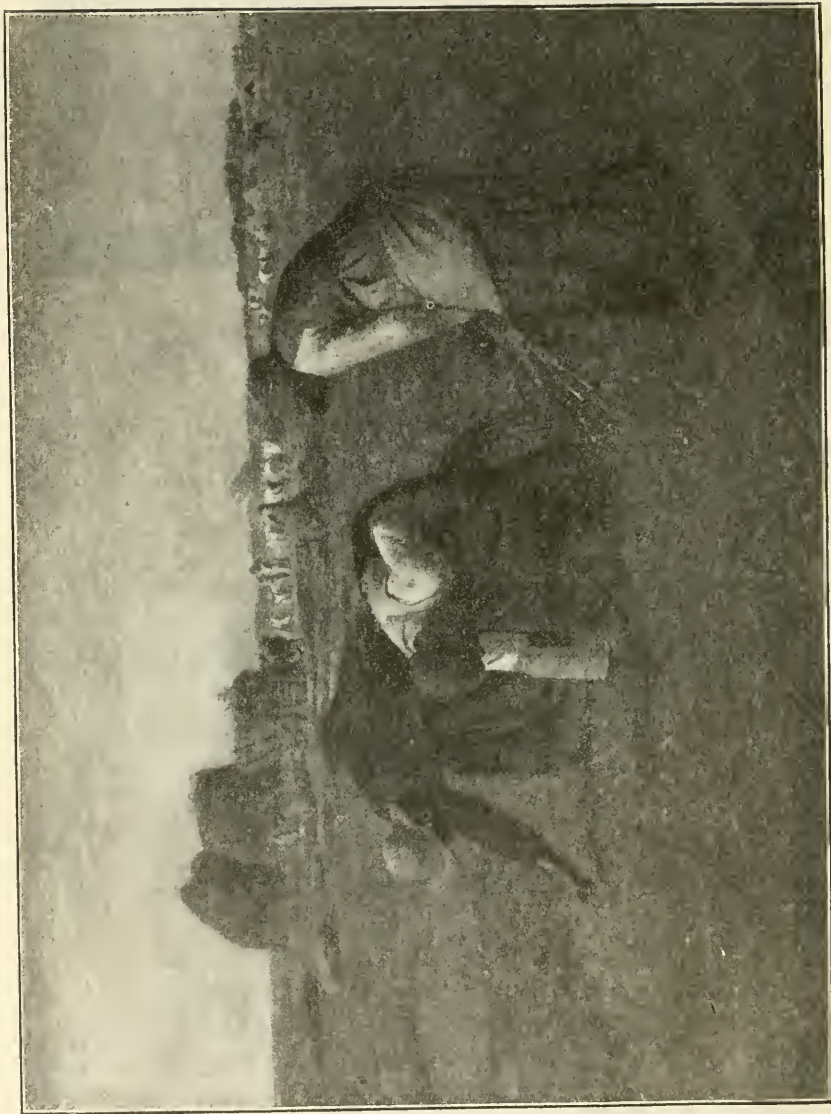
The "BEST" is the cheapest from every point of view, but small purses have to be catered for; hence lower grades at less prices.

The following brands are owned and controlled by the C.W.S. :—

ACHILLES	CHECK	GENESTA
ACSALA	CIVIS	LOKREEL
ADONIS	CRYSTAL CROSS	WHEATSHEAF
AJAX	EQUITY	

**Ask for these at all Co-operative Stores**





W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

THE GLEANERS.

J. F. Millet.

## STATISTICS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

**T**HROUGH the medium of the Co-operative Union's Statistics we behold Industrial Co-operation evermore occupying new ground and advancing with the force of a tide which knows no recedence. All this is proclaimed by the array of figures which every year constitute a new record and register a higher level than ever before. In this regard the figures for 1919 are not only expressive but impressive as well, revealing as they do a collective membership exceeding 4,000,000, share and loan capital to the approximate total of £100,000,000, a collective turnover amounting to £325,000,000, an army of employees mustering 190,000 in round figures, and a wages and salaries bill to the tune of £21,000,000.

As to the advance in 1919 that is specifically denoted by the increase of 287,000 in membership, the increase of nearly £18,500,000 in share and loan capital, the increase of £76,000,000 (in round figures) in sales, the increase of net surplus by over £4,000,000, and the increase of 23,000 in the number of employees combined with an advance in wages and salaries to the amount of close on £6,230,000. Worked out in percentages the increases figure as follows: In membership, 7 per cent.; in share and loan capital, 23 per cent.; in sales, 30 per cent.; in net surplus, 23 per cent.; in employees, 14 per cent.; and in wages and salaries, 42 per cent.

As to the march of the movement since the pre-war year 1913, the increases shown by the comparative figures for the period 1913-19 are sufficiently indicative, showing as they do that the membership of the Union has increased by 1,170,000, and that share and loan capital has increased by £44,000,000; while the increase in the turnover amounts to £195,000,000, and the increase in net surplus to over £7,500,000. Co-operative employees furthermore have increased in number by 44,000 and odd and the wages and salaries by £12,500,000

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION STATISTICS FOR 1919.

Class.	Number of Societies.	Number of Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Number of Employees.	Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
Distributive Societies	1,357	4,131,477	74,411,206	198,930,437	20,390,833	130,621	14,219,320
"    Federations	5	61	46,512	153,735	10,237	33	3,757
Productive Societies	95	39,331	2,299,565	7,047,147	487,282	11,075	1,232,127
Supply Associations ..	3	8,351	472,089	2,238,312	74,405	1,732	252,292
Special Societies ....	4	736	82,694	954,234	52,808	1,154	105,535
Wholesale Societies ...	3	2,063	21,489,065	115,457,164	793,998	42,920	5,149,138
<b>Totals, 1919 ..</b>	<b>1,467</b>	<b>4,182,019</b>	<b>98,801,231</b>	<b>324,781,079</b>	<b>21,809,563</b>	<b>187,535</b>	<b>20,962,169</b>
"    1918 ..	1,474	3,894,999	80,473,150	248,983,685	17,702,567	164,383	14,734,284
"    1917 ..	1,478	3,835,376	69,355,148	224,913,795	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	165,034,195	17,003,956	155,379	9,928,926
"    1914 ..	1,511	3,188,140	57,809,566	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	144,154	8,491,448

approximately. In other words the membership since 1913 has increased 19 per cent., share and loan capital by 80 per cent., sales by 150 per cent., the net surplus by 53 per cent., the number of employees by 31 per cent., and wages salaries by 147 per cent.

#### RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.

Turning next to the component parts of the Co-operative Union, we begin with the 1,357 Retail Distributive Societies which constitute the Unions' most salient feature and which in 1919 had a collective membership approaching 4,200,000 and collective share and loan capital to the amount of nearly £74,500,000, whilst the total sales reached £200,000,000 (in round figures), and the net surplus to £20,000,000 and over. Collectively also the retail societies gave employment to over 130,000 persons and paid over £14,200,000 in wages and salaries. What the figures are for the three geographical areas is shown in the following table :—

THE DISTRIBUTION OF DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1919.

	Number of Societies.	Membership.	Share and Loan Capital	Sales.	Net Surplus.
			£	£	£
England & Wales	1,051	3,477,056	62,197,822	155,551,726	14,933,244
„ „ (1918)	1,055	3,239,702	51,109,501	121,174,847	12,319,269
Scotland . . . . .	258	617,069	11,735,613	41,544,195	5,355,709
„ (1918)	261	575,385	9,947,149	32,654,903	4,098,605
Ireland . . . . .	48	37,352	477,871	1,834,516	101,880
„ (1918)	48	31,444	338,058	1,328,213	77,771
Total (1919)	1,357	4,131,477	74,411,306	198,930,437	20,390,833
„ (1918)	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645

As regards the progress made in 1919 by the co-operative retail societies in the United Kingdom collectively, this is shown by the following figures of increase, viz. : Increase in membership, 284,946 ; in share and loan capital, £13,016,598 ; in sales, £44,772,474 ; in net surplus, £3,895,188 ; in the number of employees, 10,992 ; and in collective wages and salaries, £3,972,388—that is to say, 7 per cent. increase in membership, 21 per cent. increase in share and loan capital, 29 per cent. increase in sales, 24 per cent. increase in net surplus, 9 per cent. increase in the number of employees, and 39 per cent. increase in wages and salaries.

Following on this, the development during the last six years, as shown in the following table, is interesting to note. The table shows that in the period 1913-1919 the aggregate development expressed itself in the following increases : Increase in membership, 1,252,829, or 43½ per cent. ; increase in share and loan capital, £31,809,541, or 75 per cent. ; increase in collective sales, £115,340,063, or 138 per

cent. ; increase in net surplus, £7,539,530, or 59 per cent. ; increase in the number of employees, 27,169, or 26 per cent. ; increase in wages and salaries, £8,315,377, or 140 per cent.

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1913-19.

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	83,590,374	12,851,303	103,452	5,903,943
1914..	1,390	3,054,297	46,317,939	87,964,229	13,561,825	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
1919..	1,357	4,131,477	74,411,306	198,930,437	20,390,833	130,621	14,219,320

In 1919 the total reserve funds amounted to £4,897,259 as compared with £4,343,272 in 1918 ; the value of the stock-in-trade equalled £30,955,504 as compared with £23,488,587 in 1918 ; the value of the land, buildings, machinery and fixed stock amounted to £16,933,955 as against £15,247,115 in 1918 ; while the total investments amounted to £40,632,178 as compared with £34,202,902 for the previous year.

But if these aggregate figures serve to produce a feeling of optimism the process of comparative analysis has a modifying effect. Thus if we ask ourselves the straightforward question : Have members' purchases, on the average, kept pace with the rising price scale, we find that the figures give us a negative answer. For example :—

	£	s.	d.
In 1914 the average purchases per member amounted to .....	28	16	0
In 1919 the average purchases per member amounted to .....	48	3	0
Increase .....	£19	7	0

The increase amounts to 67 per cent.

But between July, 1914, and July and August, 1919, food prices had advanced by 109 and 117 per cent., and the cost of living in general figured on the same scale. But if we take the rise of prices in 1919 at the convenient figure of 110 per cent., then if the average purchases per member had advanced on the same scale they would have amounted to £60. 9s. 7d., or £12. 6s. 7d. per member more than they actually did. The abnormal cost of living, in fact, is enforcing economies.

PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES  
(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALERS).

The Productive Societies (exclusive of the Wholesalers), numbering 95 in 1919, had a total membership of nearly 40,000, as well as £2,300,000 in share and loan capital, while their sales exceeded £7,000,000, their net surplus approximated to £490,000, their employees numbered over 11,000, and the wages and salaries paid exceeded

£1,200,000. As compared with 1918 this means an increase of 1,938 in membership, or 5 per cent., an increase of £325,086 in share and loan capital, or 16 per cent.; an increase in sales to the amount of £1,333,106, or 23 per cent.; an increase of £88,680 in net surplus, or 22 per cent.; an increase of 1,330 in the number of employees, or 14 per cent.; and an increase of £319,342 in wages and salaries, or 35 per cent.

The comparative figures for 1913-19 are shown in the following table:—

PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES  
(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES).

Year.	Number of Societies.	Members-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
1919....	95	39,331	2,299,565	7,047,147	487,282	11,075	1,232,127

Thus, for the period 1913-19 the figures above show the following increases: In membership, 4,669, or 13 per cent.; in share and loan capital, £598,532, or 35 per cent.; in sales, £3,336,913, or 90 per cent.; in net surplus, £234,268, or 93 per cent.; in employees, 633, or 6 per cent.; in wages and salaries, £635,747, or 107 per cent.

SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS.

The figures for the Supply Associations though showing an increase in 1919 over the previous year, yet fail to show any development as a whole when the period 1913-19 is taken into consideration.

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
1919 ..	3	8,351	472,089	2,238,312	74,405	1,732	252,292

\* Decrease in membership is accounted for by the omission of the Agricultural and Horticultural Association (in liquidation), and also by the omission from the membership of the Civil Service Supply Association of the ticket holders.

† Decrease in trade is due to the taking over of the Canteen and Mess Society by the Government.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES.

As indicated on a previous page, the three Co-operative Wholesale Societies, collectively, had in 1919 a society membership of 2,063, and share and loan capital to the amount of £21,489,065 ; while the collective sales figured at £115,457,164, the net surplus at £793,998, the number of employees at 42,920, and the total wages and salaries at £5,149,138. These figures signify an increase on those of 1918 to the following extent : In society membership, 31, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; in share and loan capital, £4,929,367, or 30 per cent. ; in sales, £29,855,477, or 35 per cent. ; in net surplus, £77,940, or 10 per cent. ; in the number of employees, 10,340, or 32 per cent. ; in wages and salaries, £1,805,382, or 54 per cent.

If we take the English and Scottish Wholesales (apart from the Irish Agricultural Wholesale), and compare the figures of 1919 with those of 1913, we find the following increases : In society membership, 627, or 44 per cent. ; in share and loan capital, £11,471,887, or  $114\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; in sales, £75,121,155, or 186 per cent. ; in the number of employees, 13,241, or 45 per cent. ; in the amount of wages and salaries, £3,343,486, or 185 per cent. On the other hand the net surplus shows a reduction to the amount of £182,851, equivalent to a decrease of 19 per cent.

## THE ENGLISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

Taking now the three Wholesales separately and consecutively, we begin with the English Co-operative Wholesale, whose recorded figures for 1919 show the organisation to comprise 1,209 affiliated societies, to possess £15,772,555 in share and loan capital, to have a turnover of £89,349,341 and a net surplus of £248,168; and to employ 32,205 workpeople, &c., at an expenditure for the year of £4,042,357. Compared with 1918 the above figures signify an increase of £3,875,614 in share and loan capital, or  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; an increase of £24,181,358 in turnover, or 37 per cent. ; an increase of £87,630 in net surplus, or  $54\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; an increase of 8,105 in the number of employees, or  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; while the increase in the sum total of wages and salaries paid amounted to £1,513,220, equivalent to a 60 per cent. increase (less an inconsiderable fraction) compared with the amount paid in 1918.

If we take the figures for 1919 and compare them with those for 1913 the increases work out as follows : Increase—in affiliated societies, 41, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; increase in share and loan capital, £9,451,792, or  $149\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; increase in turnover, £57,977,342, or practically 185 per cent. ; increase in the number of employees, 11,211, or a little over 53 per cent. ; increase in the total of wages and salaries, £2,659,103, or 192 per cent.

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	1,983,809
1918.....	1,200	11,896,941	65,167,960	160,538	24,100	2,529,137
1919.....	1,209	15,772,555	89,349,318	248,168	32,205	4,042,357

*Finance.*—It may be noted that in addition to the share and loan capital the C.W.S. has reserve and insurance funds, &c., which in 1919 brought the financial resources of the Society up to £23,640,717.

*Production.*—In 1919 the C.W.S. Productive Works Supplies figured at £25,885,030, as compared with £17,729,568 in 1918, £18,581,555 in 1917, £16,263,500 in 1916, and £12,812,956 in 1915. The increase of C.W.S. productions in 1919 amounted to £8,487,687, or 48 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. above the amount for the year previous.

#### THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

In 1919 the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale embraced 266 society members and possessed £5,518,210 in share and loan capital; its wholesale distributive trade amounted to £24,789,040, and its net surplus to £536,662; it employed 10,523 persons and paid in wages and salaries £1,081,853, plus £10,024 in bonus. As compared with 1918 the above figures signify the following increases: In share and loan capital, £971,914; in trade, £5,269,555; in the number of employees, 2,199; in wages and salaries, £284,343, and in bonus £676. On the other hand the net surplus shows a decrease of £11,331.

Comparing 1919 with 1913, we find increases to the following extent: £1,821,795 in share and loan capital, £15,825,007 in trade, £195,932 in net surplus, 1,838 in the number of employees, and £676,038 in wages and salaries; decrease in bonus £6,559.

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
1919 ....	266	5,518,210	24,789,040	536,662	10,523	1,081,853	10,024

*Finance.*—In addition to share and loan of £5,518,210, the S.C.W.S. had reserve funds amounting to £1,237,145. The resources of the S.C.W.S. in 1919 thus amounted to £6,755,355.

*Production.*—In 1919 the output of S.C.W.S. products amounted to £7,823,535 as compared with £5,492,528 in 1918, £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.

Year.	Membership.	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	116,461	914,242	7,527	156	17,109
1919.....	588	*198,300	1,318,806	9,168	192	24,928

\* Plus Reserve Funds of £13,007.

## CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES IN 1919 AND THE FIVE PREVIOUS YEARS.

Year.	Total Workers.	Engaged in				Wages.	
		Production.		Distribution..		Productive.	Distributive.
		Number.	Per cent. of Total.	Number.	Per cent. of Total.		
						£	£
1914.....	148,264	63,275	42·68	84,989	57·32	3,984,783	5,228,681
1915.....	155,379	66,486	42·79	88,893	57·21	4,269,617	5,659,909
1916.....	158,715	62,401	39·32	96,314	60·68	4,546,874	6,291,201
1917.....	162,503	61,404	37·79	101,099	62·21	4,876,614	7,210,239
1918.....	164,383	62,401	37·96	101,982	62·04	5,915,254	8,819,030
1919.....	187,535	78,483	41·85	109,052	58·15	8,797,891	12,164,278

By taking the total of employees in connection with the collective membership of retail distributive societies, we find in what proportion the movement is employing its own members. The percentage works out as follows: 1914, 4·85 per cent.; 1915, 4·76 per cent.; 1916, 4·51 per cent.; 1917, 4·29 per cent.; 1918, 4·27 per cent.; 1919, 4·53 per cent.



## CO-OPERATIVE DIARY, 1920.

## JANUARY.

3. Quarterly Branch and Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S.
- Elections to the C.W.S. Board announced as follows: *Manchester District*: W. E. Dudley (re-elected); John Hawkins elected to fill the seat vacated by Robert Holt in accordance with the age limit. *Newcastle District*: John Oliver (re-elected); *London District*: H. T. Youngs (re-elected). *Auditor*: N. H. Cooper (previously cashier and accountant to the Co-operative Union) elected as successor to T. Wood (C.W.S. auditor for 25 years), retiring in accordance with the age limit.
10. General Quarterly C.W.S. Meeting in Manchester. Directorial declaration in favour of de-control of food-stuffs.
17. Press announcement of the decision of the Allies to open up trading relations with Russia through the Co-operative organisations.
- Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union in Manchester. Question of food control discussed.
- Re-union and social gathering of ex-service employees at Balloon Street.
22. Mr. Robert Holt (C.W.S. director, retired) entertained at Balloon Street by C.W.S. Directors and officials.
23. C.W.S. motor ketch "Arlette" blown ashore on Walney Island, Barrow. Captain and crew get safely ashore.

## FEBRUARY.

4. Leeds Society, by a majority of 61 votes, decides in favour of federation with the C.W.S.
11. Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union.
12. By-election at Paisley. The Co-operative candidate (J. M. Biggar) opposed both by the ex-premier (H. H. Asquith) and a Coalition Unionist (J. A. D. MacKean), comes second on the poll with 11,902 votes, an increase of 4,466 on the number obtained at the General Election.
- 12—13. Special Co-operative Congress (held at Blackpool), over 900 delegates present. Alderman Hayward presiding. Report of the Survey Committee adopted with certain amendments. Congress decides (*inter alia*) for a permanent full-time executive of the Co-operative Union and for a reconstruction of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

## MARCH.

13. Quarterly Meeting of the S.C.W.S. in Glasgow.
- Annual Meeting of the Co-operative Productive Federation.

13. Income Tax Commission's Report recommends "that the profits of co-operative societies, except such as are actually returned to the purchasers, should be taxed." The proposal evokes a storm of protest in the co-operative movement and an organised campaign.
27. Press announcement of the C.W.S. purchase of the Buckfastleigh woollen and worsted textile mills in Devonshire at a cost of £270,000.
- Stockport by-election. Labour and Co-operation represented respectively by Sir Leo Chiozza-Money and Mr. S. F. Perry, who received respectively 16,042 and 14,434 votes, defeated by a combination represented by W. Greenwood (C.U.) and H. Fildes (C.L.) who were elected by 22,847 and 22,386 votes respectively.

## APRIL.

3. Quarterly Branch and Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S. Condemnation of the Income Tax Report's recommendations for taxation of co-operative societies.
- C.W.S. election results: *Manchester District*: T. E. Moorhouse (re-elected) and G. W. Brooks; *Newcastle District*: T. Liddle; *London District*: H. J. A. Wilkins. *New Auditor*: W. Bentley, as successor to Mr. Baylis.
- 4—5. Annual Delegate Meeting of the A.U.C.E. held in Manchester. Mr. J. Jagger presiding.
10. General Quarterly C.W.S. Meeting in Manchester. Motion for observing May 1st as a holiday defeated.
- Retiry of T. Killon (President of the C.W.S.) on grounds of health; and of T. E. Shotton (director) and T. J. Baylis (auditor), both in accordance with the age-limit rule. *New President of the C.W.S.*: G. Thorpe.
- Wrecking of the Kilcommon Co-operative Creamery in Ireland by soldiers and police. Damage over £500.
- 12—13. First post-war meeting (at Geneva) of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative alliance, Sir W. Maxwell presiding.
- Meeting (at Geneva) of representatives of British and Continental Co-operative Wholesale Societies, and adoption of sub-committees proposals with a view to the realisation of an International Wholesale Society.
14. Kilonan auxiliary to the Drumbana Dairy Society burnt by a body of soldiers and members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Damage over £1,000.

17. Meeting (in Manchester) of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union. Income Tax Enquiry Committee's proposals discussed, and also the position of the Union and the Wholesale regarding the continuance or otherwise of Food Control.
22. Knockfune Society's premises in Ireland partially destroyed by soldiers and police.
28. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, summing up the Budget debate, announces his intention to include co-operative societies within the scope of the new Corporation Tax.
28. Ceremonial opening of the ancient Cattle Mart of Gisburn, purchased from Lord Ribblesdale at the price of £17,000.
29. Official farewell (at Balloon Street) of Mr. T. Killon, Chairman of the C.W.S. for 5 years and a Director for 28 years.
11. Quarterly Meeting of the S.C.W.S. in Glasgow. Motion to make it incumbent on all employees to become members of their respective trade unions (affiliated to the T.U. Congress) fails to carry.
14. The C.W.S. opens a butter blending factory at Carlisle.
- 15-16. Women's Guild Congress held at Derby, 1,200 delegates present, and Mrs. Williams (Swansea) presiding.
- 16-17. Special Co-operative Emergency Congress held at Westminster: 1,000 delegates present, and Alderman F. Hayward in the chair. The Congress, by resolution, authorises the Special Income Tax Committee to take all necessary steps to protect the interests of the co-operative movement and the maintenance of the hitherto recognised principle of mutual trading.
19. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union in Manchester.

#### MAY.

1. May Day Festivals and Demonstrations throughout the country, the local co-operative societies in the majority of cases taking part, conspicuously in London and Glasgow; in the latter city the S.C.W.S. factories and workshops being closed for the day.
- Discussion on the new Corporation Profits Tax in the House of Commons.
- 11-12. Second reading debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons and a strong protest made by G. N. Barnes, A. E. Waterson, T. Myers, Aneurin Williams, Trevelyan Thomson, and W. Graham against the application of the corporation tax to co-operative societies.
13. The C.W.S. takes over the Windsor Pottery, Longton, Staffs.
18. The Chancellor of the Exchequer interviewed by a deputation representing the Co-operative Movement, the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the Labour Party. In response to the case stated against the proposed corporation tax as applied to co-operative societies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gives a non-committal reply.
21. Meeting (at Bristol) of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union. Taxation proposals discussed.
- 24-25-26. Co-operative Congress held at Bristol; attended by nearly 2,000 delegates, including international representatives from France, Belgium, Russia, Switzerland, Sweden, and the Ukraine. Congress president: Rev. G. A. Ramsay.
1. First meeting of shareholders of the English section of the National Publishing Society, which incorporates the English and Scottish co-operative newspaper societies.

#### JULY.

- C.W.S. election results: *Manchester District*: Re-elected, G. Thorpe and W. Lander. *Newcastle District*: J. W. King (re-elected). *London District*: T. G. Arnold (re-elected).
3. C.W.S. Branch and Divisional Meetings.
- 3-12. Unofficial strike of employees at Broughton clothing factory.
- 6-9. Special inspection show of productions at the cabinet works, Birmingham, newly acquired by the C.W.S.
10. General C.W.S. delegate Quarterly Meeting in Manchester. Motion to raise the salaries of directors and auditors to £850 per annum; adopted, as also the Committee's recommendation that the rate of interest in share capital be increased from 5 to 6 per cent. The Stockport motion that "the resources of the C.W.S. should be used for furthering the policy of the Co-operative Party" is rejected.
13. Finance Bill in Committee. Amendment moved by Mr. Kidd (Linlithgow, C.U.) and supported by Mr. Waterson (Co-operative Member for Kettering), Mr. W. Graham (Labour Member for Edinburgh East), and Mr. Tom Myers (Labour Member for Spen Valley), to exempt Co-operative societies from the Corporation Tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer refuses to accept the amendment, which is rejected by 218 votes to 140. On the amendment of Mr. Waterson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer promised to give consideration to the proposal that building societies should be exempted.
2. Distinguished gathering at the Royal Adelaide Galleries, London, in respect to Mr. T. Killon, recently retired from the presidency of the C.W.S.

27. On the Report stages of the Finance Bill, a further amendment (moved by Mr. Kidd (C.U., Linlithgow) to secure the exemption of co-operative societies from the operation of the Corporation Tax was defeated by 182 votes to 121.
29. C.W.S. financial propaganda campaign inaugurated with the holding of the first Conference at Cardiff.

#### AUGUST.

14. Press report of the wholesale destruction of co-operative creameries in Ireland by soldiers and police: 18 creameries having been destroyed between April and August with estimated losses ranging in some cases up to £8,000, £10,000, and £20,000.
16. Unofficial strike of C.W.S. workers at Newcastle.
21. Press announcement of the acquisition by the C.W.S. of the Tamewater Mills, Dobeross, near Oldham.
- "Left wing" Conference at Derby (composed of representatives of 80 societies) takes exception to the neutral policy of the C.W.S. Board in relation to co-operative candidatures, and expresses dissatisfaction with the general administration of affairs of the Co-operative Union.
28. Meeting (in Manchester) of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union. The position of the movement in relation to the Corporation Profits Tax discussed.
- Stoppage of C.W.S. printing establishments at Manchester and Reddish owing to a strike in the printing industry in Manchester and Liverpool areas.

#### SEPTEMBER.

7. Sir Horace Plunkett, having failed to secure any satisfactory assurance from the Government that the wanton devastation of co-operative creameries in Ireland by soldiers and policemen shall cease, puts the case before the British public in a letter to the *Times*.
8. Amalgamation of Stratford and Edmonton Societies into the London Co-operative Society with a membership of over 90,000 and a trade of over £3,000,000.
10. S.C.W.S. Quarterly Meeting in Glasgow. Progress reported.
14. Meeting (in Preston) of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union.
15. Special Emergency National Co-operative Conference (held at Preston and attended by 940 delegates) to determine the next action to be taken by co-operative societies in view of the Corporation Profits Tax having become law. The Conference pledges itself to use all legitimate means to defeat the working of the Corporation Profits Tax, and to ensure its abolition in so far as it taxes the surpluses arising from mutual trading of co-operative societies. The Conference also empowered the Special Income Tax

Committee to accept the Chancellor's invitation to submit alternative proposals regarding the application of the Corporation Profits Tax "provided such proposals have been submitted to and receive the approval of two-thirds of the societies voting."

16. Co-operative Party Conference held in Preston, Mr. W. H. Watkins (Chairman of the Party) presiding over 346 delegates representing 175 societies. Conference, by resolution, "strongly recommends all co-operative societies to support the establishment of a Labour and Co-operative political alliance, and to instruct their delegates to vote in favour of the scheme to be submitted at the next annual Congress.
18. Meeting (in Manchester) of the United Board of the Co-operative Union. The question of a rousing campaign (to secure more capital for the movement) discussed.
20. Settlement of the Manchester and Liverpool strike in the printing industry. C.W.S. printers return to work.

#### OCTOBER.

2. C.W.S. Branch and Divisional Quarterly Meetings. Losses discussed.
- C.W.S. election results announced. *Manchester District*: C. Marshal and G. Woodhouse (re-elected). *Newcastle District*: Joseph English (re-elected). *London District*: J. E. Johns (re-elected). *Auditor*: B. Tetlow (re-elected).
9. C.W.S. General Quarterly Meeting (held in Manchester, 1,046 delegates present, representing 279 societies). Resolution carried by a total of 1,209 votes to 1,112, instructing Directors to consult with the national committee of the Co-operative Party in regard to carrying out the Party Policy as laid down by Congress.
- 12-13. Meeting (at the Hague) of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance. The meeting defines the Alliance attitude towards Russian Co-operation and protests against the blockade of Russia.
13. International Committee Meeting of representatives of Co-operative Wholesale Societies discusses the ways and means of forming an International Co-operative Wholesale.
16. "The Irish Homestead" announces that "in Ireland butter factories are being destroyed by the militarists much faster than they can be built. Kildimo Co-operative Creamery has gone the way of Tubbercurry and Achonry last week, and of Silvermines the week before, and of Messrs. Cleeves' factory and the Balbriggan factory; and over the country barns are being burned down and the ricks set on fire, all of which things, while they affect us primarily, react on Great Britain and its trade with Ireland and the employment of British working men."

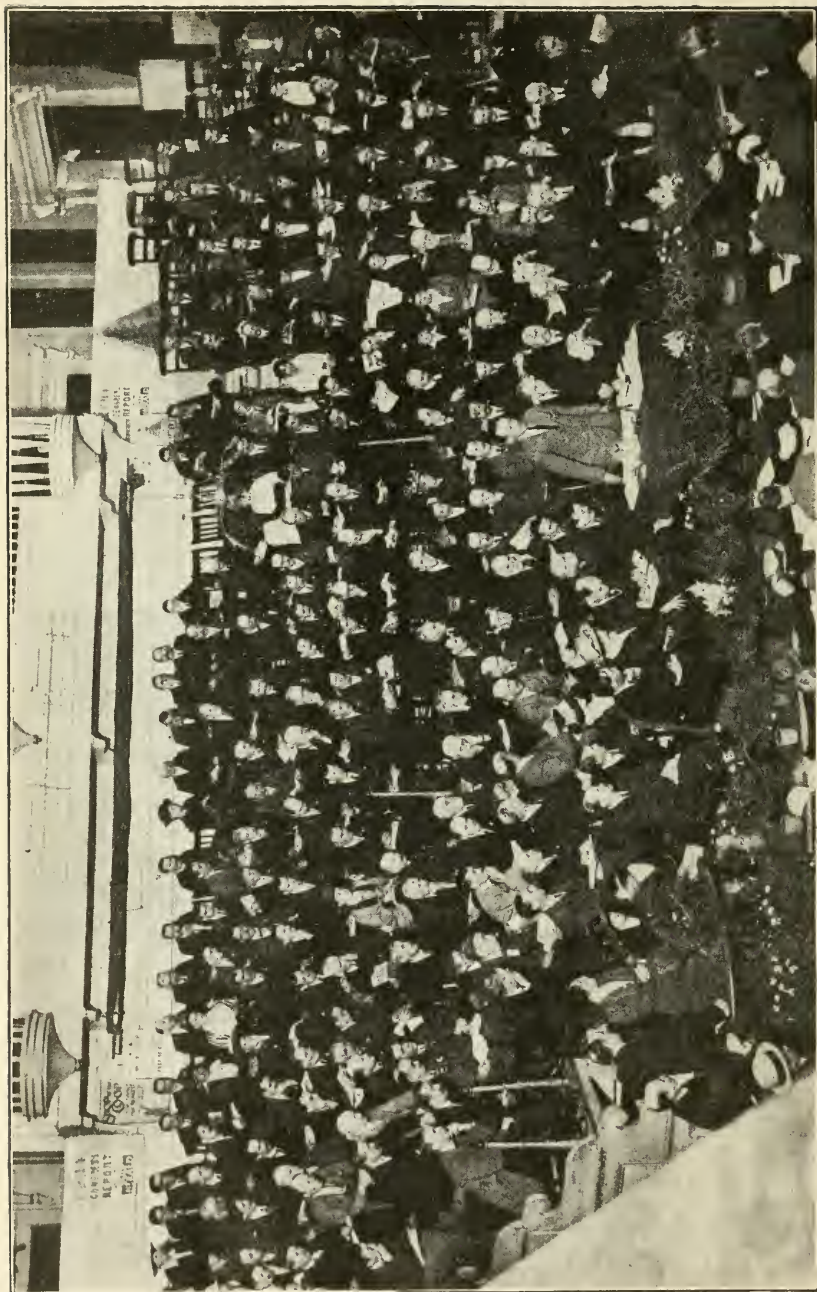
DIARY OF DISPUTES.

DISPUTES WHERE A. U. C. E. MEMBERS HAVE WITHDRAWN THEIR LABOUR DURING 1920 WITH EXECUTIVE SANCTION.

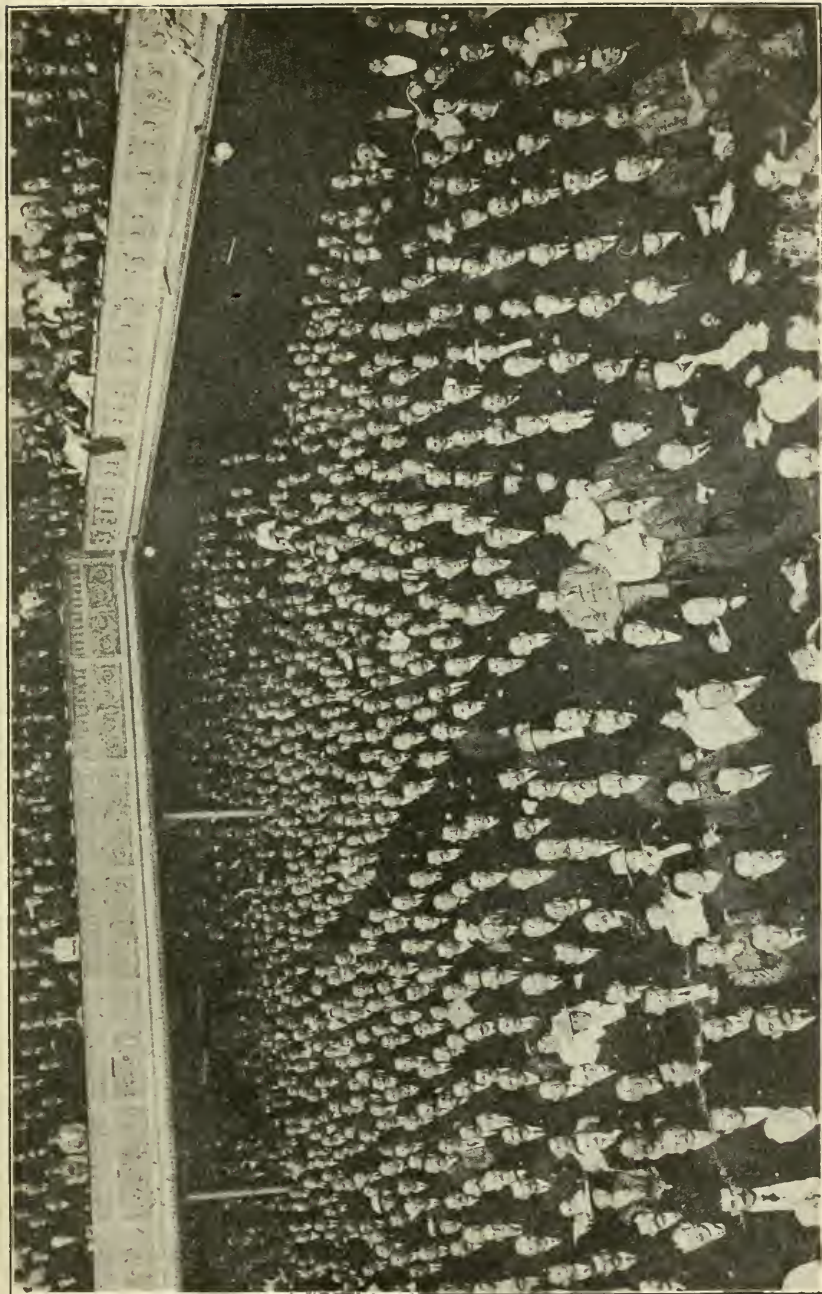
Period of Dispute.	Society or Societies affected.	Aim of Dispute.
Dec. 4/19—Jan. 29/20 ..	Cumberland Area including Cleator Moor, Egremont, Workington (two societies), Maryport and Aspatria.	Revision of wages.
February 7—March 27 ..	Bidford-on-Avon .....	Revision of wages and recognition of union.
March 2—March 20 .....	Messrs. Johnson, Dodds and Co., York .....	Revision of wages, and recognition of union.
March 3 .....	Peebles .....	Recognition of wage agreement.
April 7—June 13 .....	Yorkshire societies, including Bradford, Batley, Cleckheaton, Birstall, Dewsbury, Drighlington, Guiseley, Halifax, Huddersfield, Heckmondwike, Horbury, Harrogate, Hebdon Bridge, Leeds, Morley, Marsden, Ossett, Sowerby Bridge and others.	Revision of wages for boot repairers and right of union to negotiate for such workers.
April 12—May 29 .....	Messrs. Scott & Sons, Wholesale Grocers, Leeds	Wage agitation and recognition of Union.
May 11—May 14 .....	Hawick .....	Revision of Tailors' wages.
June 28—July 1 .....	C.W.S. Cardiff Depot .....	To resist introduction of shift system for catering staff.
July 10—August 25 .....	C.W.S. Middleton Preserve Works.	Revision of wages.
August 16—August 24 ..	C.W.S. Newcastle Depot, Pelaw Works and Brisington Butter Factory.	Recognition of wage agreement.
October 2—October 8 ..	Gainsboro' .....	Re-instatement of branch official and recognition of wage agreement.
October 21—October 23	Peterborough .....	Recognition of wage agreement.

UNOFFICIAL DISPUTES WHERE A. U. C. E. MEMBERS HAVE WITHDRAWN THEIR LABOUR DURING 1920.

February 9—February 16	S.C.W.S. Leith Flour Mills	Improved working conditions.
Six days in April .....	Enniskillen Co-operative Milling Society.	Revision of wages.
May 19—May 21 .....	Cleator Moor .....	Revision of Boot repairers' rates.
August 10 .....	Coventry .....	Recognition of wage agreement.
October 5—October 6 ..	Ynysybwl .....	To secure re-consideration of alleged harsh treatment of an employee.



VIEW OF PLATFORM, CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS AT BRISTOL, MAY, 1920.



DELEGATES SEATED IN BODY OF HALL, CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1920.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1920.

AT Bristol, on the three days May 24th, 25th and 26th, the Co-operative Union held its fifty-second Annual Congress, which was attended by close on 2,000 delegates and presided over by the Rev. G. A. Ramsay (rector of Writhlington, chairman of the Radstock Co-operative Society, and member of the South-Western Sectional Board of the Co-operative Union). The co-operative movements of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, and the Ukraine were also represented at the Congress, to which the Lord Mayor of Bristol accorded a civic welcome.

### DOMESTIC PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The domestic requirements of the movement were brought to the fore by the official resolutions for the development of co-operative education, the increase of co-operative capital, the extension of conciliation machinery, and the consolidation of co-operative forces.

As regards education the resolution appealed for funds for the establishment of the Co-operative College, and made a recommendation to societies to appoint (each) a special educational committee and to make (each) a definite grant for educational purposes; a further recommendation being made to societies to take full advantage of the Education Act of 1918.

To cope with the pressing need for capital societies were urged to abolish all restrictions placed on the investment of share capital under the £200 limit and to provide facilities for small savings bank and loan deposits, and where necessary, to increase the rate of interest in order to encourage the investment of capital; and in addition to this, the Joint Parliamentary Committee was called on to take immediate steps to secure the amendment of the Industrial and Provident Societies' Acts by the deletion of the £200 limit placed on individual share-holdings and the removal of the £20 restriction placed on small savings-bank deposits.

With a view to the equipping of the movement with adequate conciliation machinery for the settlement of labour disputes the extension and co-ordination of the work of the various Hours and Wages Boards and the Labour Department of the Co-operative Union was also a matter put forward and accepted as an urgent necessity to be met by the establishment of Hours and Wages Boards and Sectional Councils in vacant districts and sections, and the election to the National Council of a representative of each of the Sectional Councils, except as regards the North-Western Section, which shall elect two. One representative of the Labour Department Committee of the Union to be also represented on the National Council.

But unquestionably the most important and most far-reaching of proposals for the promotion of co-operative development was that

embodied in the resolution anent the consolidation of co-operative forces by the medium of a National Co-operative Society (as originally suggested at the Birmingham Congress by the late Mr. J. C. Gray). The resolution emanating from the Bristol Society and adopted by Congress was as follows:—

That in view of the many consolidations that are taking place all round us in the world of capital, the time is now ripe for the Co-operative Movement to bring itself into closer internal unity by organisation of its forces, both wholesale and retail, into one national society, and that we hereby suggest that the Central Board refer the matter to the various sectional boards and district associations for their discussion and consideration, and report to the next Congress.

In addition to the foregoing resolutions pertaining to domestic policy, there was also the official resolution relating to the Labour and Co-operative Political Alliance, declaring "That this Congress accepts the constitution of the Labour and Co-operative Political Alliance and pledges itself to use every effort to achieve the objects contained therein." This resolution, however, it was decided to adjourn for twelve months to ensure adequate consideration and discussion by the movement in accordance with the direction of the Carlisle Congress.

#### TAXATION AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

Turning next to matters of public policy, it must be said that the resolutions adopted by Congress testified clearly to the feelings evoked by the Government's maladministration of affairs in all directions. As regards the coal control the Congress condemned the administration as a failure both during the war and since and as totally inefficient to determine prices to organise transport, or equitably to distribute available supplies. And coupled with this condemnation was the demand that the Government should remedy these grievances by making effective alterations in the administrative machinery. At the same time the Congress demonstrated its dissatisfaction with the effects of food control under present conditions by declaring for "the decontrol of commodities at the earliest opportune moment"; the continuance of the Ministry of Food, however, being agreed to "subject to its powers being limited to matters pertaining to net weights and measures, standards, tests of quality and exhibition of prices, with power to interfere with trusts, combines, or other traders in any action taken by them to the disadvantage of the general body of consumers."

As to the methods by which the Food Control has brought itself into disrepute, details furnished by Mr. Thorpe, the chairman of the C.W.S., enabled the Congress to obtain a vivid glimpse:—

They (the C.W.S.) bought currants at 79s. per cwt., but they had to go in pool which caused consumers to pay £204,000 more than they ought to have done. Instead of selling at 84s. per cwt., they had to charge 103s. To-day the price was 80s. per cwt. What about bacon? What curers under the policy of control sought to secure 448s. per cwt. for, they were now getting 260s. At the outbreak



of war the Government enquired how much tea the Wholesales had. They found stocks normal, but another trading concern had 269,000lbs. more than ordinary stock; but nothing was said to them. Let food itself interpret the time when control shall be taken off.

With regard to the special taxation of co-operative societies the Congress, needless to say, expressed its uncompromising hostility, declaring:—

That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the corporation profits tax as it is proposed to be applied to Co-operative societies in the present Finance Bill.

And re-affirming also its opposition to the adoption of the recommendations relating to co-operative societies, made in the main report of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax, declaring that such proposals violate the principle of mutuality on which co-operative trading is based, that co-operative trading surpluses are not profits but savings which should not be taxed, and “that the proposals are designed by interested parties to cripple co-operative trading by an application of the Income Tax Acts which is not applied to any other ordinary trading organisation.”

Coming next to the question of a capital levy, it is sufficient to state that the resolution in favour thereof afforded unmistakable evidence of the growth of co-operative feeling since the Carlisle Congress of 1919, when the motion for a capital levy was rejected. Thus in the course of twelve months the policy of the Government succeeded in evoking the following resolution:—

That this Congress supports the proposal to place a levy on capital to clear off the war debt and to reduce taxation, such levy to be on individual fortunes in excess of £1,000, and where applied shall not affect that part of the individual fortune which is below £1,000.

In addition to the foregoing declarations, the Congress called on the Government to open the ports to Canadian cattle, and also to introduce legislation to prevent the continuance of the system of disguised profiteering as exercised by the P.A.T.A., a system instituting “a growing menace to the consumers of the country.”

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

In the sphere of international affairs the Congress once again voiced the antipathy of the co-operative movement to the policy of the powers that be and once again called on them to carry out the pledge to make Europe a safe place for democracy. In the words of the resolution: “This Congress views with grave concern the delay of the allied governments in bringing the League of Nations into effective operation.”

Believing that the only hope of peace and the reconstruction of civilisation lies in an active alliance between the free peoples of the world, it calls upon the British Government to urge, with its Allies, the immediate establishment of the League of Nations and the handing over to it of the duties and responsibilities extended to it by the Treaty of Peace.

With regard to Russia the Congress expressed its fraternal feelings in emphatic terms, declaring:—

That this Congress views with thanksgiving the valiant efforts which are being made by the toiling masses of Russia to establish the economic life of Russia on a democratic basis, and the use they are making of the co-operative organisation. We assure our Russian fellow co-operators that the bitter opposition of the capitalists and capitalist Governments to their efforts is bitterly resented by the co-operators represented at this Congress. Further, we urge upon the Wholesale Societies the importance and urgency of establishing direct contact with the co-operative movement in Russia and of rendering every assistance in their power and capacity.

In conclusion it may be stated that the Congress decided on Scarborough as the meeting place for 1921; and that Bristol witnessed the successful revival of the Co-operative Exhibition, which was one of the features in pre-war days. Reference must also be made to the demonstrations which took place; firstly, the Co-operative and Labour Demonstration, held at Weston-super-Mare on the 23rd May, with Mr. A. E. Waterson, M.P., and Mr. Neil McLean, M.P., as chief speakers. Secondly, to the International Demonstration, held on Monday evening the 24th May, which was presided over by Congress President Ramsay and addressed by the foreign delegates, M. Victor Serwy, secretary of the Belgium Co-operative Union; M. Cleuet, representing the French Co-operative Wholesale; and Herr Rosling, Dr. Suter, Madame Stencel-Lenskaya, and Gospodin Sidorenko, representing respectively the movements in Sweden, Switzerland, Russia and the Ukraine. And finally there was the educational meeting, held on Tuesday evening the 25th, which was addressed by Viscount Haldane, ex-Cabinet minister.

## CHAIRS OF CO-OPERATION AT FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES.

**T**HE establishment of professorships of co-operation both in Paris and Berlin shows the advancing status of co-operation in the post-war period. In Paris the Minister of Public Instruction has authorised the establishment of a Chair of Co-operation at the College de France, and if anticipations are realised the course of lectures will be in progress by the time these lines appear in print.

At the Berlin University also a Chair of Co-operation has been established in connection with the Faculty of Philosophy, and Dr. August Müller (who in pre-war days was the editor of the official organ of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies) has been appointed Professor of Co-operation.

## WOMEN'S GUILD CONGRESS, 1920.

**A**T the Women's Guild Congress of 1920, held at Derby on June 15th and 16th, there was a record muster of over 1,200 delegates. Mrs. Williams (Swansea) was the Congress President, and the Mayor of Derby gave the delegates a civic welcome. In the course of its two days' proceedings the Congress got through a lengthy agenda, ranging from the domestic problems of the Guild to the world problems of the period.

As regards political action the Congress fully indicated its attitude by calling for the adoption of co-operative women candidates by organisations belonging to the co-operative party and by declaring in favour of an alliance of the Co-operative and Labour parties and for the holding of Labour Day (May 1st) as a co-operative holiday.

In the matter of financing the movement and increasing its capital resources, the stamp system was recommended to societies as a means to the desired end.

As regards fiscal matters the Congress denounced the corporation tax as applied to co-operative societies and pledged itself to resist the taxation of the surplus of co-operative societies in every shape and form; while with reference to high prices the assembly gave voice to its protest in the following resolution:—

That this Congress protests against the high prices of food and clothing and demands that the Government take steps to reduce them by securing the establishment of a real and constructive world peace, when the resources of every nation could be developed and brought within the reach of all.

Further, it emphatically declares that co-operative methods of trade are the only effective way of dealing with high prices and profiteering, and calls on every Guild branch to support the great national campaign for increased capital and trade to be inaugurated this autumn by the United Board and the Women's Co-operative Guild.

The Congress also proclaimed its international outlook in the following words:—

This Congress records its great satisfaction at the formation of an International Committee of Co-operative Wholesale Societies and the steps which are being taken to establish closer trading relations between co-operators throughout the world. It points out that the peace of the world and the emancipation of the workers are bound up with the conduct of international trade on co-operative lines. It therefore appeals to the labour movement and to all who have the reconstruction of Europe at heart to support these efforts in every possible way, and particularly to supply the capital necessary by investing their money in the C.W.S. and so to make possible the peaceful transformation of the world into a Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Congress also expressed its gratification at the Convention adopted by the Washington Conference concerning the employment of women before and after child-birth; at the same time the Congress called on the British Government to take immediate steps to introduce a Bill which, while giving effect to the Convention will go further and provide benefits for mother and child on a universal and non-contributory basis. As an immediate measure, the Congress supported

pensions for widows on lines which would include the unmarried mother as well as the childless widow, but declared its belief that financial provision for mothers and children and widows can only be satisfactorily dealt with as part of a larger scheme for securing their economic independence by the adoption of the State Bonus.

The Congress also called for the amendment of the War Pensions Act, 1919, and for comprehensive measures for dealing with the Housing problem, *i.e.*, the employment of direct labour for house-building, the raising of money by taxing land values, the conscription of houses in cases where landlords refuse to let, and the placing of working-women's representatives on the Housing committees of local authorities.

As a pendant to the Congress an evening International demonstration was held, with Madame Polovtseva, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. S. F. Perry as speakers. The meeting by resolution gave fraternal greetings of admiration and sympathy to their comrades in Russia, urged the English and Scottish Wholesales to enter into a trading alliance, and called on the Government to raise the inhuman blockade, to stop the war with Poland, and set free the great constructive forces of peace and trade by which alone conditions of death, disease, starvation, and high prices can be transformed into healthy and happy conditions of life for the peoples of the world.

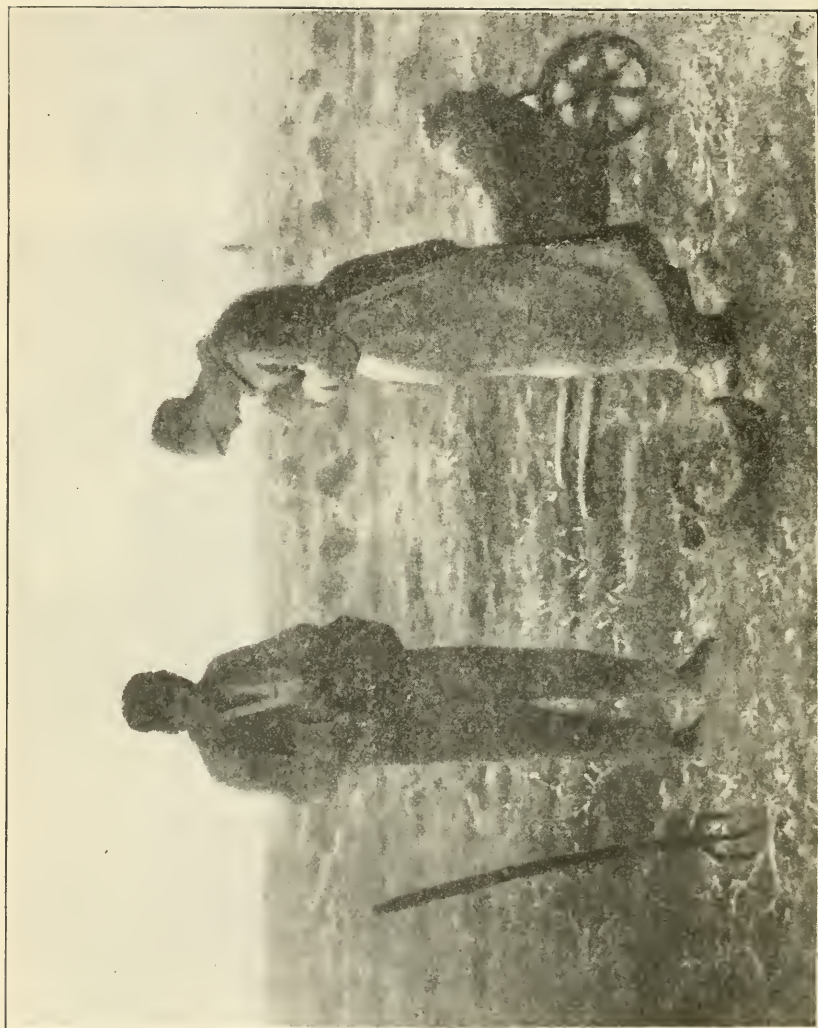


Attending the Congress of the Co-operative Women's Guild at Derby, June 15-16, 1920.

## LIST OF CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES.

No.	Year.	Date of Opening.	Place of Assembly.	Presidents (First, Second, and Third Days).
1	1869	May 31	London: Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi.	T. Hughes, M.P. A. J. Mundella, M.P. W. Morrison, M.P.
2	1870	June 6	Manchester: Memorial Hall	W. Morrison, M.P. Rev. W. N. Molesworth. J. T. Hibbert, M.P.
3	1871	April 10	Birmingham: Midland Institute	Hon. A. Herbert, M.P. C. Cattell. W. Morrison, M.P.
4	1872	April 1	Bolton: Co-operative Hall	T. Hughes, M.P. E. V. Neale. W. Morrison, M.P.
5	1873	April 12	Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mechanics' Institute	Joseph Cowen, jun. W. Morrison, M.P. T. Hughes, M.P.
6	1874	April 6	Halifax: Mechanics' Hall	T. Brassey, M.P. W. Morrison. W. Morrison.
7	1875	March 29	London: Co-operative Institute	Prof. Thorold Rogers. T. Hughes, Q.C. W. Morrison.
8	1876	April 17	Glasgow: Assembly Rooms	Professor Caird. G. Anderson, M.P. James Crabtree.
9	1877	April 2	Leicester: Museum Hall	Hon. A. Herbert. Lloyd Jones. A. Greenwood.
10	1878	April 22	Manchester: Co-operative Hall, Downing Street	Marquis of Ripon. Bishop of Manchester. Dr. John Watts.
11	1879	April 14	Gloucester: Corn Exchange	Professor Stuart. J. T. W. Mitchell. James Crabtree.
12	1880	May 17	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bath Lane Schoolroom	Bishop of Durham. R. S. Watson. H. R. Bailey.
13	1881	June 6	Leeds: Albert Hall	Lord Derby. T. Hughes, Q.C. Jas. Crabtree.
14	1882	May 29	Oxford: Town Hall	Lord Reay. Councillor Pumphrey. George Hines.
15	1883	May 14	Edinburgh: Oddfellows' Hall	Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P. William Maxwell. John Allan.
16	1884	June 2	Derby: Lecture Hall	Sedley Taylor, M.A. A. Scotton. Councillor Hartley.
17	1885	May 25	Oldham: Co-operative Hall	Lloyd Jones. F. Hardern. Lewis Feber.
18	1886	June 14	Plymouth: Guildhall	Earl of Morley. A. H. D. Acland, M.P. J. H. Young.

No.	Year.	Date of Opening.	Place of Assembly.	Presidents (First, Second, and Third Days).
19	1887	May 30	Carlisle: H.M. Theatre	G. J. Holyoake. Sir W. Lawson, M.P. Councillor Rule.
20	1888	May 21	Dewsbury: Co-operative Hall	E. V. Neale. Marquis of Ripon. J. Cave, jun.
21	1889	June 10	Ipswich: Public Hall	Professor A. Marshall. B. Jones. G. Hines.
22	1890	May 26	Glasgow: City Hall	Earl of Rosebery. William Maxwell. James Deans.
23	1891	May 18	Lincoln: Drill Hall	A. H. D. Acland, M.P. D. McInnes. J. Hepworth.
24	1892	June 6	Rochdale: Baillie Street Chapel	J. T. W. Mitchell, J.P. A. Greenwood. Councillor Cheetham.
25	1893	May 22	Bristol: Y.M.C.A. Hall	Councillor G. Hawkins. J. Clay, J.P. W. H. Brown, C.C.
26	1894	May 14	Sunderland: Victoria Hall	T. Tweddell, J.P. J. McKendrick. W. Crooks.
27	1895	June 3	Huddersfield: Town Hall	G. Thomson. T. Bland, J.P. Jas. Broadbent.
28	1896	May 25	Woolwich: Tabernacle	B. Jones.
29	1897	June 7	Perth: City Hall	W. Maxwell, J.P.
30	1898	May 30	Peterborough: Theatre Royal	D. McInnes.
31	1899	May 22	Liverpool: St. George's Hall	F. Hardern, J.P.
32	1900	June 4	Cardiff: Park Hall	W. H. Brown.
33	1901	May 27	Middlesbrough: Town Hall	J. Warwick.
34	1902	May 19	Exeter: Theatre Royal	G. Hawkins.
35	1903	June 1	Doncaster: Corn Exchange	J. Shillito.
36	1904	May 23	Stratford: Town Hall	A. Golightly.
37	1905	June 12	Paisley: Town Hall	W. Maxwell.
38	1906	June 4	Birmingham: Central Hall	J. C. Gray.
39	1907	May 20	Preston: Public Hall	W. Lauder.
40	1908	June 8	Newport: Central Hall	T. W. Allen.
41	1909	May 31	Newcastle: Palae Theatre	W. R. Rae.
42	1910	May 16	Plymouth: Guildhall	H. J. A. Wilkins.
43	1911	June 5	Bradford: St. George's Hall	George Thorpe, J.P.
44	1912	May 27	Portsmouth: Town Hall	W. Openshaw.
45	1913	May 12	Aberdeen: Music Hall	James Deans.
46	1914	June 1	Dublin: Metropolitan Hall	R. Fleming.
47	1915	May 24	Leicester: De Montfort Hall	G. Bastard.
48	1916	June 12	Lancaster: Town Hall	W. Gregory, J.P.
49	1917	May 28	Swansea: Albert Hall	E. R. Wood.
50	1918	May 20	Liverpool: Central Hall	T. Killon.
51	1919	June 9	Carlisle: Market Hall	Alderman F. Hayward.
52	1920	May 24	Bristol: Victoria Rooms	Rev. G. A. Ramsay, B.A.



W. A. Mansell & Co., London.

**THE ANGELUS.**

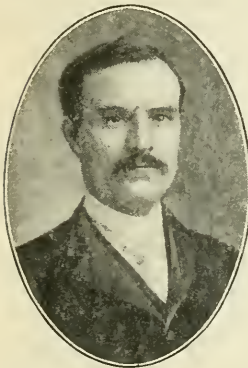
J. F. Millet.

# THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE OF CO-OPERATION.

THE YEAR 1920.

BY PROF. F. HALL.

THE expectations of those optimists who believed that immediately fighting ceased between the principal belligerents in the Great War there would be an improvement of the economic position, and a reduction of prices, have been sadly belied. True



PROF. F. HALL.

it is that supplies are rather more abundant than they were, and for those who can afford to pay the price the supplies exist ; but for the mass of the people supplies are little more available now than they were before hostilities ceased, for prices have continued to rise since the Armistice of 1918. A supply of principal foodstuffs which cost 100 pence in July, 1914, cost 233 pence in November, 1918, 233 pence in January, 1919, 236 pence in January, 1920, and 255 pence on June 1st, 1920, and in the autumn of 1920 cost still more. It is true that wages have risen during this period, and that the increase of total household expenses is less than the percentage shown ; but the majority of wage earners have only been able to meet their food

bills by restricting consumption or by substituting inferior qualities or other articles for pre-war qualities and articles of consumption. Margarine for butter, imported meat for English meat, may be instanced as examples of the substitution. Had rents risen in proportion to the present-day cost of producing houses in the same way that prices of food and clothing have risen, the economic position of the working classes of this country would have been depressed even more. Whilst regular work and overtime assisted in filling the household exchequer during the war, this supplementary increase is not now available. On the contrary, unemployment is now increasing.

## CO-OPERATIVE STATISTICS AND THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

The foregoing conclusions are supported by the statistics of co-operative societies. The increase of membership of retail co-operative societies during the war years was phenomenal. If we take the figures for the years 1915 to 1918 as covering the war period, we find the increase to be 792,234 (from 3,054,297 at the end of 1914 to 3,846,531 at the end of 1918). This increase is a record one for this number of years, and indicates an increased utilisation of co-operative societies as sources of supply ; but the trade of societies has not increased in the



same proportion when allowance is made for the increase of prices which took place during those years ; and the figures for 1919 are no more satisfactory. The total trade of retail co-operative societies in 1914 was roughly £88,000,000, and in 1918 £155,000,000. The increase of trade was 76 per cent., but the increase of prices was more than this ; and therefore the total quantity of goods purchased was really less although there were nearly 800,000 additional members ! The increase of membership suggests that there was no unusual indifference to co-operation ; and the registration for sugar and other articles as well as the unrecorded, but known, facts of the situation support this view. The fall in purchases is due partly to the shortness of supplies in co-operative shops, a shortness attributable in part to the unfair allotment of supplies to co-operative societies ; due partly to the fact that some co-operators or members of their families were on active service ; due partly to the members of societies having to buy cheaper qualities or substitutes for what they purchased in pre-war times ; but due very largely to the inability of co-operators to buy the weekly quantity of goods which they could afford in pre-war days.

During the year 1919, similar changes took place. Membership increased by 284,946 (from 3,846,531 to 4,131,477) and trade increased from £155,000,000 to £199,000,000. When allowance is made for the increased membership and prices (the index number for retail prices was 233 in December, 1918, and 236 in December, 1919) it is obvious that the increase is more apparent than real. The trade of the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies (£44,000,000 in 1914, £85,000,000 in 1918, and £114,000,000 in 1919), whilst showing a great increase of values, has also to be qualified by the considerations noted above.

Nevertheless when allowance is made for the lower purchasing power of wages and for difficulties in securing supplies, the figures quoted do show an increased determination on the part of co-operators to secure a greater control over industry ; and this determination is revealed also by the greater interest now being taken in co-operative affairs, by the greater readiness of co-operators to provide capital—inadequate though the amount still is—for the co-operative movement, despite the higher rates of interest offered by other agencies, and by the increasing variety of activities in which co-operative societies now engage.

#### THE DEMAND FOR DECONTROL.

The difficulties experienced by co-operators in securing supplies during the later years of the war became notorious ; and many were the protests lodged with government departments on this score. In many departments, the Government were advised by, or supplies were regulated by, persons engaged in private industry and quite opposed to co-operation. This difficulty and the cumbrous machinery of control became exasperating and led to a demand for the removal of control, a subject upon which there was a strongly-marked difference of opinion

in the movement. Those who favoured control emphasised the fact that it secured fair prices and equality of treatment when combined with individual registration and freedom of the consumer to register with his society. Those who opposed control provided examples illustrative of the manner in which co-operative development was being checked by the inability of the co-operative wholesale societies to use their machinery and resources freely in the interests of the members of the movement. The controversy was practically closed by a resolution of the Bristol Congress (Whitsuntide, 1920) supporting the advocates of the removal of control. So far, the position has been eased but little. Prices have risen since decontrol; but it is too early yet to say whether the policy of decontrol is wise or not, for prices have risen even in the case of commodities which the Government is purchasing and rationing.

#### THE QUESTION OF INCREASED CAPITAL.

The increase in the amount of capital contributed to societies reached the record figure in 1919 of £11,600,000 (from £54,000,000 to £65,600,000). Needless to say this increase has not kept pace with the increased needs of societies for capital to maintain the more highly-priced stocks of the present day. At first sight this record increase of capital may appear as an indication of record prosperity; but the reasons are other than this. The increase is largely due to the increased propaganda work in support of efforts to increase the movement's capital resources and to the growth of co-operative consciousness and a spreading recognition of the fact that working-class capital must be employed for working-class institutions. Though the increase of capital is a record one, its lower purchasing power must not be overlooked in estimating its value as a medium for extending the workers' control over industry. Nor must the enormous investments in newly-formed and re-floated joint stock companies during the same period be lost from sight when attempting to measure the relative progress of co-operative and private industry. The amount of capital invested in new or old companies is probably nearer £300,000,000 than £200,000,000.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS.

It is gratifying to be able to record the fact that an increasing number of trade unions and other working-class organisations have transferred their banking accounts and investments to the Co-operative Wholesale Society during the year 1919, though a large number still retain investments in other undertakings against which they are constantly coming into conflict for higher wages and other improvements of working conditions. For the workers to fight against their own capital which they have put under the command of others is absurd; their efforts to improve conditions would be much more effective if they fought with their capital instead of against it.

The usefulness of a good understanding between the co-operative movement and Trade unions was illustrated at the time of the strike

of railway workers in the autumn of 1919. Up to the last moment, expectations of a settlement prevailed, and when work ceased, the necessity of distributing strike pay on a large scale arose. This involved the conversion of investments into cash and the distribution of remittances to scores of centres. This took time during which the railway workers were in need of their weekly supplies of food. Not only did the Co-operative Wholesale Society render financial convenience to the National Union, but in many centres the local co-operative society supplied goods to the trade unionists in the district pending the receipt of their strike pay.

The necessity for fostering good relationships between the Co-operative movement and the Trade-union movement has led to the establishment of several joint committees for promoting a closer intercourse and securing joint action in matters of common interest. When the co-operative deputation waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the Corporation Profits Tax and its imposition upon co-operative societies, representatives of the trade-union movement accompanied the deputation and associated the trade-union movement with the protest which the co-operative movement made on that occasion.

#### THE CORPORATION PROFITS TAX.

The opposition to the imposition of the Corporation Profits Tax upon co-operative societies has been another feature of the economic fight which the co-operative movement has been waging during the past year. The imposition of the Excess Profits Duty upon co-operative societies during the war has not been forgotten; and the co-operative movement was therefore not content to rely upon the justice of its case in regard to income tax and trust to the government treating it equitably. When it was known that a Government Income Tax Commission was to be set up in 1919, the Co-operative Union appointed a committee to prepare evidence for submission to the committee and, generally, to watch the interests of co-operators. A majority of the Government Commission reported in favour of the taxation of the whole of the surpluses of co-operative societies less the amount actually returned to members as dividend on purchases. An influential minority reported in favour of the exemption from taxation of all the surplus arising from trading with members.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer subsequently declared himself in agreement with the minority in regard to income tax; but, apparently inconsistently with this pronouncement, he introduced in his Finance Bill of 1920 a Corporation Profits Tax applicable to the surpluses of co-operative societies (save that part of the surpluses returned to members as dividend on purchases) in the same way as to the profits of joint-stock companies or other corporate bodies. The Corporation Profits Tax is thus a form of income tax; but, a vicious form of income tax from the point of view of the individual with a small income. An income tax levied upon the profits of a company is

really directed against the individual shareholder who can reclaim the amount deducted from his share of the profits if his income is below the income tax minimum. Not so with the Corporation Profits Tax. The tax is levied upon the corporate body and is borne by it, so that the individual shareholder cannot reclaim the amount deducted from his share of the profits, however small his income may be. But the opposition of co-operators to the tax is on other grounds. They claim, and rightly claim, that the result of their mutual trading, the distribution of goods which they collectively buy and sell for convenience at current prices, cannot result in anything in the nature of a commercial profit.

#### THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CORPORATION PROFITS TAX.

To impress their point of view upon the Government they not only interviewed the Chancellor as already recorded, but on the 17th June, 1920, they held a Special Congress in London at which nearly a thousand delegates were present. At this Congress, resolutions of protest were passed; and the delegates thereafter adjourned to the House of Commons where they interviewed their respective members of Parliament to explain and impress the co-operative point of view in regard to Income Tax and the Corporation Profits Tax. This work was not without result, for when the vital decision on the tax took place during the committee stage of the Finance Bill, 140 members supported the amendment in favour of the co-operative position and 218 voted against. This majority was the lowest majority the Government had secured during the session. In the debate, the amendment was supported not only by the Labour Members but by Unionists and Liberals, including the leader of the Independent Liberal Party, the ex-Prime Minister, and by many Coalitionists who voted against the Government on this occasion.

The passing of the Bill thus imposing the tax upon co-operative societies led to the calling of a special co-operative congress or conference at Preston in September last. A thousand delegates again assembled, and there was a keen discussion regarding the measures which should be taken by the movement to defeat the attempt of the Government to impose the Corporation Profits Tax. It was urged by some delegates that the movement should adopt a policy of passive resistance, and this suggestion received much support; but following the lead and advice of the special Income Tax Committee of the Co-operative Union the following resolution was passed:—

“That this conference of delegates from co-operative societies, specially called to consider the corporation profits tax, affirms its approval of the recommendations of the Co-operative Union Income Tax Committee, refuses any arrangement which does not recognise the exemption of the surpluses arising from mutual trading from all taxation, pledges itself to use all the resources and powers of the co-operative movement to ensure the return to Parliament only of persons pledged to the repeal of any tax on such surpluses and pledges itself to use all legitimate means to defeat the working of the present corporation profits tax in so far as it taxes the surpluses arising from mutual trading of co-operative societies and to ensure its abolition, and, further, each co-operative society represented at this conference pledges itself not to cease from its labours until this has been accomplished.”

This resolution was carried by 1,912 votes against 1,055 votes in favour of an amendment for non-payment of the tax. Another recommendation authorising the special Income Tax Committee to submit alternative suggestion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was approved with the proviso that such suggestions be submitted to societies and receive the approval of two-thirds of the societies voting.

#### CO-OPERATION VERSUS CAPITALISM.

There the matter stands for the moment; but it is probably only the beginning and not the end of the struggle. Private trading organisations have long sought to bring co-operative societies within the range of the income tax, so far unsuccessfully, and they were as well represented as the co-operative movement in the gallery of the House of Commons when the Corporation Profits Tax was being discussed. They have continued to press successive governments and Chancellors of the Exchequer for the taxation of co-operative societies. The new tax has given them some satisfaction, but their satisfaction may be short-lived for the imposition of the tax has consolidated co-operative opinion, and more clearly defined the gulf that lies between their view of trade and the co-operative view. The imposition of the tax marks another stage in the march of co-operators to the final battle ground where the forces of co-operation and capitalism will face one another in a fight that may be long and severe, but can end in only one way—the overthrow of capitalism.

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## CO-OPERATIVE POLITICS AND CO-OPERATIVE PROGRESS.

By T. W. MERCER.

THE term "co-operative politics" has a strange and unfamiliar sound. For some reason or another it is as offensive to the ear as a wrong note struck by a pianist. The political neutrality of the co-operative movement has become a part of the co-operative tradition, and is now almost inseparable from the one true faith. For seventy years or more the co-operative movement made no stir in the political world. As individual citizens members of co-operative societies were either Conservatives, Unionists, Liberals, Radicals, Nationalists, Socialists, or Labourists: they did not look upon themselves as co-operative politicians until the day before yesterday.



T. W. MERCER.

In the past every party in the State has numbered many co-operators among its adherents, yet very few prominent co-operators have been active party politicians. As a rule, co-operative leaders have not been politically minded; they have been practical reformers and not political gasconaders. Almost all of them have had a certain contempt for the vulgar game of "ins and outs" as played by party politicians. It must not be supposed that co-operators have been indifferent citizens, uninterested in public affairs. The typical co-operator has always been an honest workman and a faithful citizen: but political controversy has not had the first place in his affections. While politicians of all colours have been waxing eloquent about the New Jerusalem co-operators have been building its walls and planning its streets. Instead of discussing theories of government, the co-operator has been getting on with his job.

### CO-OPERATIVE PIONEERS AND POLITICAL NEUTRALITY.

For three-quarters of a century British co-operators declined either to exchange the substance of co-operation for the shadow of reform or to leave their shops to chase political will-o'-th'-wisps. By a resolution of the fourth Co-operative Congress, held at Liverpool in 1832, all were informed that "whereas the co-operative world contains persons of all religious sects and of all political parties, it is unanimously resolved that co-operators, as such, are not identified with any religious, irreligious, or political tenets whatever." Robert Owen usually (albeit mistakenly) called "The Father of Co-operation," had a supreme contempt for politicians and all their works.

Addressing the co-operators of his day in "The New Moral World," he observed that the time was then opportune "to form an entirely new state of society," because men were no longer victims of "the mania" of politics and were therefore ready for co-operative action in industry.

The Rochdale Pioneers also, when they commenced business in 1844, were very careful to leave their politics behind them when they entered the meetings of their co-operative society. Later, Hughes, Ludlow, and Neale, who gave the young co-operative movement new strength and inspiration, fought most strenuously against every attempt to make it a political organisation. The architects and builders of the Co-operative Wholesale Society were no less firmly convinced that any attempt to mix party politics with co-operative business would wreck the greatest of all democratic organisations. Co-operators adopted a policy of neutrality in politics not because they followed Pope's advice to "let fools contest" for forms of government, but because they perceived that if the unity of the co-operative movement was to be maintained they must not divide the members of co-operative societies along the lines of party prejudice but unite them through their common economic interests as consumers of commodities and producers of wealth.

#### POLITICAL ENFRANCHISEMENT AND ITS EFFECTS.

It would have been useless, of course, for workingmen co-operators to prefer political to co-operative action in days when the workers had no votes. After the enfranchisement of town and village labourers the position was somewhat changed. Political action became possible; and there were many ardent politicians who argued that co-operators should support this, that, or the other party. Every new political question gave them a new opportunity of urging their fellow-co-operators to become party politicians. Co-operators were thus called upon to defend Free Trade, to resist Conscription, to clip the wings of the Lords, to support the People's Budget, and to agitate in favour of every popular reform included in the Radical programme.

Indeed, many efforts were made between the end of the nineteenth century and the commencement of the late war to convince co-operators that they should enter politics. When the Labour Representation Committee was established, and the great trade unions decided to form an independent Labour Party, a determined attempt was made to prove that "co-operators in and through their own organisation should take a larger share in the legislative and administrative government of the country." Equally persistent efforts were made to induce co-operators to unite their forces with those of the Labour Representation Committee, and thus to form "a strong party of progress and reform." These attempts, like all previous efforts, were unsuccessful, because co-operators were steadfastly resolved strictly to maintain "the neutrality of the movement . . . so that political dissension in their ranks" might be avoided.

## WHY WERE THE EARLY CO-OPERATORS ANTI-POLITICAL ?

Nor was it prudence alone that counselled co-operators to leave politics to the politicians and attend to their own business in the store and the factory, the workshop and the mill. Those who know most about co-operative history and co-operative principles have always taught that co-operators can transform society by "selling tea and margarine." Against what did the early co-operators rebel? What were the circumstances that caused them to co-operate in industry and form societies of "mutual co-operation for the supply of each other's wants, and equal distribution amongst all of the products of their united industry?" Why were they more anxious to acquire the ownership of land and capital than they were to secure the passing of the Reform Bill or the acceptance of the People's Charter? The answers to these questions are to be found only by studying the economic theory of co-operation.

The gospel of co-operation was acceptable to men and women in all parts of the United Kingdom when it was first preached because all who saw that "the root evil" in society was "the system of buying cheap and selling dear for a money profit" perceived that the way of escape from wage-slavery was by the development of a new system of production for use and not for sale. Landlordism, Capitalism, and Profiteering were the three monsters that the co-operator determined to destroy. He saw that the owners of land and capital were able to extort rent and interest from the community while private traders and manufacturers had power to exploit the consuming masses by adding profit to the price of all the people ate, or wore, or used. Moreover, the private ownership of land and capital, by dividing men into classes of rich and poor, masters and servants, idlers and workers, destroyed the unity of human society and set the hand of every man against that of his brother. Those who preached the gospel of Co-operation taught that the competitive system of society was founded on falsehood and that a social order built on the exploitation of the many by the few could not endure. The Co-operative movement, therefore, despite its peaceful methods and sober language, was in reality a revolutionary movement in the sphere of economic activity, seeking to effect a complete change in human relationships.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EARLY CO-OPERATORS.

The economic and political theory of co-operation, as understood by the disciples of Owen, the Rochdale Pioneers, and the Christian Socialists, is perfectly logical and absolutely sound. By joining together as producers and consumers in self-governing associations men and women are to re-organise society on an entirely new basis. As a consequence of land being owned collectively by the community as a whole the rent-charge will be got rid of. All forms of capital used in the production of material wealth—buildings, shops, factories,



machinery, railways, ships, etc.—are to be created by co-operative industry and co-operative thrift and owned collectively either by the community or by the members of co-operative societies. Private capitalists will then lose their power to charge interest for the use of their property because society will no longer be compelled to hire these instruments of production from them. Voluntary associations are to organise industry, trade, and commerce, both national and international, on the basis of mutuality, and when the whole business of wealth production, distribution, and exchange is thus organised by self-governing societies united in their national federations there will be no place in society for private business organisers, who will then no longer be able to make profit by exploiting the makers and users of necessary commodities.

Having thus completely abolished rent, interest, and profit by co-operative organisation, and having given to each type of organisation its true place in society, co-operators will have destroyed the wage system of payment by securing to every worker, in one way or another, the full product of his labour. Landlords, capitalists, profiteers and wage earners being known no more, the class struggle will end, and all class divisions disappear, because men and women will again be free and equal as members of society. Thus, as a result of co-operative organisation labour will be emancipated, the social revolution will be accomplished, the character of politics will change in harmony with the changes in economic and social relationships, and the State will be transformed into a Co-operative Commonwealth. By the same methods a similar change will be effected in every country, until (when finally the whole world is co-operatively organised peace will return to earth and goodwill be established among men), all that is necessary to the working of these miracles being freedom, knowledge, the opportunity to co-operate, and the creation of right desires in the minds of men and women.

It is the fashion nowadays to dismiss this theory of co-operative society either as a beautiful dream or as an ideal that can never be realised—human nature being what it is! In truth, it is absolutely logical and capable of realisation as soon as men and women have been educated in the principles and practice of co-operation. Its realisation is not dependent upon Acts of Parliament or a revolution of physical force, but upon the growth of intelligence in men and women. It is true that the co-operative movement cannot progress faster on these lines than men and women are willing to travel; but it is equally true that the Co-operative Commonwealth cannot be established until men and women are fit to dwell in it.

#### THE ESSENTIAL NEEDS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

All that the co-operative movement needs, therefore, is equal justice and room in which to grow. It asks for no favours and begs no privilege from Governments. Indeed, governments can do very little

to hasten the progress of co-operation. Governmental aid frequently weakens true co-operative effort. As a matter of historic fact, British co-operators have never asked Parliament to do anything for them but pass enabling legislation. The first Industrial and Provident Societies' Act, which gave co-operative societies a legal status, was simply an enabling Bill. The Act of 1862, which made possible the formation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, was also an enabling measure. In resisting unjust taxation co-operators have merely fought against attempts to handicap them unfairly so that private traders and manufacturers may have an advantage in the market. Never, from first to last, have co-operators used their political power to gain more than fair play and equal justice.

Yet, notwithstanding this, it was always obvious that a time would come when co-operators would be obliged to use their political power to enlarge their co-operative freedom. It was certain that they would sooner or later be compelled to recognise that the soil of Britain must be restored to the community by Act of Parliament. Co-operators can create capital; they cannot create land, which was de-socialised by political action and must be re-socialised by legislation. Apart from the exercise of political power, it will for ever be impossible for co-operators to secure possession of the soil for the purpose of re-organising the industry of agriculture on a national scale. So long as land may legally be owned by individuals every extension of co-operative farming, by raising the price of privately-owned land, actually handicaps the co-operative movement in its further progress. Hence land must be nationalised by Act of Parliament in order that it may be farmed co-operatively.

Again, the further growth of co-operative manufacture in Great Britain is largely dependent upon the control by co-operators of raw materials and first sources of supply, most of which are overseas. The English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies—with most praiseworthy enterprise—have purchased large estates in foreign lands and are to-day importing raw materials and partly-manufactured goods from many countries. This overseas trade carried on by the co-operative wholesale societies is always at the mercy of party politicians. The importation of commodities which they require can be stopped at any moment by Act of Parliament or Orders made in Council. Already, by placing an embargo on goods produced in Russia, the Government have prevented co-operative exchange between British and Russian co-operators. The fiscal policy of the nation is controlled by Parliament; if, therefore, co-operators desire freedom to trade with co-operators abroad, and if they are anxious to ensure peace with all nations in order that they may exchange goods with the co-operators of all lands, they must of necessity control national policy in Parliament.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF CO-OPERATIVE POLITICS.

That co-operators would in time be compelled to use their political

power to maintain and enlarge their economic liberty was obvious from the very first. Mr. E. V. Neale, who is often quoted as the arch-opponent of political action, was firmly convinced that co-operators would have to control the State if they did not want the State to control them. Writing in 1888, he said: "The time may come, and . . . I believe it will come, when the law-makers of this country will represent co-operative societies." Neale was too wise a man ever to desire that co-operators should depart from the principle of voluntary association; but he saw clearly that in the natural course of co-operative evolution co-operators would have to send their own representatives to Parliament, there to open still wider the door of co-operative opportunity.

During the years immediately preceding the war it was becoming evident that co-operators would soon have to enter politics. Mutterings of a coming storm were heard in every Chamber of Commerce and echoed in the meetings of every private traders' association. When private traders and manufacturers called upon the Government to impose special taxation on co-operative societies it became obvious that co-operators would soon need to think politically. Even so, co-operators were in no hurry to enter politics; but the coming of the war in 1914 gave the opponents of the co-operative movement an opportunity of which they did not fail to take full advantage. When the war began, the machinery of central and local government was for the most part controlled by men intimately associated with private trading interests. It was but natural, therefore, that they showed less consideration for co-operative societies than they gave to private traders. As a result of their antipathy to co-operation, horses, motors, and bakehouses belonging to co-operators were at once commandeered; responsible co-operative officials were sent into the army; co-operative societies were unable to obtain adequate supplies of foodstuffs for their members because of the maldistribution of supplies by food control committees; and the two co-operative wholesale societies were prevented from importing goods purchased by their buyers in foreign markets. In wartime co-operators were injured in many different ways because political power was in the hands of their trading rivals, and because they themselves were not directly represented in Parliament and on all administrative bodies. The theory that under the British constitution members of Parliament represent constituencies and not particular interests is wholly admirable. Unfortunately, however, the acts of politicians prove that this theory is more often ignored than observed.

#### THE FORMATION OF A POLITICAL PARTY.

When co-operators met in 1917 at the Swansea Congress they were smarting under a sense of injustice. All felt that they had been unjustly treated by the Government, and that advantage had been taken of the circumstances created by the war to injure the co-operative

movement. It was not surprising, therefore, that the resolution submitted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in favour of "direct representation in Parliament and on all local and administrative bodies" was carried by an overwhelming majority. That resolution undoubtedly expressed the opinion of co-operators in all parts of the country who were fully persuaded that the time had come to teach Governments that the co-operative movement can no longer be attacked with impunity. Yet it may be questioned whether many co-operators had then considered what the consequences of their entry into politics would be. Men filled with a spirit of righteous indignation seldom stay to formulate a theory or weigh the consequences of their actions; and in reality the passing of the Swansea resolution in favour of direct representation was little more than a gesture, a dramatic protest against attacks made on the co-operative movement.

It is easy to be wise after the event; but undoubtedly co-operators would have acted wisely if they had paused after the Swansea Congress and asked themselves what exactly their representatives were to do in Parliament when they got there. It is one thing to protest against injustice; it is quite another thing to formulate a new political theory. History proves that no political party can live by protesting against injustice; it must have a constructive policy, and a definite plan of action. Indeed, no party can possibly justify its separate existence if it does not bring new elements into the public life of the nation and make a real contribution to political thought. By the Swansea resolution co-operators pledged themselves to commence a new movement in British politics. They undertook the responsibility of creating a new political organisation and the task of expressing the principles of co-operation in terms of politics. Had the policy of any pre-existing party—Conservative, Unionist, Liberal, or Labour—voiced the aims and aspirations of co-operators it would have been quite unnecessary for them to enter politics as a co-operative movement. Had the programme of either the Liberal Party or the Labour Party been a co-operative programme it would have been the duty of co-operators to join that party as individual citizens, paying their contributions to its funds out of their private pockets. Co-operators decided, however, to enter politics independent of all political parties, and unpledged to any party programme.

It is clear that co-operators ought next to have appointed a thoroughly representative committee of co-operative thinkers and empowered them, first, to formulate a theory of politics in harmony with the economic theory of co-operation, and, secondly, to embody that theory in a series of definite legislative proposals. Unfortunately, however, thinking entails an intellectual effort; and original thinkers are but rarely found among politicians. How many political thinkers has Britain produced since Godwin and Burke, Bentham and John Mill provided both Conservatives and Liberals with their respective

philosophy of politics? Except John Stuart Mill, T. H. Green, and the first members of the Fabian Society, very few original thinkers have appeared, and certainly no co-operator had succeeded in constructing a new political theory prior to the entry of the Co-operative Movement into politics.

#### THE DECLARATION OF CO-OPERATIVE POLICY.

Nevertheless, co-operators everywhere were eager to give effect to the terms of the Swansea resolution. A scheme of co-operative political organisation was quickly prepared by the Central Board of the Co-operative Union, and this was approved at the National Emergency Conference held in London in the autumn of 1917. At the Congress held at Liverpool in the following year a National Co-operative Representation Committee was set up, and twelve months later this Committee was re-named the Co-operative Party.

Meanwhile, a statement of co-operative policy had been drawn up, which merits far more careful consideration than it has yet received. The authors of this important document, after saying that it is the aim of the co-operative movement in politics (1) "To safeguard effectually the interests of voluntary co-operation, and to resist any legislative or administrative inequality which would hamper its progress," in order (2) "That eventually the processes of production, distribution, and exchange (including the land) shall be organised on co-operative lines in the interests of the whole community," proceeded to recommend (3) "That the profiteering of private speculators and the trading community generally shall be eliminated by legislative or administrative action."

In moving the adoption of this statement of policy—which included eleven definite proposals—Mr. James Deans said that he understood that the objects stated in the second paragraph would eventually be attained by voluntary co-operation; yet the very next paragraph was a proposal that profiteering should be eliminated by State action: Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., might assert, as he did at the National Emergency Conference, that no co-operator "who understands the principles of co-operation" can suggest "that this is not the very object for which we exist to-day"; it is still true that co-operators had never before at any time or in any place sought to end profiteering by State action.

The co-operative movement was founded because sane men perceived that the only really satisfactory way of eliminating profit in all its forms is by the voluntary organisation of producers and consumers for mutual benefit. By calling upon the State to do things for men which they can do for themselves, co-operators are in reality asking politicians to destroy the co-operative movement. In the light of co-operative principles it is clear that it will be as unwise for co-operators to ask Governments to end profiteering by "legislative and administrative action" as it would be for co-operative societies to

invite the municipalities to establish municipal bakeries and milk depôts.

#### THE NEED OF CO-OPERATIVE THINKING IN TERMS OF POLITICS.

From this failure to distinguish clearly between compulsory association for the common good and voluntary association for mutual benefit springs the confused thinking that weakens the Co-operative Party in the country. Persons who fail to think clearly cannot act wisely; and the history of the co-operative movement in politics during the past three years has a truly astonishing resemblance to the adventures of Japhet in search of a father. It is the truth that co-operators do not yet know where they are in politics simply because they have never yet attempted to think co-operatively in terms of politics. Failing to perceive the essential difference between State Collectivism and Voluntary Co-operation co-operative politicians have so far failed either to arouse enthusiasm for political action among co-operators generally or to impress the mind of the ordinary elector.

It is not easy to formulate a new political theory at any time, and it is doubly difficult to do so at the present time. "By night all cats look black": and in abnormal times like the present many co-operators unconsciously confuse the aims of the co-operative movement in politics with those of the political Labour Party. On many points co-operators and labourists are in agreement; both demand the same reforms and advocate similar measures. Yet, despite the intellectual collapse of extreme collectivism, it is still true that whereas most Labour politicians desire to cure economic ills by political action, co-operators know that all that can be won by political action is freedom to re-build society on co-operative foundations.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY MUST MAINTAIN ITS INDEPENDENCE.

Because the theory of co-operation has not yet been clearly expressed in terms of politics, the Co-operative Party has steadily drifted towards the Labour Party. Seeing that both parties are opposed to the existing social order it is, of course, desirable that they should co-operate in action when they chance to be in agreement; but co-operators ought to recognise that a political party incapable of independent action is as dead as Liberal Unionism was when it became allied to the Tory Party. Lacking a philosophical basis, and having no distinctive programme, the Co-operative Party has so far found it almost impossible to maintain its own political identity. Locally, collectivists who entered the co-operative movement only when the co-operative movement entered politics have induced co-operative societies to join local Labour Parties; nationally the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party have been closely associated. It follows as a matter of course that many people now think there should be "a fusion of forces"; that others hold that the Co-operative Party should affiliate to the Labour Party; and that others urge the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the

Co-operative Party to unite in a political trinity, as three independent and yet interdependent bodies.

Co-operators agree with collectivists in recognising that in the present stage of social development it is not possible for voluntary associations to undertake every national and municipal service necessary to the maintenance of the life of the community. They differ from them because they do not desire State ownership and State control of mines, railways, canals, tramways, and so on, but the collective ownership of these instruments and the organisation of production, distribution, and exchange, by voluntary associations of producers and consumers.

Any identification of the co-operative movement in politics with the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, or any other party, will, therefore, be disastrous to co-operation. It will be disastrous, not merely because a political misalliance will cause dissension in co-operative societies, leading to a loss of trade and the withdrawal of share capital : but because it will cause the co-operative movement to depart from its original purpose and deviate from its true line of progress. False doctrine and heresy are far more dangerous to great movements than any temporary division among their adherents. The co-operative movement in politics must be independent of all parties, because if it is admitted that co-operators may be politically colour-blind co-operation will inevitably cease to be a movement making possible a peaceful revolution and degenerate into a mere reformist movement, not one whit nobler than a purely political party.

Co-operators are neither collectivists, nor anarchists, nor bolsheviks, but co-operators ; and they are co-operators because they perceive that political action is not an end in itself but a means of gaining liberty for men and women to co-operate. Politically, the co-operative movement is greater than any party in the State ; in industry, it has already demonstrated that voluntary organisation is economically far superior to involuntary organisation ; in the realm of ethics it is justified by its works because whereas State collectivism is in reality a new form of slavery co-operation is the voluntary association of free men who, recognising their personal responsibility for social progress, desire to get into right relations with their fellowmen.

#### THE NEED OF A SCIENTIFIC CO-OPERATIVE POLICY.

If the co-operative movement is to progress in the future as it has done in the past its political policy must be in harmony with its economic theory. It is necessary therefore for co-operators first of all to return to the position in which they stood after the Swansea Congress, and again ask themselves how the progress of co-operation can be promoted by political action, and where the line of division between co-operative, municipal, and State activity must be drawn. The thinking that ought to have been done three years ago must be done now if co-operators are to find political salvation. The work of

education, propaganda, and organisation must be continued in the country; but a strong committee, including capable representatives of every type of co-operative organisation, must sit down carefully to examine the first principles of co-operation and to discover how they can be made the foundation of a political party and the basis of a constructive programme. Until that discovery is made the present confusion will become worse confounded, until at last co-operators generally either lose their way in politics or return to their former policy of political neutrality.

It is true that adoption of the course of action here suggested will mean a further delay of perhaps two or three years before co-operators will be able to reinforce Mr. A. E. Waterson, M.P., who is so gallantly championing their cause in the House of Commons. That is a very small matter. The present crisis is not the end of the world, nor will the next General Election be the Day of Judgment. The really important thing is that co-operators should know exactly where they are in politics. It is useless to send co-operative representatives to the House of Commons not knowing what they are to do when they get there. The policy of the Co-operative Party must be in harmony with the economic policy of the distributive, productive, and wholesale co-operative societies; it must unite men and women through their common interests as workers and producers, consumers and enjoyers; it must make possible a continuous development of voluntary co-operation on the lines already laid down; and it must give to national life and politics the inspiration of a great ideal. If co-operative thinkers can construct such a policy and state it in plain terms the success of the co-operative movement in politics is assured.

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## COMPULSORY INSURANCE IN ITALY.

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**O**N July 1st, 1920, an Act for compulsory insurance came into operation in Italy. The scheme embraces workers from 15 to 65 years and workers, employers, and the State are contributories. The annual contribution of the State is 100 lire for each pensioner, while employee and employer jointly pay a definite contribution, each paying half of the full amount which is paid fortnightly and ranges from 1 lire (pre-war value 9½d.) on a wage of 2 lire per day up to 6 lire on a daily wage exceeding 10 lire. The sick pension becomes available after the payment of 120 fortnightly contributions, the old age pension comes into effect in the case of workers who have reached 65 years of age conditionally on the payment of at least 240 fortnightly contributions. The State in addition to the 100 lire per annum for each pensioner pays 66 per cent. of the amount of the first 120 contributions, 50 per cent. of the following 120, and 25 per cent. of the rest.



## THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY AND ITS FUTURE.

By S. F. PERRY, J.P.,  
*Secretary of the Co-operative Party.*

THE year just ended has been a most eventful one in the history of the Co-operative Party. As was anticipated, the real opposition to the co-operative movement entering into politics was not fully revealed at the outset. The Co-operative Party in its infancy



S. F. PERRY, J.P.

was tolerated by the capitalist parties, but, as it developed in strength, the opposition increased in intensity and became manifest in many directions. The work of the co-operative representatives on the Consumers' Council and other National Committees set up during the war period was not palatable to the organisations which so well represent vested interests. These bodies soon sought to create formidable opposition to the co-operative movement, especially on its political side. Federations of employers, chambers of commerce, and other similar associations appealed to their members for fighting funds to help them in their opposition.

This has certainly not been to the detriment of the co-operative movement or to the Co-operative Party, for our movement has always prospered as the opposition became keener. Publicity has always been advantageous to a movement whose principles are well founded.

### PARLIAMENTARY MATTERS.

In Parliamentary matters the Co-operative Party has taken part in two of the most historic by-elections of our time. At Paisley a by-election was brought about through the death of Sir John McCullum. Mr. J. M. Biggar, who fought such a splendid fight at Paisley in the General Election of 1918, was again nominated as the co-operative candidate. The contest immediately gained world-wide importance owing to the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith being put forward by the Independent Liberals. The intervention of Mr. Asquith brought into the contest the personality of a great statesman, and all the weight and influence of the Liberal Party was organised in his support. Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Chaplin and many other prominent Unionists also added their weight to his candidature. The Coalition nominated Mr. J. McKean, a well-known local gentleman, with a good public

record. The Co-operative Party had the support of all the trades union and Labour forces within many miles of the constituency, and Paisley soon became the centre of political interest. It was a tremendous task for the Co-operative Party with less than two years' experience in political organisation ; but we have every reason to be encouraged by the result, which was as follows :—

Asquith, H. H. (Liberal) .....	14,736
Biggar, J. M. (Co-operative) .....	11,902
MacKean, J. (Coalition Unionist) .....	3,795

Liberal majority .....

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2,834

One outstanding feature of the election was the development which took place on the eve of the poll. When the supporters of the Coalition Unionist realised that their candidate was likely to be unsuccessful, large numbers of them voted for Mr. Asquith, thus illustrating their preference for the old order of capitalist representation. As Mr. Lloyd George recently said, "The great issue of individualism versus collectivism is to be the battle-ground of the future," and this prophecy was amply supported in the by-election at Paisley.

The other by-election in which the Co-operative Party took part was probably equal in importance to that of Paisley. On account of the death of Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes (Coalition Liberal) a vacancy was created at Stockport. A quarrel quickly developed between the Liberal and Conservative elements in the constituency, and the latter refused to accept the Liberal nominee. Acute divisions took place which brought about the intervention of the Whips of the Coalition Government. A visit to the constituency by one of the Whips had remarkable results. Mr. G. J. Wardle, who had also represented Stockport from the year 1906 as a Labour member, had remained a member of the Coalition Government after the Labour Party had withdrawn its support. On this account feeling ran high against Mr. Wardle in local Labour quarters. As the quarrel between the Liberal and Conservative element in the division developed, Mr. Wardle suddenly resigned his seat on the grounds of ill-health. This brought about a double vacancy, and the Liberal and Conservative Coalitionists were thus allowed each to nominate a candidate for one of the two vacancies. The Stockport Labour Party had already invited Sir Leo Chiozza Money to run as a Labour candidate for the first vacancy, and after negotiations, the contesting of the second vacancy was allocated to the Co-operative Party. I had the honour of being nominated as the Co-operative candidate. The Labour and Co-operative parties co-operated whole-heartedly from the beginning to the end of the campaign, and each party was supported by the other to the very great advantage of both. On the other hand, Mr. Lloyd George had just made his famous declaration in favour of a fusion of capitalist forces to fight Labour, and the Stockport by-election afforded the first opportunity to carry out this policy of fusion. It was an

interesting sight and a remarkable testimony to the tendency of politics in these times to see all sections of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Stockport combining to keep out the Labour and Co-operative candidates. The whole weight of the Coalition headquarters machinery was utilised on behalf of their candidates. The position became more interesting on account of the nomination of two "Bottomley" candidates, and for the first time in an English constituency a Sinn Fein candidate was nominated. These latter steps had an important bearing on the result, which was as under :—

Greenwood, W. (Coalition Unionist) .....	22,847
Fildes, H. (Coalition Liberal) .....	22,386
Chiozza-Money, Sir Leo (Labour) .....	16,042
Perry, S. F. (Co-operative) .....	14,434
Kindell, A. G. (Independent) .....	5,644
Terrett, J. J. (Independent) .....	5,443
O'Brien, W. (Sinn Fein) .....	2,336
	<hr/>
Coalition Unionist majority .....	6,805
Coalition Liberal majority .....	6,344

At meetings held subsequent to the declaration of the Poll leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties admitted that the policy of combination was the only one which had brought about their success. To Labour and Co-operation the contest was equally important. For the first time we had an alliance of the two great movements and a remarkable example of what can be done when co-operators entered into politics in real earnest. The Stockport by-election marks an epoch in the history of the Co-operative Party. Whilst believing whole-heartedly in the building up of a Co-operative Party, I realise to the full the necessity of the closest possible alliance with our friends of the trade union and Labour movements. Labour and Co-operation combined at Stockport, proved themselves stronger than any other individual party and will ensure ultimate success in the direct conflict between the interests of collectivism against individualism.

#### THE SWANSEA AND CARLISLE RESOLUTIONS.

The resolutions adopted by the Swansea Congress which took the co-operative movement into politics recognised that whilst co-operators should remain an independent unit, they might work with other organisations having similar aims and objects. The experience of the last few years has proved that sooner or later all democratic forces must unite for their protection against the powerful interests of the capitalist parties. At the Co-operative Congress at Carlisle the Co-operative Party were empowered to negotiate with the trade union and Labour movements with the object of forming a closer federation for electoral purposes and the ultimate aim of a united People's or Democratic Party. In carrying out the terms of this resolution, the Co-operative Party negotiated with the two bodies mentioned, and ultimately a scheme was drawn up for the establishment of a Labour

and Co-operative political alliance. The proposal is now being discussed by the constituents of the co-operative, labour, and trade union movements. In the co-operative movement it has led to keen discussion and somewhat divided opinions. It seems to be now admitted that co-operative representation is essential in our interests, but differences of opinion arise as to the best method by which this can be accomplished. Many earnest co-operators are afraid of our movement joining any alliance or affiliating with the other two organisations, although others are in favour of an alliance which will provide for the co-operative movement preserving its own identity yet working together for the common weal with the other kindred associations. The terms of the proposed alliance are set out below.

#### THE LABOUR AND CO-OPERATIVE POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

1. *Name*.—The Labour and Co-operative Political Alliance.

2. *Membership*.—The Labour and Co-operative Political Alliance shall consist of the affiliated organisations of the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the Co-operative Party.

3. *Objects*.—To correlate and co-ordinate the forces and activities of the labour and co-operative movements in respect to representation in Parliament and on all local administrative bodies, and to sustain and support one another in their respective and combined efforts to set up the new social order and with the ultimate object of the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

4. *Joint Committee*.—There shall be a Joint Committee of the Alliance consisting of nine members, three to be elected by each of the bodies represented in the Alliance.

5. *Procedure*.—With a view to securing concerted action on political matters, and to avoid a clashing of interests represented in the three affiliated organisations, the Joint Committee shall be empowered—

(a) To make declarations of policy on political matters in harmony with the decisions of the conferences of the three bodies.

(b) To arrange conferences to consider candidatures in Parliamentary contests with a view to avoiding any clashing of interests.

(c) To endorse on behalf of the Joint Committee officially nominated Parliamentary candidates of the Labour Party or the Co-operative Party.

(d) In all elections steps to be taken to secure concerted action in favour of the candidates nominated, in accordance with clause (c).

(e) To recommend to local Labour parties and Co-operative parties that a similar procedure be adopted in connection with candidates nominated for local administrative bodies.

(f) And to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to achieve the objects of the Labour and Co-operative Alliance.

From this it will be seen that, in addition to providing for common action in Parliamentary contests, provision is made for joint working in connection with elections for local administrative bodies. The National Committee of the Co-operative Party recommend to the movement the adoption of the provisions of the alliance. They feel that the co-operative movement is too great, and has too distinct a message to be absorbed by any other organisation. Experience has proved that by common agreement between the three bodies who

would constitute the political alliance results are possible which will affect greatly the whole future of democracy. The Co-operative Union in its policy has lent support to this view. There already exists a Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, a United Advisory Council of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, with many local branches, and a Committee at present dealing with the co-ordination of the work of the three organisations.

With the help of the Labour Party in Parliament a representative was appointed on the Royal Income Tax Commission. When our movement was threatened with the imposition of the Corporation Tax being applied to Co-operators' savings, the Co-operative Union immediately approached the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party and asked for their assistance, which was willingly given. In the Parliamentary debates on the Finance Bill, Mr. Waterson, the co-operative representative, secured valuable help from the Labour Party.

On the other hand, strong sections of the movement are reluctant to enter into this form of agreement. It is said, that being concerned so deeply in trade matters, the movement cannot introduce its trade into politics or politics into its trade. Yet was it not the stern, bitter experience of our trade departments at the hands of the Government which helped to lead us into politics.

In the past the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress repeatedly declared that whether a Liberal or Conservative Government was in power, the treatment meted out to co-operators was the same. Questions of control, allocation of supplies to societies, the attitude of military tribunals, the restricting regulations of Government and Municipal authorities, and the preference shown to vested interests, all go to prove that politics and trade interests are not, and can hardly be, separated. The co-operative movement, which stands for the substitution of co-operation for competition, the elimination of the army of middlemen and brokers, with the ultimate object of building up the co-operative commonwealth, is bound to meet with the keenest opposition from trade interests. Some co-operators declare that though outside firms enter into politics, they do not take their trading interests with them. A visit to the House of Commons or to any town council meeting will soon disabuse the minds of those co-operators who hold this view. Bankers, shipowners, coal owners, manufacturers, insurance and railway directors are all strongly represented, and co-operators will receive that treatment which the strength of their representation will demand. In these days, little of the legislation introduced into Parliament does not directly or indirectly affect our trading interests as co-operators, and any restriction of our business expansion re-acts accordingly on the development of our co-operative social ideals.

Some co-operators fear that the alliance may lead to the funds of

the co-operative movement being utilised for extreme Labour propaganda of which they entirely disapprove. A study of the terms of the proposed Alliance will show that these fears are not justified. The constitution of the Alliance gives no power for the political side of the co-operative movement to hand over the control of finances to any other body. It should be clearly borne in mind also that the alliance deals only with political questions on which the Co-operative Party would have to declare its policy in accordance with the decisions of the Co-operative Congress. In this way, with proper co-ordination the Co-operative Party would be expressing the political views of the whole movement, and the control of the political policy remain always in the hands of the Co-operative Congress. The present tendency towards the control of industry by trusts and combines, the gradual concentration of the capitalist political parties into one camp, and the awakening desire on the part of democracy to take a larger share in the administration of the affairs of the country should point out to co-operators and all sections of the workers, the need for unity. We fear no foe from without ; our danger lies in division and misunderstanding in our ranks. When the workers of all countries forget to throw stones at each other and combine against the common enemy, then and not until then is there hope for democracy. It is in this spirit that I hope the co-operative movement will approach the discussions on this proposed Labour and Co-operative alliance. Let us have more faith in ourselves and realise that men and women born of a common stock and having the same ideals must of necessity combine if they are to enjoy fullness of life.

#### CO-OPERATIVE PARTY STATISTICS.

In the year 1918, 563 societies subscribed subscriptions amounting to £7,139. 17s. 4d., which included £1,000 and £500 subscribed respectively by the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

On December 31st, 1919, 532 societies had subscribed an amount of £6,079. 14s. 1d., which again included £1,000 and £500 from the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

One of the greatest difficulties encountered was after the first year societies discovered that their rules were an obstacle to continuing their subscription, and the Barrhead judgment had a deterring effect upon subscriptions.

Up to September 30th, 1920, 50 new societies have become affiliated during the year and the subscriptions already received exceed those of 1919.

There are in existence about 180 definitely organised local co-operative parties.

# INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION & THE REVIVAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

BY H. J. MAY,

*Secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance.*

**I**NTERNATIONAL co-operation, in spite of nearly thirty years of advocacy and effort, is still largely confined to the region of ideas. Practical examples of co-operative organisations constituted for the production and distribution of commodities on an international basis are practically non-existent in the membership of the "International Co-operative Alliance."



H. J. MAY.

In some respects, therefore, the term "international co-operation" is a misnomer as applied to any actual movement comparable to the great economic development of the British, French, German, or a dozen other national co-operative movements which have followed the ideals of Robert Owen and the example of the Rochdale Pioneers. It is well that this aspect of the position should be taken fully into account, in order that we may appreciate both the magnitude of the task and the glory of the opportunity which now await our advance.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

So far, the Alliance includes the national co-operative organisations of twenty of the older nations and five of the newer States which have achieved independence following the world war. The Alliance has for its objects the substitution for the existing system of individual profit-making of a social order based upon the principles of the Rochdale Pioneers and organised in the interests of the whole community. It seeks, by the exchange of ideas, the collection of statistics and documents, and the dissemination of information on the needs and achievements of the various countries, to establish a common basis of action which shall result in the universal commonwealth of co-operation. Out of such a condition of things the real international co-operation will emerge and "*the promotion of trading relations between the co-operative organisations of the various countries,*" which is one of the declared aims of the Alliance, will follow as naturally as the day follows the night. But that point has not yet been reached, so slow is the growth of understanding and confidence between the peoples.

## THE ALLIANCE IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD.

The high-water mark of pre-war international relations was reached at the International Congress of Glasgow in 1913. Henceforward the Alliance must make a new start with a revised constitution and a new outlook, at least with a determination to realise that its period of adolescence is past and that it must now enter upon a stage of fuller growth.

At Glasgow over 600 delegates were present from about twenty different nations. The report to the Congress showed that there were no less than fifty-five Co-operative Unions and 3,871 individual societies in affiliation with the Alliance, subscribing to meet a budget of, approximately, £3,000 per annum. The interest in the Congress and the quality of its work were very high. The enthusiasm reached a culminating point in the adoption of the now famous resolution in favour of International Peace, which sent the delegates away fully convinced that they had assisted to usher in the millennium—at least for co-operation. The catastrophe which followed within a year detracts nothing from the sincerity and determination of purpose of the Glasgow Congress, nor, indeed, from the confidence that in such a relationship as the Alliance is capable of promoting lies ultimately the guarantee of enduring peace among the nations and the possibility of economic equity amongst mankind.

## THE ALLIANCE DURING THE PERIOD OF WAR.

The period of the war was, however, a time of severe trial and testing to the relations which had been established between the co-operators of the world. As in other spheres, so in co-operation, the collection of statistics, or even the maintenance of regular sources of general information, became very difficult and the years from 1914 to 1919 will remain an interregnum about which only general particulars and tendencies can be recorded.

The outstanding fact common to all the European countries, and especially marked in those most closely affected by the operations of the war, was the absolute emergence of the co-operative movement as a national force. As the conflict proceeded we saw the grimness of the fight for the life of nations, which called for the discarding of social distinctions—at least, by those who could be called upon to bear arms—and the adoption of the principles of equality in service and sacrifice. The process of levelling was carried still further when the world shortage of commodities made Government control of production and the rationing of supplies a necessity for the preservation of the physical life of the people, to say nothing of the prevention of civil war.

It was then that the co-operative organisations emerged. If the labourer, the navvy, and the miner became heroes in the fighting line, the working-men's co-operative societies of Europe became the



economic saviours of the people and the strong buttress of Governments which desired, above all, to keep the civilian population quiet while they directed the national defence or pursued their militarist schemes. In Switzerland, France, Russia, Germany, and in most countries, the efficiency of the distributing machinery of co-operation, the democratic constitution of the movement, its absolute freedom from profit-making and its possession of the confidence of the people, made the movement an ideal instrument for the national purposes. In face of the common danger it was blessed by the most re-actionary Governments and, stepping into the breach, demonstrated under unexampled circumstances the truth and soundness of the co-operative principles.

In the United Kingdom, because of the comparative facility with which supplies were brought from abroad and also because of the controlling influence of trading interests in our national affairs, co-operative power was slower in making itself felt. The history and effects of the special National Conference held at Westminster in 1917 and of the subsequent Consumers' Council of the Ministry of Food reveal the fact that, in accordance with British tradition, though the co-operators were late in securing admission into the field, they yet made an indelible impression. These activities during the stress of Food Control have been a tremendous success in propagating our ideals and in establishing the movement as a force with which governments must reckon.

If the war record of co-operation contained no other outstanding feature, this would be sufficient to justify our claim that the movement internationally has emerged from adolescence to the condition and responsibilities of maturity. The task of the Alliance, as of every national union and federation, is "to dig itself in" and consolidate its gains, so that the next advance may make yet deeper inroads in the ranks of capitalism and privilege.

It is also a tribute to the effect of the international relations which have been established, that the communications of the Alliance with other countries were not directly interfered with by the various Governments during hostilities. Of course, the general dislocation prevented free intercourse, caused delays and losses, which, however, were common to all sections of the community. The pages of the "Bulletin" bear witness that a very considerable amount of information passed freely between the office of the International Co-operative Alliance and every country in Europe, while the British Government facilitated its publication in Germany and France throughout the war. Co-operative delegations, too, received consideration, outside the zone of the armies, so that co-operation, if not an "open sesame," was accepted as a guarantee of good faith. The efforts made to keep the Alliance in being were effectively supported by the French Federation, which organised no less than three special Conferences in Paris. The discussions at those meetings as to the lines of future work and the

best means of resuming full relations were of real importance in passing from the interregnum to the fuller day of economic reconstruction.

In this brief review of the war period we must note that 200 British Co-operative Societies chose that time of trial for declaring their allegiance to the principle of internationalism by becoming subscribing members. Russia, Spain, Norway, Finland and others contributed directly to the membership, and if we do not chronicle new adherents from the Central Empires and the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe it is because their national organisations are "collective members" of the Alliance. These have undoubtedly increased their society membership, which will be reflected in their future contributions, but make no direct addition to the official membership. We have not space to give the figures of increase in the various countries, but it may be taken for granted that the splendid advance of the British movement is relatively reflected in the progress of the other countries.

#### THE REVIVAL OF THE ALLIANCE.

Coming now to the revival of the work of the Alliance, the spirit of the movement is firm and confident as to the future. Its action is, perhaps, a little lethargic at present, in which it only shares in the general fatigue following the strain of six terrible years. The two meetings of the Central Committee which have already been held—one at Geneva in April and the other at the Hague in October—have succeeded in bringing together representatives from practically every country. This in itself is an important step forward. The first difficulty to be overcome is the financial one. Already the question has been faced and temporary measures taken for bridging the difficulty of depreciation in the currency of different States. The need of higher contributions to meet the changed economic conditions has been considered, and there is an obvious desire not simply to maintain the pre-war budget according to present values, but to provide for a greatly enlarged scope in the future. In this connection perhaps the most hopeful feature is the determination of every country in the alliance to pay up its arrears of subscriptions for the years 1914-1919, of course in present currency.

The whole constitution of the Alliance is now in the melting pot and a very thorough revision of its Statutes will be submitted to the Tenth International Co-operative Congress which is to meet at Basle in August, 1921.

#### HISTORY OF THE ALLIANCE AND ITS HISTORICAL PHASES.

Professor Charles Gide, the veteran French co-operator, divides the history of the Alliance into three periods: the first "The Bourgeois"; the second, "The Socialist"; and the third, "The *real* international period." The first period began with the Plymouth Congress of 1886, when M. de Boyve, as a representative of France,

urged the establishment of international co-operative relations, in which he was supported by Edward Vansittart Neale, first General Secretary of the British Union, Thomas Hughes, Charles Robert (France) and E. O. Greening, all "friends of co-operation," who added to their numbers by the co-optation of intellectual members of the "Bourgeois" class. They succeeded in forming the Alliance at a Congress held in London in 1895.

The "Socialist" period, or, what to British co-operators is more correctly described as the democratic or consumers' period, dates from 1896 to the Hamburg Congress in 1910. During that time, owing largely to the influence of the British Wholesale Societies and the Union, the constitution was changed from an individual to a collective or representative basis, in which the consumers' societies largely predominated.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

We are now at the threshold of the third period, which, indeed, should become the real international period. The first step in this process will be the constitution of an International Executive. Hitherto the Executive has been composed of the British representatives, who have earned and received encomiums from all countries for the efficiency and impartiality with which they have conducted the affairs of "International Co-operation." This has been a great advantage, especially during the war; but if the Alliance is to make the progress we hope for and meet the new world-conditions, it is essential that its executive organ should be representative of the different races or groups of nations, even though it is not possible to include every nationality. On this proposal there will be found general agreement, and its influence will certainly be far-reaching. It is anticipated that the general reconstitution, when adopted at Basle, will form the appropriate "jumping-off point" for the accomplishment of a wider programme than has yet been attempted.

What then should be the purpose of the International Co-operative Alliance in its mature experience and new opportunities? Its first and broadest duty will be to defend the interests of the consumers. If there is one economic fact more than another which has been brought home to us by the war, it is that the needs and rights of the consumers in any and every State are paramount. All the administrative skill of Governments and all the expert knowledge at their command have been directed to meeting that need and to satisfying those rights. As we have shown, the co-operative organisations have been used everywhere because they most effectively contributed to that end. What was vital to the life of humanity in the period of its greatest trial cannot be without essential worth in peace and the period of reconstruction on which we have entered.

In pursuing that purpose, the International Co-operative Alliance must emerge from its state of a mere information bureau and propagandist of good-will towards men. It must become an Alliance of Unions and Federations determined to take its place in the councils of the world and to establish the economic and social existence of society on a new and human basis of brotherhood. Instead of thinking nationally or imperially, it must think in continents; and to begin with, it must recognise the unity of the Commonwealth of Europe.

At the moment the soul of Europe cries out for salvation. Economic chaos prevails and disaster threatens. In the midst of the common bankruptcy of the nations the financial soundness of consumers' co-operation stands out as a monument and a guarantee. Whether the existing co-operative organisations are capable, unaided, of saving it from destruction is a moot point, but we are convinced that the application of the co-operative principle and practice are probably the sole means of averting the catastrophe. Equally certain is it that the new world for which we are looking is more likely to be achieved through international co-operation than any other means. The only League of Nations in operation to-day, or with a sound prospect of achieving the ideals of President Wilson, is the great Co-operative Commonwealth in which the British co-operative movement has always been the predominant partner.

#### THE PROJECT OF AN INTERNATIONAL WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

International Co-operation, as we pointed out at the beginning, is one-sided and needs most urgently the natural extension of its energies into the field of international trade. Only so can it carry succour to Europe and mankind. Out of the Paris Conferences there arose a definite project of the establishment of an International Wholesale Society, and a committee has been working for more than a year to evolve a practical scheme. The committee is faced, however, with difficulties, but we are confident that those who "will the end" will find the means. That we have lost some opportunities of advance for lack of such an organisation cannot, we fear, be gainsaid. The future is ours and the grave responsibility is upon us of forming an organisation which will not only advance our ideals by leaps and bounds, but will also contribute untold benefit to the "common people" of the world. An elaborate commercial constitution is not a necessary preliminary. A simple method of exchange of the commodities which each can best produce, or obtain from its peculiar natural resources, would revolutionise commerce, and form the natural basis of a "real" international.

We venture to think that, in this brief outline of the tasks and possibilities of the future, will be found a sufficient programme and inducement to the direct descendants of the Rochdale Pioneers to contemplate their true destiny and to call into play their best energies for its achievement.

# TIMBER CUTTING ON C.W.S ESTATE



DRAWING OUT  
TIMBER.



Scenes from one of the  
Lancashire Estates of the  
C.W.S.

LOADING TIMBER  
FOR TRANSIT TO  
BUILDING  
DEPARTMENT  
BROUGHTON  
WORKS



TIMBER CUT  
TO SPECIFIED  
LENGTHS WITH  
CROSS-CUT SAW

## THE YEAR'S REVIEW OF THE C.W.S.

**I**N the following pages we give a review of the work of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited during the year 1920. It is not possible to include all the items that have engaged the attention of the organisation unless we are to take up too much space. We can, at any rate, present an indication of the various demands made upon the C.W.S. from time to time by the delegates whom the directors represent, and at the same time show to what extent purchases of land and property have to be carried out in order to provide for the necessary expansion of machinery for the production of commodities and the co-operative control of industry.

### FIRST QUARTER.

We purpose, however, to sketch some of the details of the year in quarterly divisions as they appear in the customary reports and balance sheets. The recommendations of the Committee submitted to the meetings of January 3rd and 9th, 1920, included purchases amounting to £212,717, the largest of these including the taking over of the model printing works of Messrs. Taylor, Garnett, Evans, & Co., at Reddish, for £129,000, to meet the growing printing demands of the institution, and to relieve our large printing establishments at Longsight, Leicester, Newcastle, and the smaller one at Warrington. Relief was also provided to the C.W.S. cabinet works at Broughton and Pelaw by sanctioning the purchase of a cabinet factory at Bristol for £27,102, which, by the way, was added to shortly afterwards by the acquisition of a large cabinet works at Birmingham for £95,000, which had a reputation for very high-class productions. Other purchases for which approval was sought, included:—

Style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
Freehold land & buildings	7,429	Bridlington	£16,550	Clothing factory.
„ „ „	2,889	Leeds	15,500	Saleroom extension.
„ „ „	39,288	Higher Irlam	10,225	Extension of Soap Works.
„ „ „	500	Plymouth	4,750	To establish Sale-room.
„ „ „	2,770	Longsight	4,400	To provide for Printing Works extension.
„ „ „	665	Congleton	890	Milk Depot additions.
Freehold land .....	4,400	Huthwaite	145	Extension of Hosiery factory.
Leasehold land and six cottages .....	391	Cardiff	1,125	Future development of Cardiff Depot.
Freehold land .....	1,230	Rocester	154	To improve working facilities for milk.
Farm and land .....	(154 acres)	Crewe	9,060	To extend farming operations.
Freehold land and ten cottages .....	3,540	Crewe	2,875	



PREMIUM INCOME OVER

**£1,250,000**

INSURANCE FUNDS OVER

**£1,250,000**

## 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**

**LIFE ASSURANCE (INDUSTRIAL  
AND SPECIAL)  
COLLECTIVE LIFE ASSURANCE  
ANNUITIES  
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION  
FIDELITY : FIRE : BURGLARY  
LIVE STOCK : PLATE GLASS  
MOTOR VEHICLE  
PERSONAL ACCIDENT  
BOILERS : ENGINES  
ELECTRIC PLANT  
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 : 16, Pershore Street.  
NOTTINGHAM : C.W.S. Depot, Friar Lane.  
LEEDS : Crown Chambers, 9, Albion Street.  
PLYMOUTH : Plymouth Chambers.

*AGENCIES IN ALL CO-OPERATIVE CENTRES*

**Over a Thousand Claims dealt with every week**

It may be repeated that these acquisitions came to a total of £212,717 compared to recommendations of the previous quarterly meeting (October, 1919) amounting to £209,667.

The approval of these transactions marked the principal feature of the first C.W.S. meeting of the year 1920, and apart from these the proceedings were comparatively uneventful. There were four notices of motion submitted, and all were rejected. The only new lines suggested came from Edmonton and Reading societies, both seeking means to develop still further the admirable Collective Life Assurance Scheme. Edmonton's resolution was to instruct the C.W.S. to pay over to the Co-operative Insurance Society Limited each half-year a sum equal to 1d. in the '£ on retail societies' trade with the C.W.S., the amount to be allocated to societies which had adopted the scheme and no society to receive an allocation at a greater rate in the £ than the rate in the £ of premium paid to the collective scheme. Reading Society desired that the amount should be allocated to all societies to enable them to adopt this unique system of life assurance at once. Both proposals failed to obtain the assent of the delegates.

SECOND QUARTER.

The next divisional meetings of the C.W.S. were held on April 3rd, and the general meeting on the 10th. On this occasion the recommendations relating to purchases came to a cost of £150,569. They were made up as follow :—

style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
Freehold land and buildings	3,035	Bradford	£ 32,035	Manufacture of Ladies' Dress Material. Packing-case making To enlarge manufacture of Fustian to meet societies' demands.
„ „ „	29,649	Salford	54,500	
„ „ „	862	Hebden Bdge.	—	
Leasehold land . . . . .	4,952	„	30,000	Tobacco factory extension.
Freehold land and buildings	1,162	Manchester	9,609	
Freehold land and dwelling houses . . . . .	636	Northampton	1,425	Extension of C.W.S. Depot.
Freehold land, buildings, &c. (2 acres)		Birmingham	23,000	For manufacture of Cycles, Accessories, Motor Tyres, &c.

At the April meetings five notices of motion were rejected. The first was from Manchester and Salford Society to effect an alteration



in the rules of the C.W.S. to provide for the election of four representatives, elected by the votes of the employees, to act on the Committee of Management. Bulwell Society pleaded for the payment of carriage on goods supplied to societies by the C.W.S. Among the other negative notices was one from Stratford which may be regarded as a preliminary sign of the subsequent conflict between the C.W.S. and some of the distributive societies regarding the introduction and the enforcement of politics. It asked the C.W.S. to close down all works on May 1st (Labour Day) for the purpose of demonstrating the international ideals of labour.

A further resolution was submitted and adopted. This protested against the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax to impose income-tax charges on co-operative societies, and claimed that mutual trading does not produce taxable income. Hence the importance of keeping back any encroachment on an established principle in respect to co-operative trading surplus. The resolution was as follows:—

That this meeting of delegates from societies in membership with the Co-operative Wholesale Society emphatically protests against the adoption of the recommendations of the main Report of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax relating to co-operative societies as being grossly unjust and inequitable, inasmuch as it proposes to levy taxation upon them by an application of the Income Tax Acts in a manner which is not applied to any ordinary trading organisation.

It further declares its adherence to the Reservation No. 7 on this subject, which is supported by seven members of the Royal Commission, and calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to uphold the position established by the highest judicial authority, and adopted for many years past by the Treasury and the Revenue Officials, viz., that mutual trading does not produce taxable income.

During the quarter—from January 3rd to April 9th—one or two events occurred of some importance to the C.W.S. On February 4th the Leeds Society (then the largest distributive society in the kingdom) decided by a majority of 61 votes to become a member of the organisation, this achievement towards greater solidarity having occurred after repeated attempts extending over many years. On February 12th and 13th the C.W.S. Board came in conflict with the Co-operative Union Limited over certain proposals in the Report of the Co-operative Survey Committee, the difference being contested at a Special Co-operative Congress held at Blackpool. This is referred to elsewhere in this volume. Another item worthy of notice was the purchase of the woollen mills of Messrs. Hamlyn Brothers at Buckfastleigh, Devonshire, for £270,000, thus bringing the C.W.S. into the famous West of England woollen and worsted industry, and forming a useful addition to the textile factories owned by the C.W.S. in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

### THIRD QUARTER.

Passing on, the institution had first of all in the third quarter of the year to meet the resignation of its president, Mr. T. Killon, through ill-health, and the retirement of the father of the Board, Mr. T. Shotton,

in accordance with the requirements of the new retirement scheme affecting directors. This quarter included the annual Co-operative Congress at Bristol, described elsewhere. It brought into the C.W.S. as a trading body, a matter of serious contention, owing to the decision to force upon the movement the question of a political arrangement with the Labour organisations, or the establishment of a Labour and Co-operative Alliance, or direct affiliation to the Labour Party. The C.W.S. Board of Directors opposed this, and issued a statement to the effect that any form of alliance was contrary to the spirit of the Swansea Congress in 1917, at which a resolution was adopted in favour of political action. The decision of 1917, though forming a departure from the traditional policy of the movement, and the expressed views of the Rochdale Pioneers, was to be confined to the seeking of direct representation in Parliamentary and on local governing bodies, and not alliance with any other political organisation. The C.W.S. declared its willingness to stand by the Swansea resolution.

The attitude of the C.W.S. (which led the Directors to issue the statement alluded to) brought it into sharp opposition to those who were promoting Co-operative Party candidates at by-elections. The Board was criticised for having declined to lend motor-cars in connection with a by-election at Stockport, where a Co-operative Party candidate was run in harness with a Labour Party candidate. At the July quarterly meetings of the C.W.S. a resolution was urged requesting that the resources of the C.W.S. should be used in furthering the policy of the Co-operative Party. The voting of the delegates, however, rejected the proposal.

The object of the opponents was pursued at the subsequent quarterly meetings of the C.W.S., when 55 societies (led by London, Manchester, and Stockport) tabled a notice of motion, reading:—

“This meeting instructs the C.W.S. Directors to consult the National Committee of the Co-operative Party as to the best way in which the C.W.S. can render assistance to secure the practical application of the policy of the Co-operative Party as laid down by Congress, and present their report and proposals to the quarterly meetings in January, 1921.”

This was adopted, and here the matter rests for the present. Singularly enough the C.W.S. Board has held joint meetings with the Co-operative Party National Committee during the periods when the above resolutions were before the movement. The Directors have never taken the stand of objecting to meet the Party on any necessary occasion.

Beyond the political notice of motion mentioned, there was no other that aroused any great interest. A notice for a donation of £10,000 to the Co-operative College Fund was adjourned.

The recommendations of the Committee, with respect to purchases or extensions of business plant and property for which sanction was obtained at the meetings, were:—

Style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
Freehold land and buildings	2,196	Yarmouth	£ 13,315	Developments for Fish and Poultry trade.
Freehold land .....	300	North Shields	3,500	
Freehold land and houses, 6 acres, 3 roods, 27 perches	2,942	Heckmondwike	3,000	Extension of Boot works.
Freehold land and houses, 6 acres, 3 roods, 27 perches	—	Higher Irlam	3,900	Extension margarine works.
Freehold land, 35 acres, 3 roods, 33 perches.....	—	Compton Bassett	1,715	Additional farms.
Freehold land and buildings, 2 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches	—	Goole	200	

#### THE FOURTH QUARTER.

The divisional and general meetings were held on October 2nd and 9th, when the delegates had to face a trading loss of £132,288. 5s. 1d., debited to the Reserve Fund, whilst on the other hand this fund had been credited with the sum of £710,209. 2s. in respect of repayment of Excess Profits Duty received during the half-year. There were no purchases of land, buildings, or works to recommend to the assemblies for sanction, this being rare in the past few years of C.W.S. history. The political controversy contained in the notices of motion has been dealt with in our review of the previous quarter. The resolution to secure £10,000 for the Co-operative College Fund was again adjourned.

The following items were adopted: The raising of the grant to the International Co-operative Alliance, through the funds of the Co-operative Union Limited, from £75 to £150 a year; a further grant of £50 for the current year to the National Co-operative Men's Guild.

A departure was made from what has been regarded as an important condition by which a Director of the C.W.S. could not hold his position if a relative of his was employed by the society. This rule will no longer persist as it was resolved to alter rule 24 in order to provide that a Director need not vacate his office on account of having a relative employed.

It may be added that during the year when the necessity for available capital has been felt practically the world over, the expansion of the C.W.S. has been also checked for the want of greater capital resources. With the object of increasing these, the meetings on October 2nd and 9th resolved that it was desirable to alter rule 5 so as to provide that every society on becoming a member shall take up not less than one £5 share for every two of its members, instead of three £5 shares for every ten members as at present. It was hoped that societies which are already members would also fall in with the requirements of the new rule in order to secure greater trading and

manufacturing developments. Two or three effective means for raising capital, and providing for a continual increase, have been put into practice. First was the issue of Development Bonds, the first series last year, and the second issued at the commencement of the present year. By this means £6,000,000 was accumulated from societies and individuals. Deposit Notes have been also instituted. These are subject to three months' notice, bearing interest at increasing rates up to 5½ per cent. if left with the society for four years. A further development has been the institution of a special Financial Propaganda Department to promote closer interest, among all classes of co-operators, and the provision of a continual stream of collective capital for co-operative expansion.

## CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

ENROLLED - - - - AUGUST 11TH, 1863.

COMMENCED BUSINESS - - MARCH 14TH, 1864.

Wholesale General Dealers, Importers and Exporters, Manufacturers, Produce Growers, Colliery Owners, Shipowners, Bankers, Insurers, Printers, Publishers and Publicity Agents, Architects, Builders, and Engineers.

Farmers and Dairyowners, Fruit Growers, Seed Growers, Wheat Growers, Tea Growers and Blenders, Packers and Importers, Coffee Roasters and Cocoa Manufacturers, Butter Blenders, Margarine Manufacturers and Lard Refiners, Canners and Bacon Curers; Biscuit and Confectionery and Preserve and Pickle Manufacturers, Vinegar Brewers and Yeast Manufacturers; Drysalters and Spice Grinders, and Tobacco Manufacturers.

Textile Manufacturers, Clothing, Underclothing, and Footwear Manufacturers, Furniture and Hardware Manufacturers, and Household Utensils and Requisites Manufacturers of all kinds; also Ironworkers, Tanners and Curriers, Sawmillers, Glass and Pottery and Motor Vehicle Manufacturers, &c., &c.

Wholesale Grocers and Provision Dealers, Italian Warehousemen, Fruit and Fish Salesmen, Butter, Cheese, and Egg Factors, Milk Producers, Seed and Fertiliser Salesmen, Coal Merchants, Drapers, Milliners, Haberdashers, Hosiers and Outfitters, Tailors and Clothiers, Boot and Shoe Dealers, House Furnishers, Ironmongers, Cycle Salesmen, China and Earthenware Dealers and Manufacturers, Clock and Watch Dealers, Jewellers, Booksellers and Stationers, Paper and Twine Merchants, &c., &c.

## C.W.S. TRADE AND BANKING.

The trade of the movement continues to grow at a considerable pace. Below we present figures of the value of trade conducted by the C.W.S. during the year from June 28th, 1919, to June 26th, 1920; we also give useful figures relating to banking.

### SALES AND SUPPLIES.

	Half year ending Dec. 27th, 1919.	Half year ending June 26th, 1920.
	£	£
Total sales .....	48,026,659 ..	51,225,868
Increase .....	12,911,709 ..	9,903,209
Percentage increase .....	36 $\frac{3}{4}$	23 $\frac{1}{4}$
Totals for the year from June, 1919, to June, 1920, amounted to £99,252,527.		

### SUPPLIES FROM C.W.S. PRODUCTIVE WORKS.

	Half year ending Dec. 27th, 1919.	Half year ending June 26th, 1920.
	£	£
Total sales .....	14,016,652 ..	16,082,571
Increase .....	4,713,531 ..	4,214,193
Percentage increase .....	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total for the year amounted to £30,099,223, compared to £25,885,030 for the year ended December 27th, 1919.		

### BANKING DEPARTMENT.

The figures showing the turnover of the C.W.S. Banking Department for the year ending June 26th, 1920, are as follows:—

		£
Half year from June 28th to December 27th, 1919.		
Deposits and withdrawals .....		273,947,536
Corresponding period, 1918 .....		201,102,642
Increase .....		72,844,894
Percentage increase .....		36 $\frac{1}{8}$
Half year from December 27th, 1919, to June 26th, 1920.		
Deposits and withdrawals .....		314,463,788
Corresponding period, 1919 .....		248,568,342
Increase .....		65,895,446
Percentage increase .....		26 $\frac{1}{2}$

At the end of June, 1920, the number of current accounts with the bank was as follows:—

Co-operative Societies .....	1,016
Trade Unions and Friendly Societies .....	3,347
Clubs and other Mutual Organisations .....	1,391

In addition, there were 281 deposit accounts of trade union and friendly societies who had no current accounts with the department.

The C.W.S. Bank has also extended its operations by the establishment of its first branch. Hitherto it has been concentrated in Manchester, but the development of trade union and workmen's clubs accounts made the institution of a London branch a necessity.

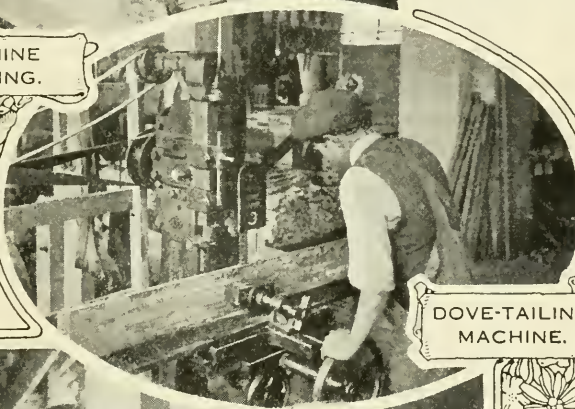
# NEW CABINET WORKS

BIRMINGHAM.

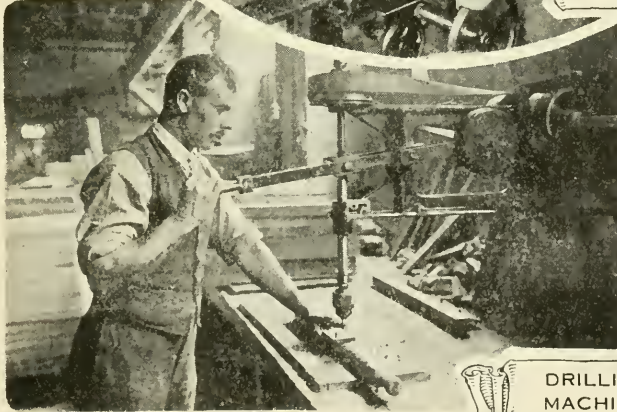
Purchased in  
1920 by the  
C.W.S.  
There are  
Cabinet Works  
also at Broughton  
(Manchester),  
Pelaw (Durham),  
and Bristol.



MACHINE  
CARVING.



DOVE-TAILING  
MACHINE.



DRILLING  
MACHINE.

## C.W.S. PRODUCTIVE WORKS.

Particulars of Supplies and Results of Working for Years ended  
June 28th, 1919, and June 26th, 1920.

	Year Ended June 28th, 1919 (53 weeks).			Year Ended June 26th, 1920.		
	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
Bisenit, &c., Works : Crumpsall ..	£ 457,916	£ 11,980	s. d. 0 6½	£ 707,313	£ 32,297	s. d. 0 10½
Preserve, &c., Works : Middleton, Hull, Clayton, Reading, Acton ..	1,801,454	a 20,241	0 2½	2,949,655	a 19,897	0 1½
Soap Works : Irlam, Silvertown, Dunston .....	2,309,901	a 1,508	0 0½	3,909,386	8,477	0 0½
Flour and Provender Mills : Duns- ton, Silvertown, Sun, Star, Avon- mouth, Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Slaitwaite, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol Cake .....	8,604,344	43,228	0 1½	10,577,099	80,261	0 1½
Tobacco Factory : Manchester ..	1,558,790	a 19,345	0 2½	1,582,163	a 17,951	0 2½
Lard Refinery : West Hartlepool ..	390,662	20,739	1 0½	431,613	a 11,077	0 6½
Margarine Works : Higher Irlam ..	1,653,973	a 50,188	0 7½	2,999,540	a 54,075	0 4½
Printing Works : Longsight, Red- dish, Leicester, Pelaw .....	485,062	a 9,818	0 4¾	729,680	14,973	0 4¾
Colliery : Shilbottle .....	72,970	a 747	0 2½	76,023	a 12,585	3 3½
Flannel, Blanket, &c., Mills : Little- borough, Delph, Diggle .....	142,393	a 8,112	1 1½	241,869	9,467	0 9½
Hosiery Factory : Huthwaite ....	383,891	4,849	0 3	495,137	5,985	0 2½
Corset Factories : Desborough, Bristol	130,964	a 776	0 1½	186,298	5,266	0 6½
Shirt Factories : Broughton, Shef- field, Pelaw, Cardiff .....	366,216	3,282	0 2½	648,671	4,880	0 1½
Woollen Mills : Batley, Buckfast- leigh .....	113,502	3,517	0 7½	271,483	a 4,688	0 4½
Weaving Sheds : Bury, Chorley, Radcliffe .....	576,290	8,659	0 3½	839,004	23,648	0 6½
Clothing Factories : Broughton, Leeds, Crewe, Hebden Bridge, Pelaw, Brislington, Cardiff .....	624,025	16,057	0 6½	885,081	11,687	0 11½
Boot and Shoe Works and Tan- neries : Leicester, Derby, Heck- mondwike, Leeds, Rushden, Grappenhall, Street .....	1,329,527	27,354	0 4½	1,897,661	43,932	0 5½
Cabinet Factories : Broughton, Pelaw, Bristol .....	167,962	a 65	—	329,736	a 2,949	0 2½
Brush Works : Leeds .....	59,826	765	0 3	93,367	2,037	0 5½
Iron Works : Keighley .....	41,397	637	0 3½	64,084	743	0 2½
Bucket and Fender Works : Dudley	48,368	4,882	2 0½	88,631	14,792	3 4
Tinplate Works : Birtley .....	6,548	79	0 2½	13,314	989	1 5½
Paint and Varnish Works : Rochdale	44,576	a 375	0 2	82,385	5,799	1 4½
	21,370,587	34,853	0 0½	30,099,233	172,011	0 1½

(a) Loss.

# C.W.S. PROGRESS

FROM COMMENCEMENT IN MARCH, 1864 TO DECEMBER, 1919.

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	1 1/2
" 1865	24,005	7,182	120,754	1,858	3 1/2
" 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	3 3/4
" 1870	79,245	16,556	507,217	4,248	1
" 1871 (53 weeks)	89,880	19,015	677,734	7,626	2 1/2
" 1872	114,588	24,410	758,764	7,867	2 1/2
" 1873	134,276	31,352	1,153,132	11,116	2 1/2
" 1874	168,985	48,126	1,636,950	14,233	2
" 1875	198,608	60,930	1,964,829	20,684	2
" 1876	249,516	78,249	2,247,395	26,750	2 3/4
" 1877 (53 weeks)	276,522	94,590	2,697,366	36,979	2 1/2
" 1878	274,649	103,091	2,827,052	29,189	2
" 1879	305,161	117,657	2,705,625	34,959	2 1/2
December, 1879 (50 weeks)	331,625	130,615	2,645,331	42,764	2 1/2
" 1880	361,523	146,061	3,339,681	42,090	2 1/2
" 1881	367,973	156,052	3,574,095	46,850	2 1/2
" 1882	404,006	171,940	4,038,238	49,658	2 1/2
" 1883	433,151	186,692	4,546,889	47,885	2 1/2
" 1884 (53 weeks)	459,734	207,080	4,675,371	54,491	2 3/4
" 1885	507,772	234,112	4,793,151	77,630	3
" 1886	558,104	270,679	5,223,179	83,328	3
" 1887	604,800	300,953	5,713,235	65,141	3
" 1888	634,196	318,583	6,200,074	82,490	2 1/2
" 1889 (53 weeks)	679,336	342,218	7,028,944	101,984	3 1/2
" 1890	721,316	434,017	7,429,073	126,979	3 1/2
" 1891	751,269	473,956	8,766,430	135,008	3 1/2
" 1892	824,149	523,512	9,300,904	98,532	2 1/2
" 1893	873,698	570,149	9,526,167	84,156	2 1/2
" 1894	910,104	598,496	9,443,938	126,192	2 1/2
" 1895 (53 weeks)	930,985	635,541	10,141,917	192,766	3
" 1896	993,564	682,656	11,115,056	177,419	3
" 1897	1,053,564	728,749	11,920,143	135,561	3 1/2
" 1898	1,118,158	775,536	12,574,748	231,256	3 1/2
" 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	17,642,082	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	462,469	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	52,230,074	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) 16,488	1
" 1919	3,088,136	3,898,134	89,349,318	31,183	—
			842,398,804	13,066,665	3 1/2

(a) Loss.



*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. Packet Teas*

ASK FOR THEM AT THE STORES.

C.W.S. ESTATES IN GREAT BRITAIN.  
TOTALS—LAND.

SITUATION OF PROPERTY.	AREA.				Nominal Original Value.
	Acres.	Roods.	Poles.	Yards	£
Roden (Salop) .....	1039	2	31	0	39442
Marden (Hereford) .....	127	0	32	0	17530
Coldham (Cambridgeshire) .....	3476	0	27	0	172760
Clitheroe (Lancashire) .....	788	1	33	0	23515
Rixton (Lancashire) .....	160	1	32	0	22402
Warburton (Cheshire) .....	1777	1	39	0	154000
Crewe (Cheshire) .....	3773	2	24	17	108685
Adlingfleet, Goole (Yorkshire) .....	3927	0	11	0	102579
Down Ampney (Gloucestershire) .....	4063	1	20	0	69341
Compton Bassett (Wiltshire) .....	4650	3	33	0	76615
Stoughton (Leicestershire) .....	5586	0	0	0	127902
Hetton and Holburn (Northumberland)	3862	1	13	10	97604
<b>TOTAL—Farms and Estates</b> .....	<b>33232</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1012375</b>
<b>TOTAL—Land</b> .....	<b>34281</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2283872</b>

CO-OPERATIVE TEA PLANTATIONS IN THE EAST.

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

CEYLON :—

	Acres.
Mahavilla Group .....	972
Westhall Group .....	1,931
Bowhill Estate .....	744
Nagastenne Estate .....	487
Baharundrah Estate .....	567
Kolapatna Estate .....	672

5,373

SOUTH INDIA :—

Mango Range Group .....	6,730
Muragalli Block .....	2,544
Ripon Group .....	2,381
Kalpetta Group .....	3,313
Manantoddy Group .....	5,415
Paralai Estate .....	2,741
Kuppa Mudi .....	1,573
Parry's Fuel Land .....	6,843
Kalianapandal Estate .....	2,936
Clifton .....	200
Emily .....	446
Harewood and Kintail .....	1,045

36,167

ASSAM :—

Dimakusi Block .....	6,000
Deckijuli Estate .....	1,449
Wildes Block .....	10,000

17,449

Totals of Co-operative Tea Plantation Acreage	Ceylon .....	5,373
	South India ..	36,167
	Assam .....	17,449
	Acres .....	58,989

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

- 1864.**  
Mar. 11. C.W.S. commenced business at 3, Cooper Street, Manchester.
- 1868.**  
June 1. Kilmallock Purchasing Depôt opened.
- 1869.**  
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. 11. Deposit and Loan Dept. commenced.
- 1873.**  
Jan. 13. Crumpsall Works purchased.  
April 14. Armagh Depôt opened.  
June 2. Manchester Drapery Dept. commenced.  
July 11. Waterford Depôt opened.  
Sept. 15. Leicester Boot and Shoe Works (Duns Lane) commenced.
- 1874.**  
Feb. 2. Tralee Depôt opened.  
Mar. 9. London Branch opened in the Minorities.  
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) purchased.
- 1875.**  
April 2. Liverpool Purchasing Dept. commenced.  
June 15. Manchester Drapery Warehouse, Dantzic Street, opened.
- 1876.**  
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. becomes the Banking Dept.
- 1877.**  
Jan. 15. Cork Depôt established.  
April —. Bugle Horn Colliery taken over by C.W.S.
- 1879.**  
Jan. 18. Garston Forwarding Depôt commenced.  
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. 11. Heckmondwike Boot and Shoe Works commenced.
- 1881.**  
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 renamed *Unity*.
- 1884.**  
Sept. 29. Bristol Depôt commenced 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 Chocolate commenced.  
Nov. 2. London (Leman Street) New Premises opened.  
Enderby Boot Factory opened.
- 1888.**  
July —. S.S. *Equity* launched.
- 1890.**  
May 16. Blackburn Saleroom opened.  
June 10. Leeds Clothing Factory commenced.  
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 Wheat-sheaf Works opened.  
Nov. 4. Aarhus Depôt opened.
- 1892.**  
May 5. Birmingham Saleroom opened.
- 1893.**  
May 8. Broughton Cabinet Factory opened.
- 1894.**  
Jan. 1. Ship Canal opened for Traffic. S.S. *Pioneer* first Merchant Vessel to reach Manchester from oversea.  
June —. Montreal Depôt established.  
Oct. 2. Irlam Works opened.  
Broughton Tailoring Factory commenced.
- 1895.**  
Jan. 23. Printing Dept. commenced.  
Mar. 9. First C.W.S. Creamery (Castlemahon) 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 in River Seine.
- 1896.**  
April 24. West Hartlepool Lard Refinery purchased.  
June 13. Roden Estate purchased.  
June 26. Middleton Jam Works commenced.

1896.  
 July 1. *The Wheatsheaf* first published.  
 Denia Depôt opened.  
 Broughton Mantle, Shirt, and Underclothing Factories op'd.
1897.  
 Feb. 10. Northampton (Guildhall Road) Premises opened.  
 Mar. 1. Broughton New Tailoring Factory 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 Depôt opened.  
 July 11. Longsight Printing Works commenced.  
 1899.  
 Dec. 16. Rushden Boot Factory purchased.  
 1900.  
 Jan. 19. Hering Bacon Factory purchased.  
 April 11. 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 Depôt 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* (II.).  
 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 16. 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 Depôt 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 Tinsplate 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.  
 1911.  
 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.
- 19 4.  
 Depôt at Makene (Sierra Leone) established.  
 South Wynaad (Southern India) Tea Estates purchased.  
 Depôt at Accra (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.
1916.  
 Mar. 23. Mr. Thos. Tweddell (Chairman) died.  
 April 11. 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 Wiltsen Farm, Canada, comprising 10,240 acres.
- Jan. Purchase of land at Port Harcourt, West Africa.
- Jan. 13. Shilbottle Colliery purchased.
- Feb. 3. Delph Mill taken over.
- April 28. Clayton Vinegar Brewery purchased.
- Mar. —. Land acquired for extension purposes at Silvertown, Brisington, Delph and Wellingborough.
- Purchase of Marshland Estate, Goolc.
- Farms acquired at Crewe and Clitheroe.
- June —. Purchase of Avenue Spinning Mill at Chorley.
- Land and buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Kettering, Huthwaite, Diggle and Poulton (Birkenhead).
- Sept. —. Purchase of land at Lagos, West Africa.
- Joint purchase (with the S.C.W.S.) of new Tea Plantations in Southern India and Ceylon; also land at Accra, West Africa.
- Purchase of Dairy at Congleton; also Estates at Blakenhall (Crewe) and Coldham (Cams.)
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, London, Northampton and Keighley.
- Dec. —. Purchase of Grain Warehouse at Newcastle, and Acton Works at London.
- Land acquired at Irlam for extension purposes, also 12 Houses in Mills Hill Road, Middleton Junction.

1918.

- Mar. —. Wilmington Flour Mills (Hull); acquired also S.S. *Jagir* and 10 Lighters.
- Purchase of Clothing Factory at Crewe, Woollen Mill at Diggle, and Dairy at Bruton.
- June —. Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Irlam, Chorley, Shilbottle, Carmarthen and Bristol.
- Sept. —. Purchase of Confectionery, &c., Works at Hull, and Tannery at Grappenhall (Warrington) also Estates at Warburton and Hetton and Holburn.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester and Irlam.
- Dec. —. Purchase of Nutclough Fustian Works, Hebden Bridge, also additional land at Irlam for extension purposes.

1919.

- Mar. —. Purchase of Bee Flour Mills at Liverpool, Glass Works at Pendleton, Motor Garage at Chorlton Road, Manchester, Woods at Dereham (Norfolk), Farms at Roden and Down

- Ampney, Estate at Compton Bassett, Fish Premises at Lowestoft, Agricultural Trial Grounds at Derby.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester and Acton (London).
- June —. Purchase of Pennec Cake Mills and Corset Factory at Bristol, Fish premises at Yarmouth, Tannery at Street, also Estate at Stoughton Grange (Leicester), and Farm at Hetton and Holburn.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Northampton, Bristol, Plymouth, Bedford, Kettering, Radcliffe and Manchester.
- Sept. —. Purchase of Cabinet and Clothing Factories at Bristol, Printing Works at Reddish (Stockport).
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Sheffield, Leeds, Longsight, Manchester and Irlam, also two houses at Congleton.
- Dec. —. Purchase of Saw Mills and adjoining Land at Vere Street, Salford, also Weaving Factory at Hebden Bridge.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Cardiff, Bradford, Dudley, Carlisle, Birmingham, Irlam and Rocester; also Whalley Farm at Clitheroe, Rope Hall Farm and Cottages at Crewe, Glebe Lands at Compton Bassett and Denia (Spain).
- 1920.
- Mar. —. Purchase of Fish premises at North Shields.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, Birmingham, Northampton and Heckmondwike, also Cottages at Clitheroe.
- June —. Purchase of Woollen Mills at Buckfastleigh (Devon), Cabinet Works at Birmingham, Auction Mart and Farm at Gisburn (Clitheroe).
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, Irlam, Northampton, Carlisle, Crewe, Chester and Sheffield.
- Sept. —. Purchase of Pottery at Longton, Boot Factory at Derby, Fish premises at Fleetwood, Woollen Mill at Dobercross, and Biscuit Factory at Cardiff.
- Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, Derby, Birmingham, Hebden Bridge, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, Delph, London, &c.; also Land at Bensham (Gateshead).

# WELFARE IN CO-OPERATIVE FACTORIES




PORTION OF THE  
REST ROOM.



Several Welfare  
Departments  
have been  
recently  
established  
at C.W.S.  
Factories.



THE SURGERY.  
OFFICE, REST ROOM  
BEYOND.



DRESSING  
ROOMS.



**INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN THE C.W.S. FACTORIES**

BY CONSTANCE URSULAF KERR.

ONE of the pioneers both of Co-operation and welfare work was Robert Owen, and he showed by practical demonstration in his own mill at Lanark what could be done by humane methods and treatment to increase both goodwill and understanding between employer and employed, and at the same time to prosper business. He is a source of inspiration to every sound co-operator and social worker in the kingdom, and it should therefore be a particularly happy union when the two principles of welfare and co-operation are allied and working in partnership towards the co-operative commonwealth—"When man to man the wide world o'er, shall brithers be."

The welfare movement had to prove itself before being adopted by the most democratic association of the day. It had to show that it was a genuine endeavour to improve industrial relationships, and to encourage the individuality and self-development of each worker. This probably explains why co-operation has seemed to some to be slow in introducing organised welfare to its employees. But it is better thoroughly to explore the ground before building on it, and no doubt the delay in commencing will ensure that the foundations of co-operative welfare work are stable and enduring in results.

It must be borne in mind, however, that a welfare scheme, like "Rome," "is not built in a day," and in the case of the majority of appointments which have been made (now six) it is too early to pronounce judgment as to the efficacy of the experiment. We must remember, too, that what are sometimes called the "frills" of welfare work, such as fine dining-halls, spacious concert rooms, rest rooms, libraries, surgeries and other scientific apparatus, are all excellent in their way, but by no means the whole of the matter. "Comforts and recreation expressed in solid form are but incomplete manifestations of the thought which conceived their value, of the kindness which prompted their being, of the compassion and sympathy which guides their use and usefulness . . . True welfare work has

its monuments, but they are not gilded to shine in the sun and look tawdry in the shadow. The items and instruments of betterment should always be prominent but never protruding; they should stand as efficient manifestations of a real great thought. They should themselves be inspirational and provocative of enthusiasm, but the soul of a department in welfare is larger than it shows."

Unless welfare workers and co-operators understand that welfare is a living, vibrating atmosphere in industry, they have missed the essential germ of the matter responsible for the fructifying of the whole scheme.

Those appointed as guides to happiness and health should be carefully selected and qualified both as regards head and heart, for their arduous albeit fascinating duties and responsibilities.

**WELFARE WORK IN THE NORTH.**

So far, the productive factories have been selected for the inauguration of welfare schemes, a beginning being made at Irlam Soap Works in January, 1917. The abnormal war conditions did not permit of so many developments as is possible in a welfare department conceived during times of peace, but with the whole-hearted and enthusiastic co-operation of the management and the employees it was possible to lay sound foundations, and the relations between the welfare worker and her colleagues are essentially co-operative and mutually helpful. It is a great help and counts much to be kindly received and warmly welcomed at the commencement of one's duties, and one feels that there are no bounds to the development of welfare work under such happy circumstances.

In November, 1919, three additional women's welfare superintendents were appointed to the Middleton and Hull Preserve Works and to the Crumpsall Biscuit Works. A series of four meetings was held at various periods at each of the factories under discussion, and it was most helpful to have the interchange of ideas and opinions on welfare and the best means of promoting it to a high standard worthy of co-operation.



Ambulance and rest rooms were soon started on the lines of the Irlam arrangements, and these have been equipped with the most up-to-date and modern appliances. The welfare workers are in close touch with the medical and educational authorities of the district in which the factory is situated, and Irlam has now its dental and optical clinics visited periodically by experts. It is eventually hoped that a weekly visit can be arranged at each factory from the local works' doctor, as his co-operation and advice would be invaluable to the welfare worker on all questions affecting the health and hygiene of the employees and their environment and working conditions.

At Irlam, educational grants are given both from the C.W.S. and the local educational authorities, and classes are held at the works in the evenings. Crumpsall is expecting to follow suit this winter. Libraries are another activity for the welfare department to develop. Crumpsall has long been famous for its fine assortment of books, and it will be a great advantage for the employees at the other factories when they also can have access to such a potent means of education.

#### SOCIAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

There has always been much social activity in the C.W.S. factories, though in some cases this required re-stimulating in order to bring it back into full vigour, the war having interfered with some of the schemes of recreation.

This year tennis has been revived with marked success at Crumpsall, and various socials and dances have been organised at all the factories. Irlam concentrates on an annual Exhibition of Produce and Industry which elicits much interest and friendly rivalry from amongst the employees, and the energetic welfare worker is evolving manifold schemes for the pleasure and social life of the girls under her charge.

The conditions of fluctuating labour at Middleton makes it a little more difficult to introduce social schemes, and great attention is paid here to maintaining health in the factory, the ambulance room being under the care of a trained and experienced nurse.

At all the factories sick-visiting of absentees is a feature, and protective clothing is provided for all. The women

and girls come into touch with the welfare superintendent from the first day they are engaged, as the applicants are first seen in the welfare department, and so they get to know one another from the beginning and are encouraged to bring any difficulties or legitimate complaints to the welfare department for advice and discussion.

#### DESIDERATA.

The meetings, which were held at the C.W.S. welfare departments in the northern area, might, we think, be extended, and it would be a great help if there could be established at headquarters a central welfare bureau of information and direction. We must avoid the drifting apart which will inevitably follow if the welfare superintendents are isolated and handicapped so far as regards the pooling of valuable experience and experiments. Essentials should be standardised, even if factories differ as to detail and duties of welfare superintendents. Co-operative employees must not be confused by experiencing different kinds of welfare. All should share alike the benefits for increased comfort and health, and this can only be done if provision be made for centralising co-operative welfare schemes, with an advisory and inspection department sending out particulars of uniform methods and schemes for each factory and with full information as to the best and latest phrases of industrial betterment the world over.

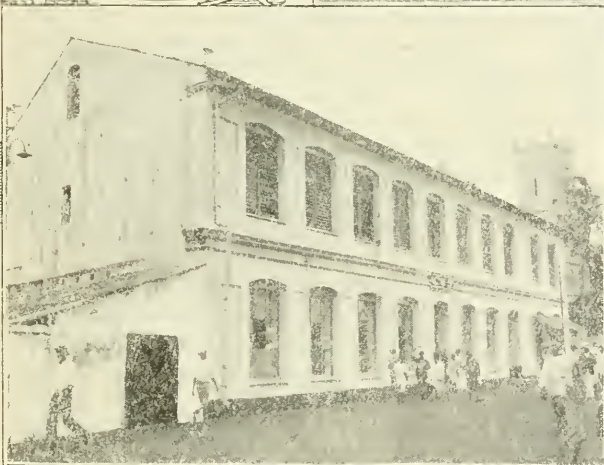
#### WELFARE WORK IN THE SOUTHERN AREA.

The two factories in which welfare has been introduced most recently are in the south—at Silvertown, London (productive, flour and soap), and Reading (preserve works). As the appointments were made as recently as last April they are as yet too recent to advance much information regarding the special features of each welfare department.

The productive factories have given a good lead to the society as a whole, and it is hoped that before long a welfare officer will be established at each co-operative factory and warehouse, whose special function it will be to organise and direct schemes of social betterment, so that the movement may take the foremost place as regards good conditions both as regards this and other nations.

# C.W.S. In West Africa.

The  
Gate of Kano,  
An ancient  
trading city.



C.W.S.  
Depôt  
Lagos

Broad Street,  
Lagos.  
C.W.S. warehouse  
has been erected on  
spot where tree stands  
to the left.



## WEST AFRICA AND THE C.W.S.

By J. T. WAGSTAFFE.

**T**O-DAY is the day of "Big Business." Gigantic aggregations, amalgamations, and combinations of capital exist whose policy is to monopolise, to "corner" the natural resources and wealth of the world, in the interest, and for the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many. The Co-operative Movement, the trade union of the consumer, is the only substantial bulwark against the complete exploitation of the workers, and the development of these huge trusts and combines has compelled the C.W.S., in self defence, to go direct to the sources of supply for the requisite quantities of raw materials necessary to meet Co-operative requirements.



J. T. WAGSTAFFE.

During recent years—years of war—there has been a tremendous increase in the use of vegetable oils for edible purposes. Formerly, these oils were used solely for the manufacture of soap, paints, and lubricants. To-day they are in the greatest demand for the manufacture of butter substitutes. The

writer proposes to give a brief account of C.W.S. activities in Sierra Leone and Nigeria in connection with the procuring of these valuable raw materials.

## THE PALM KERNEL AND PALM OIL INDUSTRY.

Few people outside those engaged in the West African trade realise the extent and importance of the palm kernel and oil industry. The palm tree is indigenous, and grows in enormous quantities on the West Coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone to the Cameroons. Broadly speaking, the Palm Belt extends inland from the coast for 100 miles, and all along this coastal littoral it furnishes the natives with the chief means of life. It should be understood that the oil palm is not cultivated, but grows entirely wild. The tree grows to a height of sixty feet, and commences to fruit at four years. At twelve years it is in full bearing, and the life of the tree is approximately 100 years. At the top of the long, slender trunk is a crown of perhaps twenty leaves, which may grow to a length of fourteen feet. Immediately beneath this foliage the fruits are produced and each tree bears five or six fruits per annum. The fruit which is roughly the size and shape of a Rugby football consists of a kernel, containing perhaps 2,000 nuts enclosed in a fleshy oily covering known as the pericarp, and it is from the pericarp that the palm oil of commerce is made.

The native, usually accompanied by his wives and "pickans" (children), sets out in the early morning. With wonderful agility

he literally walks up the trunk of the tree. A loop, or "tie tie," of native grass rope is passed round the trunk. Pressing his back against this he ascends a few steps, and then jerking the loop a little higher continues his ascent. Arriving at the top, a few strokes of the machete are sufficient to detach the fruit. It is really astonishing with what ease the tree is ascended, and how quickly the fruit is cut off.

The same methods are used to gather the cocoa-nut. Tree after tree is cleared of fruit, and whole families—men, women and children—may be seen carrying the inevitable head load to the village. The oily pericarp is removed and the nuts spread out to dry. Each nut has to be cracked separately, and this work is usually performed by the women and children. Kernel oil can only be extracted by machinery, and consequently the kernels are shipped to England to be dealt with at a properly equipped crushing mill. It is palm kernel and ground nut oil that are chiefly used in the manufacture of margarine. The methods of extracting the palm oil from the pericarp are very crude. After fermentation, the fruits are placed in a suitable wooden vessel and a quantity of mud and water added. Thereupon the women tread or stamp upon the mass until it is of a mortar-like consistency. It is then boiled in iron pots until the oil is separated, when it is easily skimmed off the top. The foregoing is briefly an outline of the methods used in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, and from these two British Colonies is exported the bulk of the kernels and oil which come to England.

#### THE C.W.S. IN WEST AFRICA.

The C.W.S. have been established in Sierra Leone for some years, but the Nigerian Depot only commenced business in January, 1919. Besides the Depot at Freetown, there are in Sierra Leone up country factories at Blaina, Commendi, and Pendembu, on the main line of railway, and also a factory at Susan's Bay, Freetown.

A factory in West Africa means a collecting station for produce and a store for the sale of cotton goods, hardware, provisions, &c. Business commences at 7 a.m., and the white man in charge often finds a crowd of natives waiting outside with their loads of kernels or oil. These people may have travelled several days' journey in to the factory, toting, *i.e.*, carrying, the produce in on their heads. In Sierra Leone kernels are bought by the bushel, oil by the gallon. In Nigeria kernels are bought by weight. The principal exports of Sierra Leone are palm kernels, palm oil, and piassava (for brush making). There is also a large export trade in kola nuts, which go to the Gambia for conveyance to the Soudan, Morocco, &c. This trade is, however, chiefly in the hands of Creoles and Syrians, very little of the produce coming to Europe.

Practically the whole area of Sierra Leone lies within the Palm Belt, and thus the palm kernel and oil industry may be stated to be the staple trade.

Nigeria with its vaster area is in another category. In the Southern province the staple trade is in palm kernels and oil, together with cocoa, cotton, timber, &c. The C.W.S. have a well-equipped Depot at Lagos. This comprises the head-quarters (30, Marina), a commodious, modern warehouse in Broad Street, and kernel and oil stores at Marina, Idumagbo, and Epitodo, about one mile distant. The Depot includes a large retail stores or shop and offices on the ground floor. The upper storey serves as a residence for the manager. A substantial bungalow some half-mile distant houses the European assistants. In addition to the Lagos premises, the Society have a factory at Abeokuta, about sixty miles up the line, and further developments are in prospect at Wasimi, Owowo, Alageda, Oshogbo, Kano, and Port Harcourt. Land has already been purchased at Kano and Port Harcourt.

#### THE NIGERIAN TERRITORY.

The traveller from Lagos to the railhead at Kano, 705 miles distant, cannot fail to perceive the differences in the characteristics of both the country and the people as he journeys north. In Southern Nigeria the population is almost entirely negroid, but in the Northern Province, Arab types predominate. In the south, densely-wooded, mountainous country prevails, but as one travels north more open country is reached until at Kano, the southern edge of the Soudan, the undulating sandy wastes of the desert are in evidence. For the first 200 miles one passes through an interminable forest of palms, varied by occasional silk cotton, cedar, mahogany, oroko, and other forest timber, the rail continually ascending until the summit of the plateau is reached at Offa, about 250 miles from Lagos. Here the traveller enters Northern Nigeria. It has been well said that palm kernels and palm oil are to Southern Nigeria what coal is to England, and it may perhaps be stated with equal truth that ground nuts (monkey or pea nuts) and hides and skins are the coal of Northern Nigeria. There are thousands of acres of ground nuts grown, and as this is also a pastoral country enormous quantities of hides and skins are produced. Northern Nigeria has all the characteristics of a great ranch country. Yet it is still an empty land, destined in the future, one imagines, to carry much greater herds of cattle and sheep.

There appears to be an impression at home that ground nuts grow on trees. The ground nut plant is very similar to a dwarf pea, and the "monkey nuts," beloved of the children, grow like potatoes on the roots. It is an annual, and it is astonishing, considering the primitive methods of cultivation, what huge quantities are produced. The African natives are, outside the towns, practically all agriculturalists, yet the plough is unknown, the only implement in use being a kind of large hoe.

When the traveller enters Kano, through one of its many gates, he passes at a stride into Biblical times. The flat-topped mud houses,

the open-fronted shops, the narrow streets, the picturesque flowing robes and turbans of the people are strongly reminiscent of the Bible. One traverses the "Street that is called Straight." Rebecca is seen at the well, the potter at the wheel, Joseph riding on the ass—in fact, conditions appear to have changed very little for a thousand years. At Kano the camel caravans are seen coming in from Khartoum, from Timbuctoo, even from Tripoli, bringing in hides and skins, &c., to return with salt, hardware, and Manchester goods.

#### BRITISH POLICY.

Between Lagos and Kano (railhead) there are some very large and important towns, viz., Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ilorin, Jebba (where the rail crosses the Niger), and Zaria. The three first named are the largest, having populations of over 100,000 each, and are the seat of government for their respective Emirates.

#### THE NATIVE RACES.

The characteristics of the native races are broadly uniform, due allowances being made for the differences in tribal custom and environment. They are shrewd, kindly people, keen traders, and quick to resent injustice. The educated native revels in the use of extravagant English, and amusing examples might be quoted. One receives letters commencing in this wise: "Honoured Sir, in the name of the Lord, Good morning." Polygamy is practically universal, and wives and children are an asset, not an expense. In the coastal and large inland towns the working-class natives are employed in industries very similar to those in any typical English city. Enormous quantities of produce, *i.e.*, palm kernels and oil, cocoa, timber, skins, minerals, &c., are exported, and the importation of cotton goods, hardware, provisions, cement, and general merchandise provides work for thousands. There are black lawyers, doctors, auctioneers, surveyors, merchants, engineers, blacksmiths, builders, carpenters, clerks, shop assistants, customs and railway officials, &c. The Trade Union movement is spreading rapidly amongst the skilled workmen. As yet, there are no retail co-operative societies, but the writer has had numerous enquiries emanating from educated natives respecting their formation, which will, one believes, fructify in the near future.

#### GREAT POTENTIALITIES.

There are a large and continually increasing number of European firms engaged in the West African trade, and competition is most keen. "Big Business" is well organised and has branches everywhere, even in the most remote places, where the solitary white manager leads a most monotonous and lonely life. The potentialities are tremendous. The existing transport facilities are totally inadequate to deal with the volume of trade. For example, last April there were 400,000 tons of produce lying at stations between Kano (railhead) and Lagos awaiting transport. At Kano itself there were some 70,000 tons of ground nuts, in addition to great quantities

of hides and skins, &c. The writer was officially informed that the ground-nut crop for 1920 could not be moved for fifteen months. Huge pyramids of ground nuts, each containing hundreds of tons, covered by tarpaulins, were awaiting rail facilities. The congestion is mainly due to the war, the Government being unable to procure engines, rolling stock, or railway material. For nearly six months the railway refused to accept consignments of imported merchandise for conveyance up country, and the warehouses at the Lagos goods terminus (Iddo) were literally packed with goods. Eventually the steamship company was compelled to refuse shipment from Liverpool of goods consigned to places in the interior. Great developments are expected when the Government is able to proceed with the opening up of the country. The provision of new lines of railway, and the opening of motor roads into districts at present inaccessible, are imperative if the incalculable vegetable and other natural wealth of the country is to be utilised.

Both Nigeria and Sierra Leone have only been scratched up to the present; indeed, it is said that for every ton of kernels exported ten tons are allowed to rot. Such is the position at the moment. The writer sees a great future for motor transport. The absence of roads, capable of bearing motor traction is noteworthy throughout West Africa. Vehicular traffic was practically unknown until the advent of the motor. The tsetse fly is found almost everywhere on the West Coast, and in these areas, horses cannot live. But even outside the fly belt, for example, in Northern Nigeria where horses are plentiful, there are no vehicles in use, goods being conveyed by pack camel and horses, and by carriers. The most familiar sight throughout West Africa is the interminable procession of native carriers "toting" (carrying) head loads of every imaginable kind. Away from the rail, and a few government roads, the only means of communication are by native paths, usually just wide enough for one man. The motor is making a great change, and the making of motor roads is just as imperative as railway development. Indeed, the motor will feed the railways.

#### GETTING TO THE SOURCES OF SUPPLY.

The foregoing are some of the salient features of West African life and conditions. The directors of the C.W.S., in furtherance of their policy of getting to the sources of supply, realise the tremendous potentialities of West Africa. To-day they are sending home the raw materials for margarine and soap, cocoa and piassava. In the near future mahogany (for furniture and shop fittings), hides, and skins (for boot manufacture) will also be dealt with. All these ventures require time for successful and adequate development. Despite the opposition of powerful vested interests, the experimental period has passed, and with the gradual return to normal conditions in Europe, the British Co-operator will be able to use adequate quantities of the above-named West African commodities, free from the iniquitous toll of the middleman.

# SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, LTD.

(ESTABLISHED 1868.)



Registered Office - - - 95, MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW

Reserve and Insurance Funds, £1,256,976

Capital at 26th June, 1920, £5,742,609

Annual Sales, £27,842,419

## MANUFACTURERS AND GENERAL MERCHANTS.

Registered Co-operative Societies, Corporations,  
Local Boards and Institutions supplied.

THE SOCIETY MANUFACTURES, ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE, AT

## SHIELDHALL WORKS, GLASGOW

Clothing, Hosiery, Leather, Boots and Shoes, Furniture,  
Tinware, Brushes, Tobacco, Cigarettes, Preserves, Confec-  
tions, Pickles and Sauces, Coffee Essence, Printed Matter,  
Paper Bags, Cardboard Boxes, Chemical Sundries, etc.;

Also owns

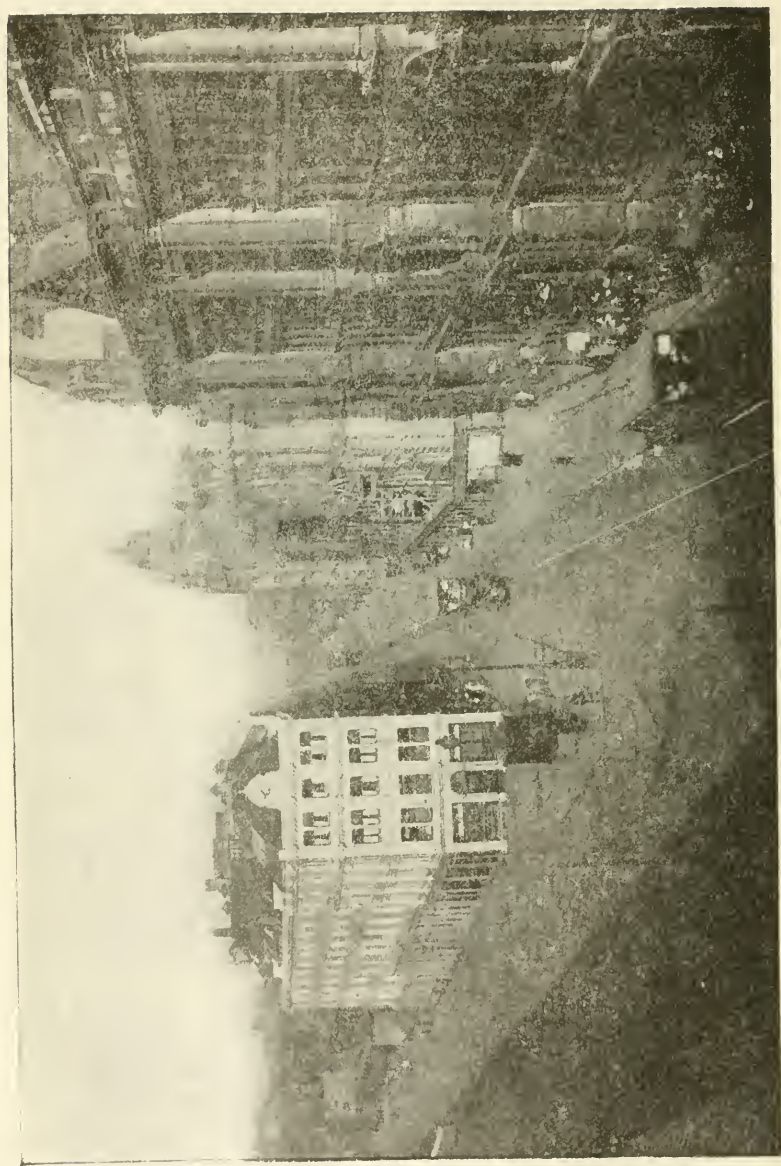
Flour and Meal Mills, Tweed, Jute, Blanket and Linen  
Mills, Floorcloth Factory, Fish Curing Station, Creameries,  
Aerated Water Factories, etc., as well as many Warehouses, and  
Depôts, in the Principal Towns of Scotland; Bacon Curing,  
Butter Making and Egg Collecting Centre at Enniskillen,  
Ireland; and Palm Oil, Tobacco, etc., Estates, in West Africa.

And has joint buying arrangements with the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited,  
of England, in many important Continental Centres: in the United States and Canada;  
and is joint owner with the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Tea Estates in Ceylon.

Number of Employees, 11,063



MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW.



The Nerve Centre of Co-operation in Scotland.

## THE YEAR OF THE S.C.W.S.

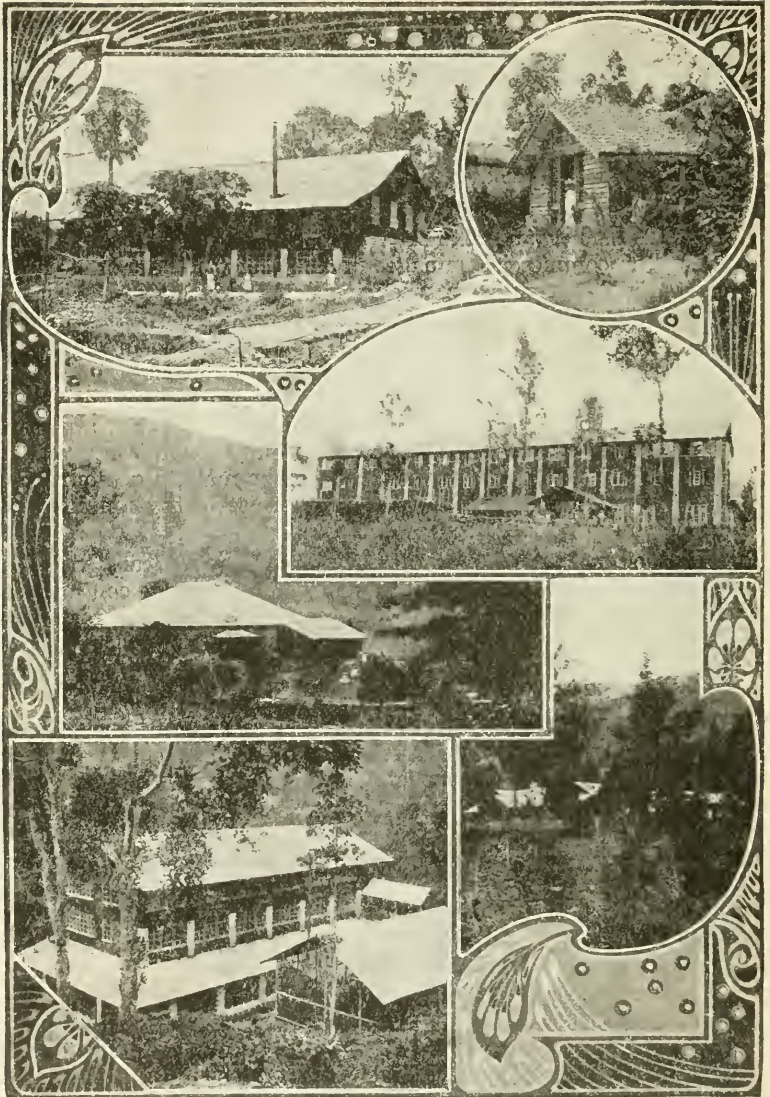
THE statistics on the adjoining pages indicate the prosperity of the year's manufacturing and trading in the S.C.W.S. Unfortunately, the trail of war is still manifest. The Government control of certain commodities, particularly wheat, is reflected in the price of flour and oatmeal, and only the return of pre-war conditions, and the freedom of commercial enterprise, will permit of the full utilisation of the society's resources. Two directors, Messrs. William Gallacher and Hugh Campbell, together with Mr. W. F. Stewart, the commercial manager of the society's flour mills, visited Canada this summer, where they inspected the S.C.W.S. farms and depots, and their immense tracks of land now under wheat cultivation. All the agencies of production, transport, and storing in the society's elevators, so ably managed by Mr. George Fisher, were brought under review, and while much wheat of their own growing has already found its way to the Leith and Glasgow mills, the directors are anxious to increase the cultivation and importation of their own grain. To produce and mill the wheat that goes to the making of flour for the table of the Scottish co-operators is a praiseworthy ambition, and quite possible of realisation.

The society's interests in the far-away West African Gold Coast, where a staff is engaged in the cocoa trade, growing, collecting and exporting the raw materials to this country, continue to prosper. Messrs. Weir and Stirling (directors) visited that tropical branch in the autumn, and have submitted to their colleagues a suggestive report for further developing the estate.

To come nearer home. The society's tradesmen have just completed a handsome addition to their Glasgow Morrison Street premises, where much-needed extra accommodation has been provided for the grocery warehouse. In this building, too, the grocery buyers and the grocery saleroom will enjoy well-appointed facilities for their ever-increasing trade. The places vacated by these departments at 95, Morrison Street, will be immediately taken possession of by the other departments, whose business has quite outgrown their present premises.

In the east of Scotland the society's tradesmen are busy erecting large and up-to-date preserve works at Leith. This factory, when completed, will be favourably situated for receiving prompt delivery of continental fruit and sugar, and will be within reasonable distance from the best fruit-growing centres of Scotland. It will also afford a rapid and economical transport of jams and jellies to the east of Scotland societies, which at present draw their supplies from Shieldhall in the west. Trade in the society's jute mills, Dundee, has been well maintained, and with the introduction of new and improved machinery, a still larger trade can be undertaken.

TEA PRODUCTION.



TEA ESTATES OF THE E. & S. C.W.S.

1. Weliganga Factory.
2. Weliganga Bungalow.
3. Factory at Mahavilla.
4. Bungalow at Mahavilla.
5. Factory at Nugawella.
6. Bungalow at Nugawella.

In the linen and floor cloth factories, Falkland, Fife, the same steady progress continues. Much of the floor cloth finds its way to English co-operators, and the ever-increasing demand and repeat orders testify to the satisfactory quality of the material. Here again, new and improved machinery is being introduced to make and develop those heavier grades for which there is an encouraging outlet, particularly in Scotland. Another pleasing feature is the fact that our colonial trade has again commenced, the first order since the war period having been despatched early in November.

The year has marked the semi-jubilee of the society's Tinware department, the coming-of-age of Bladnoch Creamery, Wigtownshire, and of the Fish Curing station, Aberdeen, and each event was made the occasion for the directors entertaining the workers in the respective depôts to a social gathering. These branches have had phenomenal successes. The first-named has a weekly turnover of fully £2,000, and in the course of the year manufactures about 10,000,000 articles. Certain classes of tins are now produced in this factory at the rate of 150 per minute.

The manufacture of butter and margarine has similarly exceeded all expectations. Doubtless the recent year's high price of butter stimulated the demand for margarine, but the purity and excellent quality were also factors which made for that article's popularity. The success of the Fish Curing station can be gauged by the remarkable increase in the turnover since the inception of the station in 1899 till the present time. For the first year 100,000 stones were handled, as compared with the current year's 700,000 stones.

Keeping pace with the times, the directors have entered into a comprehensive Welfare of Workers' Scheme. In addition to various forms of athletic clubs, cricket, golf, football, harriers, and swimming, an employees' camera club, a literary and debating society, and a choir have been inaugurated with much acceptance and considerable promise for Glasgow and Shieldhall. These schemes will be extended to the other centres of Wholesale industry, as opportunity permits. Meantime, to quote from a message from Mr. R. Stewart, the S.C.W.S. Chairman, "the connecting link with these agencies" is an employees' monthly journal, "The S.C.W.S. Magazine," which came into being in the month of October. The magazine, which is produced at the society's printing works, Shieldhall, contains contributions, artistic and literary, from the workers in all spheres and branches of the employment. It has met with an enthusiastic reception from the employees. The co-operative and public press have unanimously declared it to be a "bright and breezy, chatty effort," "indicating the brotherly spirit of all connected with it." Or to quote the opinion of a well-known French co-operator and journalist, "It is a good fine Scotch piece, fresh and invigorating like the spirit of the great Scottish winds."

The acquisition of the Eastfield Paper Works, Rutherglen, Glasgow, is the latest adjunct to the Wholesale productive enterprise. (Southern readers may be interested to know that it is this same Rutherglen—colloquially “Ruglen”—that is referred to in the Scottish tongue twister: “Ruglen’s wee roun’ rid lums reek briskly.”)

Brown wrapping paper of various shades and weights is produced, the total production being, approximately, 30 tons weekly. All the paper manufactured is used in one or other of the wholesale departments, and is also in demand among retail societies. The quality has never once been questioned, and as there is no similar mill in the locality, an increasing trade may be confidently expected.

## SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

### Productive Works.

	Transfers : Year, Dec. 1918.	Transfers : Year, Dec. 1919.	Transfer.	Half year ended June 26th. 1920. Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	£	£	d.
Boot and Shoe Factory . . . . .	419,636	536,525	367,257	5,586	3·65
Clothing Factories . . . . .	398,072	485,105	342,828	10,771	7·54
Cabinet, Brush, &c., Factories	108,650	195,805	167,867	13,513	19·32
Printing Works . . . . .	142,530	176,619	132,879	6,031	11·00
Tobacco Factory . . . . .	462,027	634,250	361,363	-4,112	-2·73
Preserve and Grocery Productive Factories . . . . .	703,480	1,029,130	645,665	9,536	3·54
Tweed, Blanket, and Jute Mills . . . . .	252,687	341,372	264,784	14,364	13·02
Flour and Meal Mills . . . . .	2,115,010	2,775,745	1,784,903	..	..
Soap Works . . . . .	309,263	410,663	250,253	5,935	5·69
Creameries . . . . .	1,622,091	1,515,559	854,610	-1,881	-0·52
	6,533,446	8,100,773	5,172,409	59,803	—

NOTE.—Transfers include direct sales not charged through Distributive Departments.  
— Loss.

# SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

Progress from Commencement, December, 1868, to December, 1919.

Year ended.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Societies.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Em-ployees.	Capital—inclues 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	409,947	7	9	7,553	5	2	4½d.
" 13, 1875	27,112	..	56,750	16	0	430,169	7	11	8,232	11	6	4½d.
" 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	1,100,588	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	5,463,633	2	8	222,366	12	0	8d.
" 28, 1901	270,920	7,059	1,929,113	18	5	5,700,743	7	3	231,686	9	9	8d.
" 27, 1902	281,258	7,471	2,125,133	12	11	6,059,119	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	263,577	6	4	8d.
" 25, 1909	400,618	15,159	3,346,773	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	3,888,946	0	2	7,851,079	10	0	308,890	10	10	8d.&1d.*
" 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	4,468,463	2	11	8,964,033	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	1½d.
" 29, 1917	571,458	25,001	5,304,499	1	11	17,083,274	12	2	408,209	4	8½	1½d.
" 28, 1918	597,883	25,791	5,773,569	8	2½	19,216,762	18	7	481,318	0	8½	5½d.
" 27, 1919	649,995	26,946	6,806,534	0	10	24,773,381	7	10	494,097	4	6½	17½d.

\* Special.



I. F. Miller.

THE WOOD SAWYERS

W. A. Messing & Co. Publishers

## PUBLIC REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

### I.—A SUMMARY OF THE BUDGET FOR 1920-21.

TABLE A.

REVENUE (ESTIMATED).	1919-20.	1920-21.
	£	£
Customs .....	149,360,000	150,000,000
Excise .....	133,663,000	198,650,000
Motor Vehicles .....	—	4,500,000
Estates, &c., Duties .....	40,904,000	45,000,000
Stamps .....	22,586,000	25,200,000
Land Tax and House Duty .....	2,640,000	2,500,000
Income Tax (including Super-tax) .....	359,099,000	385,800,000
Excess Profits Duty .....	220,000,000	290,045,000
Corporation Profits Tax .....	—	3,000,000
Land Values Duties .....	663,000	500,000
From TAXES .....	£998,960,000	1,035,150,000
Postal Service .....	31,000,000	37,000,000
Telegraph Service .....	4,850,000	5,750,000
Telephone Service .....	8,300,000	10,250,000
Crown Lands .....	680,000	650,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans—		
Ordinary .....	1,004,000	744,000
Special .....	13,948,000	8,756,000
Miscellaneous Receipts—		
Ordinary .....	16,050,000	18,000,000
Special .....	264,779,000	302,000,000
TOTAL FROM "NON-TAX" REVENUE	£340,611,000	£383,150,000
TOTAL REVENUE.....	£1,339,571,000	£1,418,300,000
	1920-21.	1919-20.
	£	£
National Debt—		
(1) Inside Fixed Charge .....	24,500,000	23,773,000
(2) Outside Fixed Charge.....	320,500,000	308,261,000
Road Improvement Fund .....	6,650,000	—
Payments to Land Taxation Account .....	10,818,000	10,746,000
Land Settlement.....	12,000,000	3,477,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services.....	1,730,000	1,948,000
TOTAL, Consolidated Fund Services..	£376,198,000	£348,205,000



TABLE A—continued.

EXPENDITURE (ESTIMATED).	1920-21.	1919-20.
	£	£
Army .....	125,000,000	395,000,000
Navy .....	84,372,000	156,528,000
Air Force .....	21,051,000	52,500,000
Civil Services .....	497,318,000	569,054,000
Customs, Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments .....	10,468,000	9,422,000
Post Office Services .....	49,689,000	48,064,000
Add Supplementary Estimates to be presented .....	20,000,000	—
<b>TOTAL SUPPLY SERVICES .....</b>	<b>£807,904,000</b>	<b>£1,230,568,000</b>
		Votes of Credit :—
		87,000,000
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE .....</b>	<b>£1,184,102,000</b>	<b>£1,665,733,000</b>
<b>BALANCE AVAILABLE FOR DEBT REDUCTION .....</b>	<b>234,198,000</b>	—
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>£1,418,300,000</b>	—

And borrowings to meet *capital* expenditure anticipated = £10,366,000.

Notes on that remarkable set of figures must begin from the *expenditure* side. It will be observed that £20 millions are set out unappropriated, as that sum was foreseen; but on July 15th, 1920, an estimate paper for £18,146,858 was issued, and presumably that provides for the expenditure which was thus foreseen, but a further estimate has been issued. Anyway, the greater part of this extra £18 millions should be added to the amount under the head of "Civil Services" for 1920-21. The amount applied to *National Debt* should be regarded still a growing amount, but the general question of the amount of debt and the attitude to be taken regarding it should be looked for in a separate section on the *National Debt* (p. 150). But at the foot of the expenditure column for 1920-21 we find the legend—£234,198,000—a "balance available for Debt reduction." Will this prove more than a roseate picture of the future! It is, so far, only a prospective, hoped for, surplus; the realisation depends on the policy and determination of the Government. We have just seen that by the middle of July, supplementary

estimates for nearly £18½ millions *above* those of Budget time were brought in; and will the Government resist projects for expenditure of all sorts during the year! If not, this large appropriation toward reducing the debt may prove very small, or never appear.

It is to be observed that the *Road Improvement Fund* appears on the Consolidated Fund Services again, after being suspended during the war; but this subject must be dealt with under the section on Changes in Taxation (p. 138). The £12 millions for *Land Settlement*, following the £3½ millions of 1919-20, is another instalment of the £20 millions to be provided for this purpose under the Land Settlement Act, 1919, and much of it will be returnable, probably, but it is best regarded as spent, temporarily at least. When we turn to the "Supply" Services, beginning with the *Army, Navy, and Air Force*, we reach matters of keen topical interest, nor is it possible to avoid dissatisfaction. We are about two years distant from the Armistice of November, 1918, and providing for a year ending March, 1921. It is true that the amounts demanded for these fighting services is considerably smaller than those for 1919-20; but it

is still, it will be seen, as much as £230,429,000 together. Nor is that all. That last sum is very different still from the £77,179,000 voted by Parliament for these services in 1913-14. Voted by Parliament, let it be repeated, for these totals appearing on the "supply" list are only the *net* sums requested by vote, and the fighting departments, as well as other departments, have large amounts in hand for expenditure also. For we find that there are this year "appropriations-in-aid"—the Army £24,750,000, Navy £12,217,881, and Air Force £1,772,689—or a total of £38,740,570, in addition to the £230,429,000 demanded of Parliament, making £269 millions and more placed at the disposal of these fighting services in 1920-21. We are in touch with vital public matters here, for we should never forget how policy affects expenditure.

Similar critical remarks are due respecting the next item, viz., "*Civil Services*," and all the more as some new departments, like that of Pensions, which will be more or less permanent, are transferred now from the "fighting" to the "Civil" Services list. In this case, not only is the vast sum of £497,318,000 to be voted, but "appropriations" are assumed at £58,307,000 more, making a total of £555,625,649; but it appears that £239,870,000 are expected here in aid of votes, from sales of stock probably, etc., etc., but really that sum is accounted for on the "revenue" side of the balance-sheet, as "special" revenue. It may be useful to recite the War Services now still found on these Civil Service estimates, such as Munitions, Pensions, Food, Shipping, Transport, National Savings, Central Control Board, Imperial Graves Commission, Loans to Allies (£36 millions), Railway Agreements, Coastwise Transport Subsidy, Canals Compensation, Bread Subsidy (£45 millions), Treasury Securities Deposit Scheme, Property Losses (Ireland) Compensation, Miscellaneous War Services (Foreign Office) = (Loans to Persia, &c.), Coal Mines Deficiency (£15 millions), and Export Credits.

There are other remnants of war's leavings in other parts of these estimates, but the above heads of expenditure involving about £340 millions are drawn from the unclassified section only, and some of them should disappear before

very long; their slow rate of disappearance is the cause of much strong feeling. The swollen expenditure of the day is exhibited also in the estimates for the Revenue Departments and for the Postal Services, and these remind us that of the £18 millions of supplementary estimates issued in July, 1920, £9½ millions are on account of a War Bonus to be distributed throughout the Civil Service Departments, as also £1,673,000 in the Post Office.

The total expenditure for 1920-21, viz., an estimate of £1,184 millions, without the appropriations-in-aid, cannot be overlooked. It is to be contrasted with £197·5 millions for 1913-14. Nearly seven-fold anti-war expenditure is a serious state of things, whatever may be said in extenuation of it. It is said, and must be admitted, that war leaves evil legacies, and there are the swollen prices of the day to be allowed for; but it must be admitted also that this rate of expenditure must be reduced, if we are to get a good chance to re-establish national fortunes comparatively. In public, and in private, our spending has been too careless, and we must curtail. Let it be added also that the expenditure at £1,184 millions does not include any reduction of the new war debt, only for that interest. A further reference to the prospective surplus involves questions respecting the Revenue side of the National balance, and that reference does not relieve our apprehensions.

The chief feature of the *Revenue* is that, whether we regard that from taxation only, or the total gross revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer requires a larger sum than that for 1919-20. The total Revenue for 1913-14 was £198·2 millions; in 1920-21 the estimate is for £1,418·3 millions, whereas it was £1,339·5 in 1919-20. That reminds of the £234 millions of a surplus which Mr. Chamberlain hopes to realise, and which is given as a justification of the changes in taxation and the raising of so large a revenue. Let it be registered that only the actual realisation of such a surplus will justify such taxes, such a revenue—more than seven times the anti-war scale. The changes in the taxes are dealt with at p. 141, but some general features of this revenue side of the balance sheet must be touched here. The successful raising of so large a

revenue, especially after the sacrifices of war-time, is a great feat; but some features of the revenue render the balance sheet as a whole a very unsatisfactory document. The expenditure is placed at £1,184 millions, and not only the £234 millions hoped for as a surplus to be devoted to debt, but a part of that current expenditure is made dependent upon large items of either temporary or casual revenue. Reference is made here to the Excess Profits Duty, from which £220 millions is expected, and which is, confessedly a non-permanent tax. But there is also the £310,576,000 from two

non-tax sources, money got from loans repaid, or from the sale of war stock, which should have gone direct to repayment of debt, and ought not to have been used as revenue, leading to expenditure, waste, and even corruption. It may be pointed out again that in consequence of this financing from war-stock money, the revenue system is left inadequate and unprepared to meet the strain of our expenditure. Remembering clearly how prices are highly inflated, it may be said unhesitatingly that the financial position calls earnestly for economy by reduced expenditure.

## II.—CHANGES IN TAXATION.

TAXATION is a very "practical" aspect of Government, and paying taxes of the duties of a citizen. Hence the importance of keeping an eye on the changes in taxation. Data given already in Section I. of this survey of the revenue and expenditure of the United Kingdom have suggested the profound change in taxation to meet the expenditure on war and its consequences. The Budget statement of April 19th,

1920, proved that once again vast changes in taxation were impending, which have gone into operation since then, and immediately it will be shown that the changes made are estimated to raise *more* this year by £76.6 millions, and "in a full year" by £198,230,000. The estimates for the Customs and Excise look for an additional £65 millions, as follows comparatively:—

TABLE B.—SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN TAXATION AND POSTAGE, &C., RATES.

	Estimate 1920-21. Increase + or Decrease —.	In a Full Year. Increase + or Decrease —.
	£	£
<b>CUSTOMS—</b>		
Spirits .....	+ 6,000,000	+ 6,400,000
Beer .....	+ 10,000	+ 20,000
Wine .....	+ 3,800,000	+ 4,100,000
Tobacco (Cigars) .....	+ 500,000	+ 530,000
Motor Spirit .....	— 800,000	— 3,200,000
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS .....</b>	<b>+ 9,510,000</b>	<b>+ 7,850,000</b>
<b>EXCISE—</b>		
Spirits .....	+ 17,500,000	+ 18,100,000
Beer .....	+ 22,490,000	+ 29,980,000
Motor Car and Motor Cycle Licences ....	— 850,000	— 1,200,000
<b>TOTAL EXCISE .....</b>	<b>+ 39,140,000</b>	<b>+ 46,880,000</b>
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE .....</b>	<b>+ 48,650,000</b>	<b>+ 54,730,000</b>
<b>MOTOR VEHICLE DUTIES .....</b>	<b>+ 4,500,000</b>	<b>+ 9,000,000</b>

TABLE B—continued.

	Estimate 1920-21. Increase — or Decrease .	In a Full Year. Increase + or Decrease —.
<b>INLAND REVENUE—</b>		
<i>Stamps—</i>		
Transfers of Stocks and Shares .....	+ £ 1,500,000	+ £ 2,000,000
Marketable Securities and Share Warrants to Bearer .....	+ 300,000	+ 500,000
Composition for Transfer Duty .....	+ 3,000,000	+ 3,000,000
Companies' Share Capital Duty .....	+ 275,000	+ 550,000
Receipts and Scrip Certificates .....	+ 50,000	+ 100,000
Fire, Accident, &c. Policies .....	+ 75,000	+ 150,000
Sea Policies .....		
<b>TOTAL STAMPS</b> .....	<b>+ 5,200,000</b>	<b>+ 6,300,000</b>
<i>Income Tax—</i>		
Graduation, differentiation, abatements, allowances, &c. ....	- 11,500,000	- 29,200,000
Abolition of temporary war reliefs, in- cluding reduced rates of tax on pay of soldiers, sailors, &c. ....	+ 2,000,000	+ 3,900,000
Relief for double income tax within the Empire .....	- 500,000	- 2,000,000
<i>Super-Tax—</i>		
Increase and extension of scale of rates of duty .....	+ 8,800,000	+ 11,000,000
<b>Total Income Tax (including Super- tax)</b> .....	<b>- 1,200,000</b>	<b>- 16,300,000</b>
<i>Excess Profits Duty—</i>		
Increase from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent., on profits accruing from January 1st, 1920 .....	+ 10,000,000	+ 100,000,000
<i>Corporation Profits Tax—</i>		
Duty on the income of limited liability concerns engaged in trade, &c., on profits accruing from January 1st, 1920 .....	+ 3,000,000	+ 35,000,000
<b>TOTAL INLAND REVENUE</b> .....	<b>+ 17,000,000</b>	<b>+ 125,000,000</b>
<b>POSTAGE RATES</b> (excluding Postcards and Printed Papers) .....	<b>+ 6,500,000</b>	<b>+ 9,500,000</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> .....	<b>+ 76,650,000</b>	<b>+ 198,230,000</b>

That Table serves to show the articles which bear the Customs and Excise duties, as well as the fabulous sum to be raised thus, viz., £348,650,000—to about £7. 13s. per head of the population—man, woman, and child, say £33 per family. Were space to permit it would be useful to dwell on the fact that £289·2 millions of this revenue, or about 83½ per cent. of it is expected from drinks (spirit, beer, and wine), sugar, tea, and tobacco; and of the £9·5

millions that remain £11 millions are expected from the Entertainments Duty alone, leaving all the other heads of indirect revenue to produce a little above £48 millions. This sort of taxation is always vexatious as well as unjust, and the more widely it is spread the lesser and lesser grows the yield. This analysis will give to the next Table C an added interest, for it gives some details of the additions made to taxes in this class.

TABLE C.—SHOWING, UNDER THE SEVERAL HEADS OF DUTY, THE ESTIMATED REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS AND EXCISE IN 1920-21, AS COMPARED WITH THE APPROXIMATE RECEIPTS IN 1919-20.

	1919-20 (Approximate Receipts).	1920-21 (Estimated Receipts).
	£	£
<b>CUSTOMS—</b>		
Spirits .....	16,169,000	22,000,000
Beer .....	2,000	60,000
Wine .....	2,236,000	5,900,000
Table Waters .....	11,000	10,000
Tea .....	17,748,000	17,000,000
Cocoa .....	2,475,000	2,450,000
Coffee and Chicory .....	678,000	650,000
Sugar, &c. ....	40,887,000	31,000,000
Dried Fruits .....	1,054,000	1,000,000
Tobacco .....	60,862,000	62,470,000
Matches and Mechanical Lighters .....	1,086,000	1,250,000
Motor Spirit .....	2,991,000	2,400,000
Cinema Films .....	209,000	250,000
Clocks and Watches .....	919,000	1,000,000
Motor Cars and Cycles .....	1,996,000	2,200,000
Musical Instruments .....	237,000	300,000
Other Items.....	200,000*	60,000
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS .....</b>	<b>149,360,000</b>	<b>150,000,000</b>
<b>EXCISE—</b>		
Spirits .....	42,562,000	64,500,000
Beer .....	71,273,000	112,440,000
Table Waters and Cider .....	1,421,000	1,390,000
Sugar, &c. ....	1,150,000	1,200,000
Tobacco .....	13,000	30,000
Matches and Mechanical Lighters .....	2,310,000	2,350,000
Motor Spirit .....	6,000	—
Entertainments .....	10,485,000	11,000,000
Liquor Licences .....	1,467,000	3,570,000
Monopoly Values .....	31,000	30,000
Motor Car, &c., Licences .....	1,152,000	350,000
Motor Spirit Licence Duty .....	— 47,000†	—
Other Licences .....	475,000	500,000
Railway Passenger Duty .....	7,000	—
Medicines, Playing Cards, Coffee Mixtures ..	1,269,000	1,280,000
Other Items.....	89,000*	10,000
<b>TOTAL EXCISE .....</b>	<b>133,663,000</b>	<b>198,650,000</b>
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE .....</b>	<b>283,023,000</b>	<b>348,650,000</b>

\* Including adjustment to make actual receipts agree with the amount paid into the Exchequer.

† Repayments.

The chief feature of this somewhat involved table, evidently, is the high rate to which Customs and Excise charges on drink have been brought. No pre-occupation of the mind regarding the

drink traffic should be allowed to prevent our economic study of these high rates. Figures given in Table A show that to March, 1920, high rates of duty had not proved disappointing in yield,

Customs and Excise bringing £283 millions. Now that these sources are charged to produce no less than £348·6 millions, or over 33½ per cent. of the total *tax* revenue expected, will they still bear that strain? The answer depends really on the consumption in the four commodities—"drinks," tea, sugar, and tobacco, and he would be a bold prophet who would utter his conclusion boldly. The rule that high taxes yield disappointingly is well known, and cannot be neglected. We shall see; but here is another vulnerable aspect of the revenue in this Budget; but perhaps the most sinister aspect of it is that it is the result of deliberate

policy, as the "preferential" rates of duty in Table D serve to remind us only too forcibly. Mr. Chamberlain is only too ready to serve the profiteering host which is besieging the Treasury for Protection—to their goods.

The one negative aspect of this table is the abolition of the duty of 6d. per gallon on motor spirit—from January 1st, 1921.

Table B will now serve to show the results, near and remote, not only of the changes made in Customs and Excise Duties, but also in the direct sources of revenue, changes, the meaning of which will be annotated immediately.

TABLE D. SHOWING THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN TAXATION AND IN POSTAGE, &C., RATES.

A.—CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

	Existing Duties.		Proposed Duties.	
	Full.	Preferential	Full.	Preferential.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
CUSTOMS—				
Spirits—				
* Brandy or Rum, proof gallon . . . . .	2 12 10	2 10 4	3 15 4	3 12 10
* Imitation Rum or Geneva, proof gallon . .	2 12 11	2 10 5	3 15 5	3 12 11
Unsweetened spirits other than the above, proof gallon.	2 12 11	2 10 5	3 15 5	3 12 11
* Perfumed spirits, liquid gallon . . . . .	4 4 2	4 0 2	6 0 0	5 16 0
Liqueurs, cordials, mixtures and other preparations in bottle entered in such a manner as to indicate that the strength is not to be tested, liquid gallon.	3 12 2	3 8 10	5 2 5	4 19 1
* Other spirits, including naphtha and methylic alcohol purified so as to be potable, and mixtures and preparations containing spirits, proof gallon.	2 12 11	2 10 5	3 15 5	3 12 11
* If imported in bottle, extra per gallon	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Additional duties are charged on immature spirits.				
Beer—				
Mum, Spruce, or Black Beer—				
Of a specific gravity—				
Not exceeding 1,215°, for every 36 gall.	14 2 0	—	20 2 0	—
Exceeding 1,215°, for every 36 gallons	16 10 5	—	23 11 0	—
Other Sorts—				
At gravity of 1,055°, for every 36 gall.	3 10 6	—	5 0 6	—
And so on in proportion for any difference of gravity.				
Wine—				
Not exceeding 30° of proof spirit, per gall.	0 1 3	60 per cent. of full rate.	0 2 6	60 per cent. of full rate.
Exceeding 30°, but not exceeding 42° of proof spirit, per gallon.	0 3 0	} 66½ per cent. of full rate.	0 6 0	} 66½ per cent. of full rate.
For every degree or part of a degree beyond 42° per gallon.	0 0 3		0 0 6	
Additional duty—				
On still wine imported in bottle, per gallon	0 1 0	50 per cent. of full rate.	0 2 0	50 per cent. of full rate.
On sparkling wine imported in bottle, per gallon.	0 2 6	70 per cent. of full rate.	0 5 0	70 per cent. of full rate.
			plus 50 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .	plus two-thirds of the <i>ad valorem</i> surtax.

TABLE D—continued.

	Existing Duties.			Proposed Duties.		
	Full.	Preferential		Full.	Preferential	
Tobacco—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cigars, per lb. ....	0	15	7	0	15	7
			Five-sixths of full rate.	plus 50 per cent. <i>ad valorem.</i>	Five-sixths of 15s. 7d., plus two- thirds of the <i>ad valorem</i> surtax.	
Motor Spirit—per gallon .....	0	0	6		To be repealed as from 1st January, 1921.	
			Five-sixths of full rate.			
EXCISE—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Spirits, British, proof gallon .....	2	10	0	3	12	6
(Additional duties are charged on immature spirits.)						
Beer, standard barrel of 1055 .....	3	10	0	5	0	0
Motor Car and Motor Bicycle Licence Duties	Existing duties to be abolished as from January 1st, 1921, <i>see</i> below.					

It is not unnecessary once more to draw attention to the fact that at this distance of time from the Armistice of November, 1918, we are thus adding £198·2 millions to the tax revenue of the United Kingdom.

## MOTOR VEHICLE TAXATION.

The duty on motor spirit being withdrawn, the following duties will take the place, as from January 1st, 1921, of (a) that spirit duty; and (b) of the existing licence duties on Motor Cars and Motor Cycles:—

TABLE E.

Description of Vehicle.	Rate of Duty.	
1. Cycles (including motor scooters) not exceeding 8 cwt. in weight unladen:—		
Bicycles—	£	s.
Not exceeding 200lbs. in weight unladen .....	1	10
Exceeding 200lbs. in weight unladen .....	3	0
Bicycles if used for drawing a trailer or side-car, and tricycles.....	4	0
2. Vehicles not exceeding 5 cwt. in weight unladen adapted and used for invalids .....	0	5
	In the Metropolitan Police area and such other districts as the Minister of Transport may fix.	In all other districts.
3. Vehicles being hackney carriages:—		
Tramcars .....	15s.	15s.
Other vehicles—	£	£
Seating not more than 5 persons .....	15	12
Seating more than 5 but not more than 14 persons ...	30	24
Seating more than 14 but not more than 20 persons..	45	36
Seating more than 20 but not more than 26 persons..	60	48
Seating more than 26 but not more than 32 persons..	72	60
Seating more than 32 persons .....	84	70

Description of Vehicle.	Rate of Duty
4. Vehicles of the following descriptions used in the course of trade, otherwise than for the conveyance of goods and in agriculture (that is to say):—	
Locomotive ploughing engines, tractors, agricultural tractors, and other agricultural engines, not being engines or tractors used for hauling on roads any objects except their own necessary gear, threshing appliances, farming implements, or supplies of fuel or water .....	5s.
Road locomotives and agricultural engines, other than such engines in respect of which a duty of 5s. is chargeable or which are used for haulage solely in connection with agriculture—	£
Not exceeding 8 tons in weight unladen .....	25
Exceeding 8 tons but not exceeding 12 tons in weight unladen ..	28
Exceeding 12 tons in weight unladen .....	30
Tractors, agricultural tractors, and agricultural engines, other than such tractors or engines in respect of which a duty of 5s. is chargeable, used for haulage solely in connection with agriculture—	
Not exceeding 5 tons in weight unladen .....	6
Exceeding 5 tons in weight unladen .....	10
Tractors of any other description .....	21
5. Vehicles (including tricycles weighing more than 8 cwt. unladen) constructed or adapted for use and used solely for the conveyance of goods in the course of trade—	
	£
Not exceeding 12 cwt. in weight unladen .....	10
Exceeding 12 cwt. but not exceeding 1 ton in weight unladen ..	16
Exceeding 1 ton but not exceeding 2 tons in weight unladen ..	21
Exceeding 2 tons but not exceeding 3 tons in weight unladen ..	25
Exceeding 3 tons but not exceeding 4 tons in weight unladen ..	28
Exceeding 4 tons in weight unladen .....	30
With an additional duty, in any case if used for drawing a trailer, of	2
6. Any vehicles other than those charged with duty under the foregoing provisions of this schedule:—	
Not exceeding 6 horse-power or electrically propelled .....	6
Exceeding 6 horse-power .....	£1 for
	each unit or part of a
	unit of horse-power.

In the case of a vehicle the engines of which are proved to the satisfaction of the authority charged with levying the duty to have been constructed before the first day of January, nineteen hundred and thirteen, a rebate shall be allowed from the duty chargeable under this paragraph equal to 25 per cent. of the amount thereof.

A reference to p. 138 will show that these new rates of charge on motor vehicles will produce, it is hoped, £4½ millions in 1920-21, and £9 millions "in a full year." The Balance Sheet, Table A, shows also £6,650,000 to be paid out to the Road Improvement Fund from this source. Not only are duties of an unwise and unjustifiable nature imposed on vehicles—a commodity—but the money thus got is to be used to ease landowners in the expense of maintaining roads, an immemorial obligation of the ownership of land—now thrown indiscriminately almost on the public using vehicles—the same vicious

principle as the turnpike gates of savoury memory.

With the duties on motor vehicles we complete what may be regarded as the *indirect* portion of the revenue provided by the Budget of 1920. The indirect revenue is estimated at £353·1 millions, or about 34 per cent. of the *Tax* revenue. This branch tends to grow, of course, under Mr. Chamberlain.

The following official notes will show the changes made in the

#### INLAND REVENUE.

The following notes a more or less easily comprehensible view of the



changes to be made in 1920-21, to be found in another form in the Finance Act, with the exception of the section on the postages rates, some changes in which required no legislative enactment, while others will be found in the "Revenue Act" to be passed in the Autumn of 1920:—

It is proposed to retain the standard rate of Income Tax at 6s. in the £.

Relief to "earned" income is at present granted by means of differential rates of tax applicable to that income where the total income does not exceed £2,500.

It is proposed to maintain the differentiation in favour of "earned" income, but to give it not by separate rates of tax but by making a deduction of one-tenth of the "earned" income (subject to a maximum deduction of £200) for the purpose of arriving at the "assessable" income.

It is further proposed that the relief shall be given in all cases irrespective of the amount of the total income.

The "assessable" income will be, in the case of "earned" income, the amount of such income after deducting the amount of the differentiation relief above-mentioned and in the case of other income (hitherto known as "unearned" income, but now proposed to be described as "investment" income), the actual amount of such income.

(i) *Existing System.*—The graduation of the tax is at present effected (a) by means of reduced rates applicable to total incomes which do not exceed £2,500 in the case of "earned" income, and £2,000 in the case of "investment" income, and (b) by the allowance of specific abatements and reliefs, e.g., for wife, children, and dependent relatives, in cases where the total income does not exceed £700 (or for the purpose of certain reliefs £800 and £1,000).

Incomes not exceeding £130 a year are wholly exempt from tax.

(ii) *Proposed System.*—The new scheme of graduation proposed proceeds on the following lines:—

(a) *Exemption Limit.*

Exemption from tax will be allowed where the total assessable income does not exceed £135 (or, in the case of an

individual whose wife is living with him, £225). (Where the income is wholly earned, these limits are equivalent to £150 and £250 respectively).

(b) *Abatement.*

Where the total assessable income exceeds £135 or, in the case of a married couple, £225, abatement allowances of these amounts will be made.

The existing wife allowance of £50 (or, in terms of assessable income, £45) is now merged in the increased exemption limit and abatement allowance. Thus, in effect, the wife allowance is increased, in terms of earned income, from £50 to £100.

Where in the case of a married couple the wife has an earned income, the abatement allowance of £225 will be increased by a sum equal to nine-tenths of the amount of such earned income, subject to a maximum increase of £45. In these cases the maximum abatement allowance will be £270 in terms of assessable income, which is equal to £300 in terms of earned income.

This relief, which will be granted irrespective of the amount of the total joint income, will take the place of the relief in respect of the separate earnings of a married woman, hitherto restricted to cases where the total joint income of a husband and wife does not exceed £500.

(c) *Children Allowance.*

The allowances from assessable income will now be £36 for one child and £27 for each subsequent child. These amounts are equivalent to £40 and £30 in terms of earned income, as compared with the existing allowances of £40 and £25 respectively.

The allowance will no longer be claimable in respect of any child who has, in its own right, an income exceeding £40 a year.

(d) *Dependent Relative Allowance.*

The allowance from assessable income will be £25. In the case of earned income this is equivalent to a small increase as compared with the present allowance of £25, which in terms of assessable income would be £22 10s.

Relief will be granted as hitherto in respect of each dependent relative who

is incapacitated by old age or infirmity from maintaining himself and whose income from all sources does not exceed £25 a year. Where the dependent relative is a widowed mother the condition of incapacity will be waived.

(e) *Housekeeper Allowance.*

The existing allowance to a widower in respect of a female relative resident with him, for the purpose of having the charge and care of his children, is maintained at £50, which is equivalent to a deduction of £45 from the assessable income. This allowance will be extended to widows in like case.

It is also proposed to maintain the allowance of £50 (in terms of assessable income, £45) to an unmarried person who has living with him his widowed mother or some other female relative maintained by him to look after his younger brothers and sisters.

It is not proposed to give a "housekeeper" allowance in any cases other than those above mentioned.

The above-mentioned allowances (b), (c), (d) and (e) will be deductions from "assessable" income in all cases, irrespective of the amount of the total income, and the sum remaining will represent the "taxable" income, that is, the amount upon which income tax will be charged.

*Reduction of the Standard Rate of Tax.*

As a further step in the graduation—and this relief applies to all individual taxpayers whether they have family responsibilities or not—it is proposed that, whatever the amount of the "taxable" income, the first £225 of that income shall be charged at half the standard rate, and that only the excess of the "taxable" income over £225 shall be charged at the standard rate.

*Life Assurance Premiums.*

As a consequence of this new method of graduation, it is necessary to determine specifically the rates at which allowance of tax shall be made in respect of Life Assurance premiums.

Under the existing law, different provisions apply according as the insurances were made on or before, or were made after, the 22nd June, 1916.

As regards the former class, the rates proposed are as follows:—

- (i) Where the total income does not exceed £1,000, half the standard rate.
- (ii) Where the total income exceeds £1,000 but does not exceed £2,000, three-fourths of the standard rate.
- (iii) Where the total income exceeds £2,000, the standard rate.

With regard to insurances made after June 22nd, 1916 (as respects which the allowance under existing law is limited to a maximum of 3s. in the £), the allowance of tax will be at half the standard rate in all cases irrespective of the amount of the total income.

The Life Assurance allowance will be extended to premiums paid by a wife out of her separate income in respect of an insurance on the life of her husband. *British Subjects Resident Abroad.*

It is proposed to allow to British subjects resident abroad the benefit of the various reliefs mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. In these cases the relief will be calculated by reference to the real total income, wherever arising, and the tax to be borne in respect of that portion of the income which is subject to United Kingdom Income Tax will be calculated at the effective rate that would be charged if the total income were assessable to United Kingdom Income Tax.

As a consequence of the new graduation scheme, it will be necessary to revise the basis of the existing relief afforded to certain classes of persons resident abroad (*e.g.*, persons who are or have been employed in the service of the Crown, residents in the Isle of Man or the Channel Islands), and it is proposed to apply in these cases the measure of relief above indicated.

The final step in the proposed graduation is effected by a revision of the Super-tax charge.

It is proposed to lower the limit of Super-tax exemption from £2,500 to £2,000, and to increase up to a maximum of 6s. the rates of Super-tax payable under the graduated scale.

Details of the present and proposed scales of charge are shown in the following table:—

## SUPER TAX.

	Existing Rates.	Proposed Rates.
	Incomes exceeding £2,500 chargeable.	Incomes exceeding £2,000 chargeable.
	s. d.	s. d.
On the first £2,000 of the income .....	Nil	Nil
.. next £500* (to £2,500) .....	1 0	1 6
.. .. £500 (to £3,000) .....	1 6	2 0
.. .. £1,000 (to £4,000) .....	2 0	2 6
.. .. £1,000 (to £5,000) .....	2 6	3 0
.. .. £1,000 (to £6,000) .....	3 0	3 6
.. .. £1,000 (to £7,000) .....	3 6	4 0
.. .. £1,000 (to £8,000) .....	3 6	4 6
.. .. £1,000 (to £9,000) .....	4 0	5 0
.. .. £1,000 (to £10,000) .....	4 0	5 0
.. .. £10,000 (to £20,000) .....	4 6	5 0
.. .. £10,000 (to £30,000) .....	4 6	5 6
.. remainder (above £30,000) .....	4 6	6 0

\* Under the existing scheme no tax is charged on this £500 unless the total income exceeds £2,500.

Super-tax will, as heretofore, be chargeable by reference to the total income of the individual from all sources for the previous year, and no deduction will be made in respect of the differentiation and graduation reliefs allowed for income tax purposes.

The accompanying White Paper (H.C. 71) contains tables showing the amount of income tax and super-tax on certain incomes, and the effective rates payable in the £, and reproductions of illustrations, in the form of graphs, which appear in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Income Tax.

Under the temporary arrangement which has been in existence since 1916 in regard to income chargeable to a \*Dominion Income Tax as well as to United Kingdom Income Tax, relief from double taxation is allowed, at the expense of the British Exchequer, subject to the retention of United Kingdom Income Tax at a rate not less than 3s. 6d. in the £.

It is now proposed to substitute a scheme of relief which is designed to be permanent in character and which, given complementary action on the part of the Dominions, will afford complete relief by the elimination of the lower

of the two taxes charged upon the same income.

Under the proposed scheme relief will be afforded so far as the British Exchequer is concerned, by a deduction from the rate of the United Kingdom Income Tax (including Super-tax) up to one-half the rate of tax charged upon the individual taxpayer. If, therefore, the rate of the Dominion tax does not exceed one-half the rate of the United Kingdom tax, the whole remission will be made from the United Kingdom tax.

A necessary corollary to the proposed scheme of relief is the repeal of the provision that, in respect of income arising in a Dominion, liability to United Kingdom Income Tax is to be computed on the balance of income remaining after payment or deduction of the Dominion tax.

It is proposed to discontinue the following temporary reliefs which have been introduced from time to time to meet special circumstances arising out of the war:—

- (a) Reduced rates of tax and other reliefs applicable to the service pay of sailors, soldiers, and others.
- (b) Relief in respect of diminution of profits due to the war and relief where the income of the year falls short of the assessed income by more than 10 per cent.

\* The expression "Dominion" is here used to include the self-governing Dominions, India, British possessions generally and any territory under His Majesty's protection.

- (c) Postponement of payment of Super-tax where the income has diminished, and relief from Super-tax to persons serving in the war.
- (d) Computation of total income, for the purpose of determining the limit of one-sixth of that income in connection with the allowance in respect of Life Assurance premiums, on the basis of the income for the year 1913-14 (the last pre-war year) where the income of the year of assessment is less than that income.

It is proposed to renew the charge so as to cover accounting periods ending on or after August 5th, 1920, the date fixed by the last Act. The rate will be increased from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. as from January 1st, 1920, but in the event of a war levy being imposed later in the session, this increase of 20 per cent. in the rate of Excess Profits Duty will be cancelled. The like course will be taken as respects the rate of the Excess Mineral Rights Duty.

It is proposed to impose a tax of 1s. in the £ on the profits of concerns with limited liability engaged in trade or transactions of a similar character. No tax will be charged upon the first £500 of such profits, and any Excess Profits

Duty payable will be treated as a working expense in arriving at the profits chargeable to this new tax.

To meet certain hard cases it is proposed further that if in any case the duty exceeds a sum equivalent to 2s. in the £ on the profits which remain after payment of interest and dividends payable at a fixed rate on existing issues of debentures and preference shares, the excess of the charge over that sum shall be remitted.

(1) *Duty on Share Capital of Companies.*

It is proposed to increase the duty from the present rate of 5s. per £100 to £1 per £100.

(2) *Conveyances.*

The Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. doubled the duty on conveyances of property except in the case of transfers of stocks and marketable securities, and conveyances of other property of small value.

It is proposed to remove the exception in favour of transfers of stocks and marketable securities and to charge the duty on conveyances whether by gift or sale (except the small conveyances referred to above) of all kinds of property according to the higher scale, which is as follows:—

CONVEYANCES.

Where the amount or value of the consideration for the sale does not exceed	£	s.	d.
£5	0	1	0
Exceeds £5 and does not exceed	10	0	2 0
„ 10 „ „	15	0	3 0
„ 15 „ „	20	0	4 0
„ 20 „ „	25	0	5 0
„ 25 „ „	50	0	10 0
„ 50 „ „	75	0	15 0
„ 75 „ „	100	1	0 0
„ 100 „ „	125	1	5 0
„ 125 „ „	150	1	10 0
„ 150 „ „	175	1	15 0
„ 175 „ „	200	2	0 0
„ 200 „ „	225	2	5 0
„ 225 „ „	250	2	10 0
„ 250 „ „	275	2	15 0
„ 275 „ „	300	3	0 0
„ 300 for every £50 and also for every fractional part of £50 of such amount or value		0	10 0

The special rates for Bank of England and Colonial Stocks will be 15s. 6d. fixed and 5s. per £100 respectively.

As a consequence, it is proposed to double the rates of composition for the Stamp Duty on transfers of stock.

(3) *Marketable Securities to Bearer.*

It is proposed to double the duty on Marketable Securities to bearer, which will then be as follows :—

MARKETABLE SECURITIES TO BEARER.

Colonial Government.		Colonial Municipality.	Bearer Securities, other than Colonial Government or Municipalities.
Where the money thereby secured does not exceed £10 .....	£	For every £10 and also for any fractional part of £10 of the money thereby secured, 2s.	For every £10, and also for any fractional part of £10 of the money thereby secured, 4s
Exceeds 10 but does not exceed 25	1 4		
„ 25 „ „ 50	2 6		
„ 50 „ „ 100	5 0		
„ 100 „ „ 150	7 6		
„ 150 „ „ 200	10 0		
„ 200 „ „ 250	12 6		
„ 250 „ „ 300	15 0		
„ 300, for every £100 and also for any fractional part of £100.....	5 0		

The reduced duty applicable to substituted bearer securities and to securities to bearer issued for short terms (Section 13, Finance Act, 1911) will also be doubled.

(4) *Share Warrants and Stock Certificates to Bearer.*

It is proposed to double the duty on these instruments, which will then be as follows :—

*Colonial Government.*

For every £100 and fraction of £100 of the nominal value of stock, 5s.

*Foreign.*

For every £10 and also for any fractional part of £10 of the nominal value of the share or stock, 4s.

*British.*

Three times the transfer duty, see paragraph (2) above.

(5) *Policies of Sea Insurance.*

It is proposed to revise the *ad valorem* duties according to the following scale :—

*Existing Scale.*

Where the premium or consideration exceeds the rate of 2s. 6d. per cent. of the sum insured :—

(a) For or upon any voyage in *d.* respect of every £100 and any fractional part of £100 insured 1

(b) For time

In respect of every £100 and any fractional part of £100 insured where the insurance is

for any time not exceeding six *d.* months - - - - 3

Where the insurance is for any time exceeding six months and not exceeding twelve months . . . . . 6

*Proposed Scale.*

Where the premium or consideration exceeds the rate of 2s. 6d. per cent. of the sum insured :—

(a) For or upon any voyage *s. d.*

Where the sum insured does not exceed £250 . . . . . 3

Where the sum exceeds £250 but does not exceed £500 6

Where the sum exceeds £500 but does not exceed £750 9

Where the sum exceeds £750 but does not exceed £1,000 . . . . . 1 0

Where the sum exceeds £1,000 for every £500, also any fractional part of £500 . 6

(b) For time

Where the insurance shall be made for any time not exceeding six months a duty equivalent to three times the above amounts.

Where the insurance shall be made for any time exceeding six months but not exceeding twelve months a duty equivalent to six times the above amounts.

(6) *Accident, Sickness, Indemnity, Fire Insurance, &c., Policies.*

It is proposed to increase the duty from 1d. to 6d. and in cases where the duty is compounded for to increase the rate of composition from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. on the amount of the premiums.

(7) *Receipts and Scrip Certificates.*

It is proposed to increase the duty from 1d. to 2d.

It is proposed to repeal the Increment Value Duty, Reversion Duty and Underdeveloped Land Duty, imposed by Part I. of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, and to take no action towards the collection of the outstanding arrears

of those duties. Provision will be made for repayment of the duty already paid on application by the taxpayer.

No further steps will be taken to bring to completion the general valuation of land prescribed by that Act. The valuation has reference to values as at April 30th, 1909, and with the repeal of the duties will cease to have any fiscal significance, but the Valuation Department of the Inland Revenue will be kept in being and the existing provisions for the presentation of deeds relating to the transfer on sale and lease of land will be continued, so that the Department will have a record of such transactions and keep its information up to date.

POSTAGE, &C., RATES.

	Present Rates.	Proposed Rates.
Inland letters . . . . .	Not exceeding 4 oz. . . . 1½d. For every additional 2 oz. ½d.	Not exceeding 3 oz. . . . 2d. For every additional oz. ½d.
Letters to the British Possessions generally, the United States of America and British Postal Agencies in Morocco.	Not exceeding 1 oz. . . . 1½d. For every additional oz. 1d.	Not exceeding 1 oz. . . . 2d. For every additional oz. 1d.
Registered Newspapers (Inland) ..	For every copy not exceeding 6 oz. . . . . ½d. For every additional 6 oz. ½d.	For every copy not exceeding 6 oz. . . . . 1d. For every additional 6 oz. ½d.
Inland Parcels . . . . .	Not exceeding 3lbs. . . . 6d. " " 7lbs. . . . 9d. " " 11lbs. . . 1s.	Not exceeding 2lbs. . . . 9d. " " 5lbs. . . . 1s. " " 8lbs. . . . 1s.3d. " " 11lbs. . . 1s.6d.
Inland Telegrams ..	For 12 words . . . . . 9d. For every additional word ½d.	For 12 words . . . . . 1s. For every additional word 1d.
Sunday telegrams ..	—	Additional charge of 6d. per inland telegram handed in between midnight Saturday and midnight Sunday.
Porterage on telegrams.	3d. a mile calculated from the limit of free delivery.	6d. a mile calculated from the limit of free delivery.
Inland Money Orders	Not exceeding £1. . . . . 2d. " " £3. . . . . 3d. " " £10. . . . . 4d. " " £20. . . . . 6d. " " £30. . . . . 8d. " " £40. . . . . 10d.	Not exceeding £3. . . . . 4d. " " £10. . . . . 6d. " " £20. . . . . 8d. " " £30. . . . . 10d. " " £40. . . . . 1s.
Postal Orders . . . . .	6d. to 15s. . . . . 1d. 15s. 6d. to 21s. . . . . 1½d.	6d. to 2s. 6d. . . . . 1d. 3s. to 15s. . . . . 1½d. 15s. 6d. to 21s. . . . . 2d.

In addition, proposals will be laid before a Select Committee for the increase of Telephone Rates, and power will be taken to increase the rates for Inland Postcards (to 1½d.) and Printed Papers as soon as the international rate can be raised.

It will be observed that the above notes treat of the Income Tax (with Super-tax), Excess Profits Duty, Corporation Profits Tax, Stamps, Land Values Duties, and Postage Rates. The changes in the *Income Tax* should be scanned carefully, for in effect they modify the incidence of this tax (from which £358·8 millions are expected this year) on small incomes considerably. In computations of the amount to be paid on a specific income, it will be important to remember that, in addition to allowances mentioned here there is also to be allowed the statutory quarter off the rateable value of land, and one-sixth of the value of houses. *Excess Profits Duty*, though chargeable at 60 instead of 40 per cent., is also made more lenient by means of allowances up to £2,000 of small incomes or profits, and on profits of new business. The *Corporation Profits Tax* should not be confounded with the "Corporation Duty" of 1885-6, imposed by Mr. Childers and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, as a substitute for "Death Duty" on the incomes of non-dissoluble corporations. This \* *Corporation Profits Tax* is designed to touch companies which do not pay income tax, and has been scanned, therefore, with jealousy, and modified. The terms in which it is imposed should,

\* By the amendments on the Finance Act, only the surplus arising from investments with members will be subject to Corporation Profits Tax in the case of Provident Societies, and bonuses and dividends shall be treated as trade expenses. Corporation Profits Tax, from 1st January, 1920, to 31st December, 1923, will not apply to gas, water, tramway, dock &c., and such undertakings limited in power by Act of Parliament.

therefore, be observed carefully—both as to those subject to it and the rate of the tax. To be imposed from January 1st, 1920, £3 millions is expected from it, and as much as £35 millions a year ultimately.

The repeal of the three *Land Value Duties* (the (a) Increment, the (b) Reversion, and the (c) Undeveloped Land Duty) is one of those things which only a reactionary landlord-ridden Government would do. The Mineral Rights Duty is left unrepealed. Not only are these duties repealed (they were unexceptionable in principle, but clumsily imposed by the 1909-10 Act), but provision is made for the repayment of the duty already paid under these three duties. The return of any revenue already collected and spent is an extraordinary thing, and would not be done except to favour landowners, the pets of Parliament. But that it should be done now when financial matters are so low! Before passing on to another section of this review, it may be pointed out how by a meticulous handling of *direct* imposts, such as the general stamps, and postage stamps, we may get the iniquitous results of *indirect taxes*. The two-penny stamp on a letter, for instance, is made the means of raising revenue without regard to the taxpayer's relative ability to pay. Note that it is said that the charges on inland postcards and printed papers, and on telephone rates, are to be raised also in the near future. No particulars of these new charges appear among the above notes.

As it is again promised that *Excess Profits Duty* shall prove only an emergency impost, the yield since it was imposed is added here. 1915-16, £140,000; 1916-17, £130,920,000; 1917-18, £220,214,000; 1918-19, £285,028,000; 1919-20, £290,045,000; and (estimated) 1920-21, £220,000,000. But were the Excess Profits Duty withdrawn at any time, much by way of arrears would be collectable, say, for eighteen months.

### III.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

THIS will for many years, as was the case after the French Wars, be the battle-ground of financiers and students of currency and other somewhat

abstruse matters pertaining to public finance. The most salient fact respecting the National Debt, at Budget time 1920, was that it was still mounting up.

In March, 1914, three months before the war, the "Dead Weight" of the debt was at £649.9 millions. In March, 1918, it was £5,871.8 millions; in March, 1919, £7,435 millions; and Mr. Chamberlain gave it as at £7,835 millions in March, 1920. Note that increase, even in the sixteenth month after the Armistice of November, 1918. Worse still, to those able to assess the way it affects the money market, is the fact that £1,312 millions of that last huge total was in the shape of "floating debt," *i.e.*, in bills for short terms on the Bank of England and other lenders. To July 19th last there was a slight improvement, as the floating debt stood then at £1,279 millions. As a set-off against the £7,835 millions of the total, the Chancellor of the Exchequer issued a statement of *Loans to Dominions and Allies*, as at March 31st, 1920, as follows: Australia, £51.6; New Zealand, £29.6; Canada, £19.4; South Africa, £15.8; other Dominions and Colonies, £316 all in millions; Dominions, &c., £119.5 millions; and Russia, £568; France, £514.8; Italy, £455.5; Belgium, £97.3; Serbia, £20.9; Portugal, Rumania, Greece, and other Allies, £66.6. Relief Loans £8 (all in millions) = Allies, etc., £1,731.1 millions, a total of £1,850,600,000 owing to the United Kingdom.

Since then £36 millions more have been voted as loans, principally to Persia, in the "unclassified" estimates; and another vote of the same nature added later. There are, therefore, as a matter of account, say, some £1,890 millions due to the United Kingdom. But with regard to this set-off account, as of the indemnity from Germany of which we have heard so much during the past two years, a new beatitude might be framed: "Blessed is the man who expecteth not too much." How are Portugal and Roumania, and Serbia, and even Russia and other Powers to find means, in their broken state, to pay these large sums at an early date! We shall have to carry the whole debt, practically for many years. To the vast total of the debt, we should add the £353,681,459 of Currency Notes, which were outstanding on July 21st, 1920, for virtually they are an addition to the National Debt—and

certainly have proved a factor in depressing our national credit.

That national credit will be restored gradually as production improves and as the capital of the debt is discharged by repayment. It should be observed how the Table A provides only for the interest of the debt on the expenditure side, except for the £234 millions of a *prospective* surplus. That is not a bird in hand; and the surplus may or may not realise. It cannot be said that any real progress has been registered during the past twelve months by way of treating the debt. It remains yet how to do so, as the battleground of public men. To seize capital may be easy, and it will be just as easy to do more than usual injustice in acting thus. But it is clear that the reduction of the debt, if only by a large sinking fund annually, is one of the pressing tasks confronting the Government and Parliament, and a task which cannot be postponed without doing palpable injury to the country in many ways. Parliament should, therefore, get from the Government a firmer plan of debt paying than that offered in the Budget by Mr. Chamberlain, a plan whose details and effect should not be liable to frustration because the Government's shiftless sanctioning of expenditure runs away with funds needed for the debt.

Parliament must be brought to realise its duty, and insist on reduction of expenditure drastically, so as to secure a firmer and growing national credit. There is no other way; there is no other way of paying off a substantial sum of the National Debt at an early date.

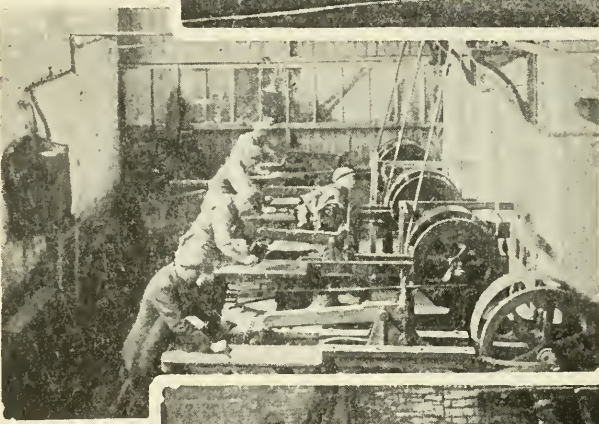
The *financial outlook* is that of a time of stringency unless in Government circles, as well as industrially, economy, economy, economy, shall be regarded practically every day, and all the day. The Government has been profligate, and wasteful so far by means of selling war stock. That is failing, and the Government, is beginning to grin unhappily, and trying to invent new taxes very unsuccessfully. Reduction in expenditure is indispensable and inevitable, and they will be wise who prepare for it betimes. We can't afford the scale on which we have been spending lately.



# C.W.S. TANNERY

# AT STREET

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VIEW OF WORKS.  
—  
SOFTENING THE LEATHER.  
—  
PITS FOR WASHING THE SKINS.

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## PANDERING TO THE CLASSES: A STUDY IN ANTI-POPULAR MEASURES.

THE annual "Budget" is usually a good guide to the trend of policy adopted by "a Government." It will be shown immediately how that is so in the Budget for 1920-21; but a demonstration will follow after that of the anti-popular spirit—yes, and of anti-popular measures taken recently by the present administration. That war-time, and a more or less long time afterwards, should be a time of difficulty is a proposition to which all agree; but a definite charge may be sustained to the effect that in measures taken to alleviate the consequences of war, the classes, or some classes, have been favoured in comparison with the masses. This is not the same as saying that within the past thirty to fifty years no advance to justice has been made; for an advance has been made, by Old Age Pensions, by Insurance, by extension of the franchise, and in other ways; but still the duty of the hour is to conserve what was thus gained, and to show that now we are in danger of losing some of the gain.

### THE BURDEN OF INDIRECT TAXATION IMPOSED ON THE MASSES.

As for the present Budget (1920-21), it may be seen that indirect taxation, which becomes a rough guide to its policy, is decidedly retrograde. The previous year (1919-20) Customs and Excise, which were budgeted at £237·5 millions, yielded £283 millions; but in spite of that, and that we were a year further from the war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer budgets for 1920-21 (see p. 136) for Customs and Excise to bring £348·6 millions. That is to say, in 1919-20 they brought 28·3 per cent. of the "receipts from taxes," whereas he now expects to get, by changes made, 33·7 per cent. from this indirect source, and will get a larger percentage, probably. But indirect imposts always bear more hardly on the poor than the rich. More, a table was issued officially (see p. 138) showing the probable effect of the changes made in taxation; and if we take the column showing yield "for a full year," and *exclude* the £100 millions

expected from Excess Profits Duty, we find the rest of the changes giving this result: Customs and Excise £54·7 millions, Inland Revenue £25 millions, Postage Rates £9·5 millions. Again, therefore, the bias is against the weak and poor, for indirect is made to bring £54·7 while direct taxation is called to produce £25 millions more only.

### AGRICULTURISTS EXCLUDED FROM THE EXCESS PROFITS DUTY.

But I shall be reminded that Excess Profits Duty is among the direct Inland Revenue. That is so; but it is only a war-tax, admittedly, and therefore temporary; it will take a long time, it is to be feared, to get the taxes on tea, tobacco, sugar, and drinks off; they are more like permanent imposts in these after-war days. Then, again, it should not be omitted in a paper on these contrasts, how that from the beginning the Excess Profits Duty was *not imposed on agriculturists*, but only on businesses, an omission of the most wrong-headed character, as if agriculturists in 1915 and later were not making "excess" profits. But they were, and very substantial ones too. The Excess Profits Duty in 1915 was planned to produce £30 millions "in a full year." It produced only £140,000 in 1915-16; but since then it has yielded £139·9, £220·2, £285, £290, and now, 1920-21, it is expected to yield £220 millions. Profits, then, among those expected to profit by the war, proved to be large beyond all the calculations made by the Treasury. But as for agriculture, while it is true that since Sir Wm. Harcourt left the assessments of profits from the "occupation of land"—*i.e.*, farmers' profits, at one-third of the rental, those assessments for the past three years have been at double the rental, and even so have left farmers as a privileged class on account of Income Tax, the occupiers of land have not been called upon to pay a penny of Excess Profits Duty on account of profits made during the war. Now it is notorious that large, and very large profits have been made during the war—to this day—by farmers. If

they have not been so excessive as those, say, of shipowners and others, yet that they have exceeded 1914 standards and exceeded very much, is notorious. And why were they so favoured? Why, for the same reason that assessments of farmers' profits under Schedule B had always been so inadequate—a small contribution to a farmers' income tax left all the more for a farmers' landlord in rent. One of the two reasons why so many landlords are now selling land is that they may reap the high nominal capital values of war time, and the other reason is that the conversion of so many tenant farmers into yeomen owners of land is a policy to buttress the interests of the great estates which are left.

#### TAXING CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

But we are not at the end by any means of this bias shown in the Budget—the present Budget. In the balance sheet shown on p. 135 there is an item of £3 millions on the revenue side as expected from the new Corporation Profits Tax. This new tax, in addition to a name which cause some to confound it with the Corporation *Duty* of 1885-6, which is a substitute for Death Duty on indissoluble bodies (this new tax) is also of a very arbitrary character, like the Excess Profits Duty, inasmuch as it is designed to hit only a limited section of the community. It is a tax of 5 per cent. on the profits of a company, and the profits to be taxed are "the profits of a British company carrying on any trade or business, or any undertaking of a similar character, including the holding of investments," and also "the profits of a foreign company carrying on in the United Kingdom any trade or business, or any undertaking of a similar character, so far as those profits arise in the United Kingdom." But then from January 1st, 1920, to December 31st, 1922, the profits of a building society, and of a gas, water, electricity, tramway, dock, canal, or railway, precluded by Act from charging a higher price, shall not be subject to Corporation Profits Tax. Provisions are then made for deductions to be made from assessments of profits, to be made as for Schedule D (the general Schedule) of the Income Tax; but among the deductions there is the following exception: (C, 53, h)—

"profits shall include in the case of mutual trading concerns the surplus arising from transactions with members, and in the case of a Society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, any sums paid by way of bonus, discount or dividend on purchases, shall be treated as trade expenses, and a deduction shall accordingly be allowed in respect thereof."

Seeing the demonstration made before the Royal Commission on Income Tax against Provident Societies, especially co-operative societies, there can be little doubt that the Corporation Profits Tax, was designed, in part, to get at the funds of co-operative societies. The hand of Mr. Chamberlain which designed the Preferential rates on tea and coffee and sugar, etc., coming from British dominions, a fiscal monstrosity, was only too ready to be the jackal of jealousy on behalf of small private traders and their friends. And so there will be much friction in the immediate future respecting "the surplus arising from transactions with members" of societies, and how much shall be deducted for bonus or discount, or dividend on purchases, before the Society, *as a Society*, and differentiated from the members, shall be mulcted in Corporation Tax on the surplus arising. This is an application of a war-tax as mean as it is unfair. Let the members of societies who are in the enjoyment of taxable incomes—be charged, if you like, to income tax; but to devise a "dig in the ribs" for societies is only pettiness and vexation.

#### ABOLITION OF LAND VALUES DUTIES.

Again, we are not done with favours shown, all on the same side, in this Budget for 1920-21. At the same moment that societies were made subject to Corporation Profits Tax, the same Chancellor of the Exchequer was gratifying the owners of land and other irremovable property, by withdrawing all the Land Values Duties of 1909-10, except the Mineral Rights Duty of 5 per cent. on the produce of mines. These duties were the Increment Duty, the Reversion Duty, and the Undeveloped Land Duty; and though these had been a disappointment in regard to yield to the revenue, and after the fierce discussion

in Parliament, especially with the House of Lords, and in the country, they had yielded from £500,000 to £600,000 a year. This, even while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at his wits' end for revenue, was withdrawn! Nay, he invited those who had paid any sums under these duties to demand a refund of sums paid!! Still more, the Valuation Department of the Inland Revenue set up by the same Act that imposed the duties now withdrawn, is to be maintained on a diminished scale only. The truth is that the Valuation Department was hated more by the landlord party than the disappearing Land Values Duties themselves.

We shall look in vain to this Budget for such favours as these to the great masses of our people. Somebody must provide the £1,418·3 millions of the gross revenue demanded, and the £1,184·1 millions of expenditure from it. The £234 millions of a *prospective* surplus, which is designed, is thus to be got by loading the dice of taxation against those sections of the population who are not landowners and friends. But it may be objected that vast sums are to be got out of Income Tax and Excess Profits Duty, and Death Duties, etc. Yes, that is true; but then with regard to these there is no favour, for it is of the nature of Income Tax, say, that the taxpayer pays in proportion to what he enjoys and not according to his needs, as when he pays in his tea, coffee, and sugar. Where it was possible, even in direct taxation, as in the case of the Corporation Tax, and in the withdrawal of the Land Values Duties, Mr. Chamberlain, ready champion of the classes, has shown all his favours to them, and to them alone. Burdens as much as possible to the masses, where favour is shown it goes to the classes, especially to the landed class.

Nor must it be objected that this conclusion is too sweeping in view of the allowances made on Income Tax in regard to family responsibilities. That the relief thus afforded comes gratefully to people of moderate means is true; but the argument used above of income tax generally is true also of such allowances. It may be stated thus. When all allowances have been made, say, until every family man shall be exempt up to an income of £250 a year or so,

still nothing more has been done than to charge a man according to his ability in proportion to what he has. And that is as true of Super-tax as the rest of the Income Tax.

#### THE CORN PRODUCTION ACTS.

Though space will not permit of the making of this legislative contrast complete, it would be impossible to omit that which has become, designedly, the basis of the present Coalition Government, the Corn Production Act of 1917, which, as affected by the Agricultural Act of 1920, is the very crown also of the unequal spirit in which this legislation has been conceived. Under the specious plea during the war that it was necessary "to encourage" farmers to break up grass land and to put it to the plough, the Corn Production Act guaranteed a minimum price for wheat and oats, as follows:—

Crop for the Year.	Wheat Price (per qr.)	Oats Price (per qr.)
1917	60s.	38s. 6d.
1918 } 1919 }	55s.	32s.
1920 } 1921 } 1922 }	45s.	24s.

And the average price for these periods was to be the average price of the seven months beginning September 1st in each year. The meaning of this guarantee was that, should the market price fall below the prices of the above table, the Treasury should be obliged to pay, out of the taxes, the difference between that market price and the guaranteed figure. It is quite true that the average price has, since the passing of this unfair Act, been *above* the limit set, viz., in 1917, wheat 78s. 7d., oats 55s. 6d.; in 1918, 74s. 2d. and 55s. 4d.; in 1919, 73s. 3d. and 61s. 4d.; and as this is written prices ranged in British markets as high as 90s. 5d. for wheat, and 68s. 2d. for oats (at York); and so no money has been paid out of the Treasury on this account. No, but the Bread Subsidy has been meanwhile at the rate of £50 or £45 millions a year, and all that while.

temporarily, a relief to the consumer of bread has been a permanent gain to the landlord class, for the guaranteed price has added to the already inflated values of land and many of the inflated values have been reaped already at the auction sales of land.

But now comes the Agricultural Act of 1920, which by the second clause enacts that in "1921 and any subsequent year" the price of wheat and oats (minimum) shall be "such prices as correspond to the following minimum prices for wheat and oats" in 1919, and then 68s. are given for wheat of 504lbs., and 46s. for oats of 336lbs. a quarter. Note carefully that the prices to-day are much above those of 1919, and therefore if at these prices the Treasury had to pay up a guarantee, it would be much more also than the standard of 68s. and 46s. of 1919. This is what is called a reconstruction policy; it is really a reconstruction of all the privileges of the privileged, especially the landlord class, and that right in the teeth of the largely extended enfranchisement of the masses. A compromise of principle in a Coalition administration is not got except at a great price; and the weakest link in the chain of citizens is made to feel the weakness.

#### BOARD OF TRADE REGULATIONS AND VEILED PROTECTION.

It would be possible to extend these contrasts involving so much injustice considerably. The principle of subsidies may be condemned once more in this connection, for subsidies have as a consequence a nursed interest or industry. The Food Ministry and its regulations is very gratifying to old-fashioned protectionists; they get what they lust for without the odium of being

parties to protective duties. In the same way, it is notorious how regulation of impost by the Board of Trade has acted protectively, and that by design. The dye interest is complaining already against German offers of dyes, although the Dye Co. has the Government among its share subscribers. There was the pyrogallic acid case from Manchester, on which an importing firm took a case to the High Court and obtained a verdict that the interpretation of a clause in the Customs' Act of 1876 was *ultra vires*, and that the Board of Trade had no right to apply the clause to certain articles, such as pyrogallic acid. But why this zeal which caused the Act of 1876 to be strained thus? Why! because the spirit of the present administration is a spirit of partiality, and a partiality which penalises the poor, and promotes protection—to favour certain interests.

#### THE INTERESTS IN THE SADDLE.

If the masses of this country were to take their courage in their hands, and were to demand that an early end shall be made of *all* subsidies, to bread, and coal, and railways, and transport, &c., there would, and that before long, be cause to rejoice, for that would tend powerfully to a lower range of prices. But the bottom of the mischief is found in the policy of the Government, which is a spendthrift policy. The interests are in the saddle, and they are riding an old and stupid horse, called John Bull. Until he kicks, and rolls those interests off, there will be little of the comfort we have known. The spirit of partiality has reigned even during the season of professed, and loudly shouted patriotism, during war; it remains still, as the illustrations given in this paper prove only too well.

## GERMANY'S NATIONAL DEBT.

ON March 31st, 1920, Germany's National Debt amounted to 197 milliards of marks, and as the debts of the Federal States amounted collectively to 30 milliards of marks, and the debts of the communes totalled 22½ milliards, the figures bring the entire National Debt of Germany up to 250 milliards of marks in round figures—that is to 250 thousand millions of marks—a sum which works out at

about 4,500 marks per head of the present population of Germany (or 22,500 marks for an average family of five), or ten times the estimated amount in 1914. Moreover, in 1914 the liabilities were counterbalanced by actual values, inasmuch as the debts had been incurred for productive investments; but the same cannot be said for the debts Germany owes to-day.

C.W.S.

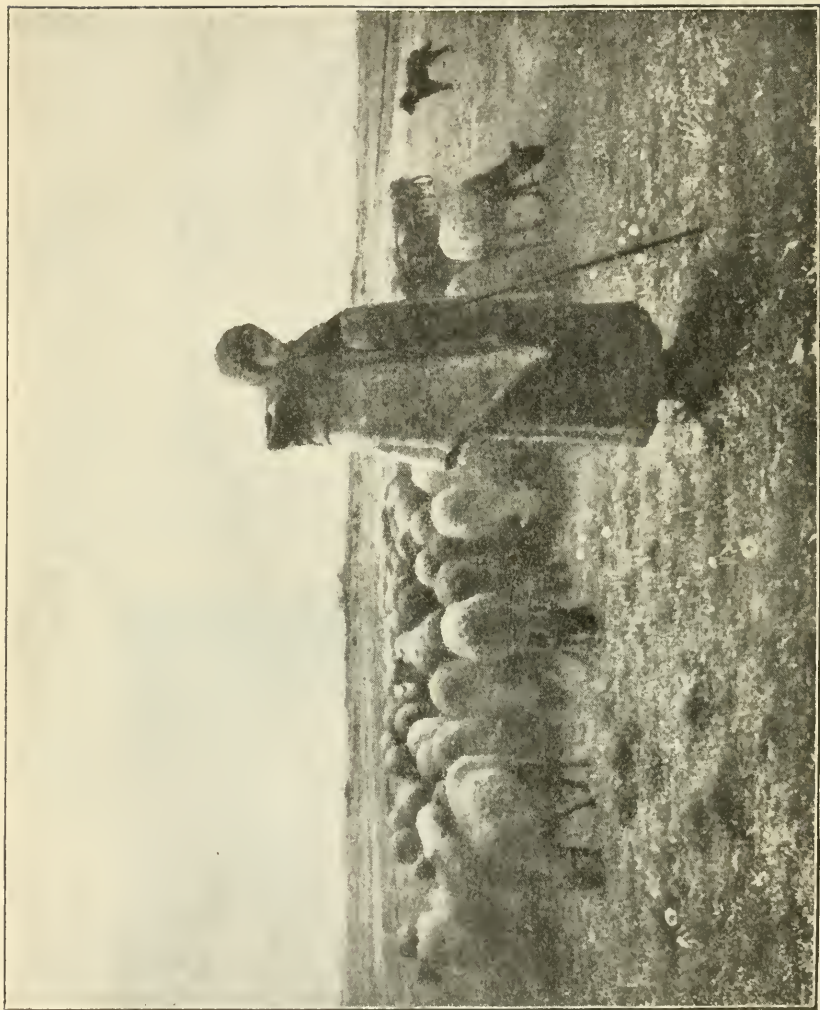
“Silver Seal”

And

“Purple Seal”

MARGARINE





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## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND POLITICS IN AUSTRIA.

By OLGA MISAR.

THE break-up of the Austrian Empire caused very great changes in the co-operative movement, as the non-German societies all joined their own national organisations. The chief groups are now :—

I. *The Union of Austrian Distributive Societies* (formerly the *Central Union*) with its Co-operative Wholesale Society, Vienna 2, Praterstr. 8. The Union comprises : (a) The four amalgamated workmen's distributive societies. (b) The first "Vienna Distributive Society," with about 86,000 members chiefly of the middle classes. (c) The "Reichswirtschaftsbund der Festangestellten," or Economic Union of fixed employees, comprising 250 societies with about 200,000 members, State officials, and private employees. (d) Numerous smaller societies in Vienna and the provinces.



OLGA MISAR.

II. *The General Union of Productive and Economic Societies based on Self-help* (Der allgemeine Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften).

It comprises 409 Co-operative and Distributive societies—building, loan, and industrial societies which are not social-democratic.

III. *Different smaller societies* that have not joined the large Union.

The Union of Austrian Distributive Societies has not only provided food for its own members but also for their families, and by means of a large-minded plan it has taken upon itself the victualling of the workmen of large war industries, so that of the 6½ millions of the population of Austria about two millions procured their food through the Union.

### BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

With regard to the aims of the Co-operative movement no one can be considered a more competent authority than Dr. Renner, the former President of the Central Union. He says :—

The Co-operative movement of the workmen is no political movement. It may be taken as an important part of the fight of the proletariat for freedom, but as an organisation it is not political, neither in its aims nor in its methods. Therefore the Co-operative movement acknowledges as its work no political aims, but only the economic care for the workmen. It has taken upon itself the duty of protecting the workman's wages in the spending after he has gained them by hard work and maybe raised them by the fight of his trade unions, and to ensure that he receives appropriate goods for his needs ; to care that after the fight against exploitation in wages the fight against exploitation in buying begins, so that the



workman is not deprived afterwards of his hard-earned wages ; to care for it that the wages are administered jointly, as far as possible, and that the household-management of the workman is guided by social principles.

This confession of political neutrality has become a point of the co-operative programme that is repeated by all the leaders of the movement. They say that neutrality lies in the interest of propaganda, because far more co-operators can be won if by joining they need not acknowledge a certain party, and that functionaries should not take an active part in politics because, as members of Parliament, they may get into the position of having to control the business-management of their own societies of which they are functionaries. On the other hand, functionaries of co-operative societies are highly valued on account of their professional experience and are often invited to partake in the work of government offices in town and country.

The principle of political neutrality is strictly adhered to in such societies as the First Vienna Distributive Society and the Reichswirtschaftsbund, which avoid every appearance of political activity, allow no sort of agitation on their premises and take no part in elections. Direct electioneering is forbidden by all of the co-operative and distributive societies, but this does not prevent those who are closely allied to a certain party helping it in a strong and very effective manner, as is perfectly well known. Many smaller societies which have not joined the large unions (as the Roman Catholic, the Jewish, German National or Germanic Societies) make no secret of their political tendency. They make the partisanship expressed in their titles a condition for admission to the society, and have therefore also no reason to refrain from electioneering. They are, however, so small that their political influence is of no importance, and they pale into insignificance in comparison with the Unions which accept everyone as members irrespective of race, trade, or religion.

Thus the co-operative societies wish to do only economic work, and some of their best men have held fast to the principle of political neutrality up to this day. But the great influence which their large enterprises and possessions secure them must inevitably lead to some form of political activity ; and Dr. Victor Adler, the eminent founder of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, was the first to insist on using this power for political influence in the service of his party. It was only after a long fight that his opinion gained a victory, and now it is clear to everybody that despite all the differences of opinion on questions of methods and policy the co-operative movement has become a political element of the greatest importance.

For years the co-operative societies in Austria have been looked on as a socialistic institution. One opinion is that co-operative distributive societies are in themselves a piece of realised socialism. Another opinion is that they differ very much from real socialism, in so far as under Socialism the State would have to play its part and care for the needs of all the citizens and not of the co-operators only. But however this may be, nobody can well deny that co-operation is

one step towards Socialism, and for this reason the adherents of co-operative principles have experienced very much hostility in Austria. The co-operative enterprises were regarded as the material foundation of the Social-Democratic Party. Capitalists founded distributive societies in connection with their industries to compete against the Social-democratic distributive societies, and in the Government offices the workmen's distributive societies were harassed by all kinds of injustice in the distribution of victuals.

In Austria this hostility had special political reasons. The greatest adversaries of the Social Democrats were the Christian Socialists, who, despite their name, always were against Socialism and who, moreover, from the beginning of their political career had had the programme of protecting the small tradesman from the competition of the great enterprisers, and whose adherents were chiefly small tradesmen and farmers. All of these naturally observed the growth of the co-operative distributive societies with great anxiety, and under the difficult conditions of war and the hunger-blockade they were utterly unable to compete against them. It therefore became their habit as long as the Christian Socialist Party had the majority in the town council of Vienna (in the time of the Monarchy) to show their hostile feeling towards the distributive societies by a marked preference of the small tradesmen in the allotment of victuals that were controlled by the State. Only by degrees did the co-operative societies succeed in obtaining positions for their officials in all the State offices, and then things improved.

It may also be that during the war, in the times of greatest distress, the power of the workmen and their party was feared, and that on this account the distributive societies were treated better than they otherwise would have been.

#### AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

After the Revolution, when the Social Democrats became the largest party in the National Assembly, a great change for the better set in for the co-operative societies. The Government was helpless, the State had broken up, and it was evident that the people had to resort to self-help; and it must be remembered to the credit of the Social Democrats, that at this critical time they did what was possible to prevent turmoil and bloodshed, and they knew that nothing was then of greater importance than the care for the food supply. The distributive societies were among the first to make use of the open frontiers and to bring food from wherever it could be obtained.

In the "Union" all the functionaries are Social Democrats, and though large middle-class societies are affiliated to the Union, the influence of the Social Democratic Party is paramount. Many members of the National Assembly and of the Government are Social Democrats and former functionaries of co-operative societies, who understand what is wanted of them and do whatever is possible under the enormous economic difficulties of this country. The co-operative societies of all

parties are now in a much better position, certainly as far as the laws on co-operative work are concerned.

The fact that several women are members of our National Assembly who, as housewives, are naturally ardently interested in the food supply and conscious of its importance, has certainly helped the distributive societies in obtaining their objects.

The advantages of a sympathetic parliament for the co-operative movement have been twofold. The results have been many favourable laws and the improvement of old laws and good measures for their administration.

Since the frontiers were opened food may be brought into the country, but not at random, on account of the prices demanded and of the damage done to the Austrian standard Valuta (or rate of exchange) by sending great amounts over the frontiers. Imports are therefore allowed only by special permission, but whereas private enterprises had great difficulties in obtaining the desired leave, it was granted easily to co-operative distributive societies which were relied on for selling straight to consumers.

Among the legal advantages it is of importance to mention that though distributive societies have to pay tax on gain (Erwerbsteuer) in Austria, allowances are made on condition that the goods are sold only to members. For the approaching Capital Levy great allowances have been promised to the co-operative societies.

In July of this year the members of the National Assembly have succeeded in effecting several improvements to the law on Co-operative Societies, the chief being the following :—

- (1) Permission to admit members who are only liable for an amount equal to their share (not to double the amount as formerly).
- (2) Distributive societies with more than a thousand members may have their general assemblies by delegates instead of individual members.
- (3) The amalgamation of distributive societies is allowed free of the taxes on the transference of property.

The last point is of the greatest importance, because it gives the opportunity of fusing several smaller societies into a large one, as it lies in the interest of the movement. Formerly the high taxes were a hindrance. This new law as well as many others were the suggestions of the Secretariat of the Union, which did good work throughout the war both with regard to the actual problems of food supply as well as with regard to fiscal policy. It did good work in regard to the procuring of meat, potatoes, and milk, and cared incessantly for the control of the market and of prices. When the Government seemed weak, as against the influential members of the sugar trust, the Union insisted on energetic measures in the interest of the consumers and to keep down prices. In this, as in other cases, it fought against usurious prices and intermediate trade.

When many war widows started small victual shops, thinking this the easiest way of earning money in a modest way, the Union warned them seriously not only from egoistic motives, as the small shops were

no great danger to the huge concerns of the co-operative movement, but chiefly from the reason that the method of numerous small shops was utterly irrational. The Union desired neither the old system of guilds nor the system of completely free trade, but a thorough investigation of actual circumstances and a due consideration of the needs of the consumer. With regard to fiscal policy, many assemblies were held in which the significance of indirect taxation was explained and members were enlightened as to the heavy burden this system meant to them.

The question of free trade is one which caused very strong feeling in Austria. During the blockade the discontent of the suffering population sometimes caused great excitement which might, at any moment, have ended in open riots. Such a time was used by some politicians (Dr. Leopold Blasel and others) to rouse the popular opinion against State control of food and on behalf of free trade. Many assemblies were held and popular feeling was raised to a very high pitch. Actually there was much reason for discontent with the State control of food because some of the control offices (Zentralen) had the effect of trusts in which the business people, whose advice as professionals was asked for, exploited the state of affairs to make what profits they could. But other control offices were much better organised and only did the work of directing goods wherever they were wanted and distributed them fairly and justly, the "Medikamenten-Zentrale," for instance. At that time the distributive societies worked against the movement in question, and Director Zehetbauer of the "Reichswirtschaftsbund" adopted the opinion that in a blockaded country that is cut off from foreign supplies, the few existing articles of food and other supplies must be most carefully controlled, and that the only thing one might justly ask for would be an improvement and greater correctness of the State control.

But when circumstances improved, the point of the distributive societies also altered. The leaders then said that the interest of the consumer lies in free trade and the abolition of protective duties. To-day distributive co-operative opinion is only in favour of State control of grain and flour because of these articles there is still a scarcity, and for this reason it is against our present corn law (Getreide-Bewirtschaftung) which only demands the delivery of a contingent of grain and leaves the rest free for the market. This law is considered a great gift to farmers and merchants, and is opposed by distributive societies.

#### AIMS AND METHODS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The Co-operative Movement aims at self-help by co-operation and socialisation, but not by force; only by work in which the co-operative societies and the State must join in freedom.

An example of the way in which the Austrian Co-operative societies wish to work is the "Gewa" (Gemeinwirtschaftliche Anstalt für Schuhfabrikation). This institution was created jointly by the Union, the State, and the Office for the Traffic of Agricultural Goods. The idea is this: The farmers must deliver certain numbers of cattle

and are given rewards for punctual delivery in the form of leather and boots. The Office for Agricultural Goods receives its leather belts for machines from the "Gewa." Good peasants' boots are given in exchange for grain. In the Society's own shoe manufactory 500 pairs of boots are turned out daily, and by the end of the year it is hoped that the daily number will amount to 800. Up to this time 50,000 pairs of boots have been made and 2,000,000 kronen saved.

A similar form of self-help is being arranged for linen and clothing. All intermediate trade is to be excluded and the ready goods are to be distributed by the Wholesale only to societies.

In this way practical socialism had been tried, and if the adherents of other forms of socialism find the success unsatisfactory we have at any rate this to say in defence of the system that it has been practised without bloodshed and civil war as elsewhere.

But self-help will only become a great success when we are no longer dependent on the resources of an impoverished country, and when international co-operation can be begun in earnest. Foreign co-operative societies have already sent help during the war as presents and credit, and have shown true co-operative spirit.

Dr. Renner has said with pride that the international connection of co-operative societies was really never quite interrupted, and functionaries of the Union have reported that in negotiations with co-operative societies in England and Russia which have taken place since the war, the friendly tone has been quite as warm as before. This fact encourages us to entertain great hopes, and it seems to be the ambition of the leaders of the co-operative movement to put their best abilities and all their strength into the service of maintaining peace.

The capitalistic world is built up on competition, as Renner says, but we put co-operation in the place of competition, and workmen are attached to the idea of world-peace by their most concrete interests.

Frau Emmy Freundlich, one of our best peace workers, says that it cannot be considered as the only work of co-operation to exchange goods, but surely also to build up a new organisation of economy. In June, 1917, she moved, in a great assembly of working men and women, that an International Congress of Co-operative Societies should be convened to express the desire of the whole world for peace, and to protest against an economic war after the war. Now she has written about some ideas for the reconstruction of the world and the practical safeguards of peace. She thinks that an International Wholesale Society should be founded, and that the exchange of goods might be made possible by an Institute for Credit and an International Commercial Bank, for the effecting of payments according to different standards.

But the first condition for the realisation of all economic plans is international goodwill, and if the true co-operative spirit is able to inculcate this into the hearts of all co-operators and to pave the way to peace, then we may safely say that that is the highest aim of the politics of co-operation.

## CO-OPERATION &amp; POLITICS IN BELGIUM.

By VICTOR SERWY,

*Director of the Belgian Co-operative Union.*

**I**N the International Co-operative Alliance the Belgian co-operative movement occupies a special position, in the sense that it is the only one amongst all the national movements which is adherent to a political party—the Belgian Labour Party.

In the north of France, and at Paris, there was formerly (under the influence of the Belgian movement) a co-operative socialist movement closely connected with the Socialist Party. And, under Belgian influence also, there was established in Italy and Holland a co-operative socialist movement, but one having no formal bond of union with the Socialist Party. To-day it appears that the Belgian co-operative movement alone has maintained the special relationship. In France the socialist and neutral co-operative movements coalesced at the Tours Congress and in Holland likewise a similar unification has recently taken place.



VICTOR SERWY

## HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

In explanation of this specific position in Belgium a few words with reference to the history of the movement are necessary.

The law relating to co-operative societies was passed in 1873. But previous to that date (*i.e.*, after 1848) a certain number of productive co-operative societies had arisen, and contemporaneously with the first International Association of Workers, various distributive co-operative societies as well. The actual movement, however, dates from 1881, the year in which the "Vooruit" Society was founded by the Socialists in Ghent. The year following saw the origination of the *Maison du Peuple* at Brussels, which was followed soon after by that of the "Werker" Society at Antwerp, and of the "Progrès" Society at Jolimont. In 1885 the Belgian Labour Party was founded with the concurrence of half a score of co-operative societies, trade unions and political groups. Thenceforward the co-operative organisation was the basis of the Belgian Labour Party. The co-operative societies increasing in number and strength with the years to a greater extent than the trade unions, constituted the armature of organised socialism.

The clerical party in power observed (not without disquietude) this progress of the Labour Party, and at one of the Social Work Congresses held at Liège, deriving its inspiration from the encyclical of Leo XIII, it decided to establish workers' associations as well as co-operative societies for its adherents, the outcome being the establishment

of various societies imbued with the co-operative idea, but which mostly assumed the joint-stock or capitalist form, as for example, Le Bon Grain at Morlanwelz, Het Volk at Ghent, and Le Bon Pain at Anvelais, at Andenne, at Quaregnon. It is impossible, however, to regard such societies as of a genuine co-operative type inasmuch as they are not directed by elected representatives of the consumers. They are undertakings which, if they give to their members a dividend on purchases, have no objective other than that of canalising the working-class movement, and of doing business, and in any case have no ethical aim.

In Belgium there are also neutral co-operative societies to the number of fifty or thereabouts, composed of workers and employees in the State service or in that of public bodies—societies which by ministerial decree are obliged to maintain an attitude of political neutrality. As for agricultural co-operation (in the form of co-operative dairy societies, agricultural associations and rural credit societies) it has incontestably a confessional character. In order to belong thereto, a man must attest his religious faith. Such is the position of co-operation in Belgium as regards political parties and religious opinions.

#### THE TRI-UNE MOVEMENT.

The Belgian Labour Party, for the major part, regards co-operation as a means, and not as an end, although, latterly, a certain number of co-operators are not far from regarding co-operation as an end as well as a means.

Is not the ultimate aim of Socialism identical with that of co-operation, *viz.*, the abolition of the capitalist regime and the institution therefor of the socialisation of the means of production and exchange, and of the international *entente* of workers grouped as consumers in co-operative societies?

Socialist co-operation in Belgium, although adherent to the Labour Party, retains complete autonomy in its administration and operations. It is regarded as one of the three forms of working-class action.

The trade unions are engaged in the realisation of the workers' desiderata as representatives of producers, whilst the co-operative societies represent the consumers and the political party strives to realise the workers' ideals by way of legislation. And all this signifies a policy of conjoined and concerted action. The eight hours day has been on the programme of the Labour Party for a quarter of a century.

It was the co-operative societies which first adopted the practice in their organisations, and it is the political party which has promoted the establishment of the eight hours day by law besides agitating for the minimum wage, pensions and other labour reforms.

#### AS REGARDS "NEUTRALITY."

In the international co-operative world differences exist with regard to the interpretation of the term "political neutrality"—differences due to the meaning attached by some people to the word "political." To a great extent they are unable to conceive of political

action apart from adhesion to a political party. And yet is there a single national co-operative organisation to be found which does not address itself to Parliament to obtain one reform or another or to register its protest against this Bill or that? Has not the Swiss Co-operative Union recently discussed (at the Lugano Congress) the question of import duties; and have not all the British co-operative societies for months past been discussing the taxation imposed on them and addressing petitions and protestations to Parliament and sending delegations to interview Cabinet ministers on the subject as well?

And is it not a fact that in all countries, the co-operative organisation has obtained from the Socialist parties alone the most sympathetic reception and the most assured support for co-operative claims?

The Belgian Socialist co-operative societies are not only in close relation with the political party; they are also in continuous connection with the trade union organisations. The "Office Cooperatif Belge" has its representatives on the General Council of the Labour Party, and so also has the Trade Union Committee. Thus all the proletarian forces are combined in one single organisation for the struggle against capitalism.

These tactics tend to become general. Does not the National Federation of Consumers' Societies in France work with the General Confederation of Labour on the Economic Council? In England do not the co-operative societies work frequently with the trade unions and have they not also their joint Parliamentary Committee?

For our part, we Belgian Socialist co-operators consider that all the workers should form a "block" as producers, consumers, and citizens; and by trade unionism, co-operation, and political action, fight one common battle against the capitalist regime.

#### CO-OPERATORS IN PARLIAMENT.

Of the seventy Parliamentary representatives of the Belgian Labour Party there are no fewer than sixty-four who are members, administrators, or directors of co-operative societies; or, to particularise, thirty-six of them are members of co-operative societies, and twenty-eight of them are administrators as well, including M. Bertrand, President of the Federation of Belgian Co-operative Societies. It may be stated that none of the seventy Socialist members of parliament have been elected exclusively either as co-operators or trade unionists; they have been elected because they are at the same time co-operators, trade unionists, and Socialists.

Four co-operators also hold ministerial offices, viz. :—

Edouard Anseele, Minister of Public Works; Joseph Wauters, Minister of Labour, Industry, and Revictualment; Emile Vandervelde, Minister of Justice; Jules Destrée, Minister of Science and Arts.

The first is an administrator of the "Vooruit" Society at Ghent, the second is an administrator of the Society "La Justice" at Waremme, the third is connected with the "Maison du Peuple" at Brussels, and the fourth is connected with the "Concorde" Society at Roux.



# GISBURN CATTLE AUCTION MART



LOADING  
CATTLE FOR  
DESPATCH  
TO THE  
MANCHESTER  
DISTRICT  
SOCIETIES.

The Opening  
Ceremony  
commemorating  
the taking over  
of the ancient  
Cattle Mart of  
Gisburn by the  
C.W.S. took place  
on May 28, 1920.



C.W.S. SALE OF SHEEP.



ENTRANCE TO  
AUCTION MART.

# THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC AND ITS RELATION TO POLITICAL PARTIES.

By VOJTĚCH FIŠER,

*Secretary of the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Societies in Prague.*

THE co-operative movement, so far as I know its history in various states of the world, was and is desirous of being a strictly impartial economic organisation in relation to its own membership and also to the rank and file of the public ; every adult person of whatever sex, nationality or religion, and even of whatever political opinion, is allowed to come and take his place in the co-operative ranks. In theory this principle has been everywhere fought for since the early epoch made notable through the establishment of the Rochdale Society by the Equitable Pioneers ; but in actual practice things to-day bear another aspect, although co-operators in England, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, etc., do not cease to proclaim the complete impartiality of the co-operative movement and are, as is stated, willing and resolved strictly to observe the principle of neutrality in the future. How matters stand in other States I will not, however, stop to discuss, but, in accordance with the request of the



V. FIŠER.

Editor of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, will deal briefly and exclusively with the co-operative movement in the Czecho-Slovak Republic and with its relation to political parties.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATION OF FARMERS.

Our new State comprises the richest and finest territories of the former Austrian Empire—territories which, long ago, had possessed an independent existence, as the Bohemian State, which had ranked both economically and politically, amongst the greatest powers. In our State there is a co-operative organisation of farmers. Having early on realised the bearing of co-operation with regard to their material interests, the farmers began to establish their co-operative credit societies (called Raiffeisen Societies), constructing them on the model of those operating in Germany. This they did as early as 1896 when they founded their Central Union of Farming Societies with headquarters in Prague as well as similar central unions in the other territories (*e.g.* Moravia and Silesia) which once on a time belonged to the kingdom of Bohemia.

In great measure the co-operative organisation of the Czecho-Slovak farmers is composed of the credit societies I have named ; but in addition thereto there are co-operative farming societies of all kinds including societies for brickmaking, electricity, distilling, and for numerous other undertakings as well. The Unions of Farming Societies in the Czecho-Slovak countries of the old Austrian Empire embrace about 3,500 societies of various kinds (their exact membership I am not able to state), with fully paid-up shares and reserve funds to the amount of 16,000,000 crowns (reckoned in Czecho-Slovakian currency). The Central Union of Farming Societies in Prague alone, has shares and reserve funds amounting to 9,136,777 crowns and its sales for last year reached the sum of 107,361,605 crowns. It is therefore a great and powerful organisation. What then was, and is, its relation to political parties ? This query I will answer briefly.

The farmers' co-operative movement in our country has always been, and still is, a component part and a chief mainstay of the Republican Party (so termed) which up to the revolution and the overthrow of old Austria bore the name of the Agrarian Party, and only after the establishment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic (when all "Agrarian" matters had a very bad sound), did the party choose its new name—The Republican Party.

In pre-revolutionary Austria the Czecho-Slovak farmers had the most powerful co-operative organisation, and I may say with complete confidence, that every individual who then went to Vienna in the capacity of a deputy of the "Agrarian" political party, was also an Agrarian co-operator and most frequently a leading personage in the co-operative organisation of Czecho-Slovak farmers.

As long as their economic organisation was not strong enough, the Agrarian co-operators in our country professed also an absolute impartiality, but at the same time they had in their societies and in their central unions, majorities of adherents of the Agrarian political party, and used them to foster, directly or indirectly, their party politics. Agrarian politics, it is true, brought economic profit to the entire class of farmers and great landowners, but failed to please the adherents of other political parties, especially those belonging to the Clerical or People's (Catholic) Party in which, along with economic and political questions, that of religion is also entertained. By reason of these questions, stubborn struggles were fought in the co-operative movement of the Czecho-Slovak farmers till the year 1909, when the Clerical Party members quitted the Central Union of Farming Societies in a body and founded an independent co-operative union. The original union was, in some degree, weakened by this step, and retarded in its evolution, it is true, but from the new Clerical Co-operative Union, the members derived no great benefit. To-day the said union embraces about 280 co-operative societies, all told, but in the Union's statistics 832 farming organisations are also mentioned, but these are simply professional and political organisations of catholic farmers.

Thus even here, co-operative activity is identical with the activity of a political party. In this connection also it is indubitable that the organisation of Agrarian co-operation goes hand in hand with the organisation of the political party which, apart from the socialist political parties, is the strongest, and has many co-operators as its representatives both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate. A co-operator farmer, moreover, is the Minister of Agriculture, at whose disposal are large funds, and these he certainly does not expend to the disadvantage of farmers and co-operation.

Briefly stated, the position is as follows : The farmers' co-operative movement in the Czecho-Slovak Republic is a secure economic stronghold of the Republican political party, although a small percentage of indifferent, or even socialist members, is to be found in the Czecho-Slovak farmers' co-operative societies.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE STORES' MOVEMENT.

The co-operative stores societies are the most important and, to the working class the most beneficial component part of the co-operative movement in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. An overwhelming majority of these stores societies (whose membership is derived chiefly from the working-class family ranks, and partly also from the families of functionaries) are united in the "Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague," whose secretary (the writer of this article) was one of the founders. Our Union was established in the year 1908 (that is, twelve years antecedent to the one in which we actually live) the year following the political Convention of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (held in Pilsen in 1907) at which the workers' co-operative movement was acknowledged as a constituent part of the workers' organisation, which now embraces organisations—political, trade union, and co-operative. Until the year 1908 the workers' political parties and trade union organisations, not only did not care for the co-operative movement, but passed it over altogether ; their chief representatives even condemning the co-operative stores, and calling them "costermongers' and haberdashers' undertakings," and opposing them very keenly. Such was the position in the year 1905 when the Central Workers' Co-operative Store was established in the city of Prague by the efforts of a certain number of adherents of the Czecho-Slovak Workers' Social Democratic Party. Their leader was Francis Modraček, who was a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and who subsequently became president of the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague, until the Spring of 1919, when he severed his connection with the Social-Democratic Party and therewith ceased to be president of the Union. I deem it a fatal error and a moral disadvantage on Modraček's part, that having yielded to the seductions of bourgeois-national politicians, he has abandoned the party which some twenty years ago suited his views and ideas, and in which his eccentric character found free scope for expression—a privilege he will never enjoy in any other party. As regards

the Central Workers' Co-operative Society in Prague it may be stated that the director thereof from the foundation has been John Havranek, a social-democrat and a member of the Managing Committee of the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague.

From the year 1908, when, on the basis of an agreement with the Social-Democratic Political Party, an independent Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague was founded, and when a considerable number of Czecho-Slovak co-operative societies having abandoned the Central Union of Austrian Co-operative Societies in Vienna entered the new Union—the Czecho-Slovak co-operative movement began to develop systematically. And the same may also be said with regard to the co-operative movement amongst the German and other nationalities in the then existing Austrian empire.

Our Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague is, according to its statutes, an impartial and neutral economic organisation of working-class consumers. Nobody, desiring to become a member of one of our societies, is asked by the management as to his political opinion or religious creed, and every member is equally catered for and affairs are administered for the common benefit of all. Social-democrats it was who founded these societies and organised them into a union—Social-democrats politically trained and matured who brought their agitational and organising capacities and activities to bear on masses of workers politically and professionally organised. Consequently the overwhelming majority of the members of our co-operative societies profess the Social-democratic or simply Socialist creed, and it is only the minority that is indifferent or of a different political opinion.

And as with the Czecho-Slovak co-operators, so with the German co-operators in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, who have been and are building up their sound and strong consumers' movement. Their co-operative societies and their central organisations—the Union of German Co-operative Societies in Prague and the Wholesale Society—were also founded by leading persons in the Social-Democratic movement and developed to a considerable degree. These politicians hold, simultaneously, leading posts in large co-operative societies and in the said Union itself.

Co-operatively speaking, our movement, both in its internal and external relations, always has been and is non-political and neutral, but the internal administration of societies is conducted chiefly by Social-Democrats. The Central Union and the Wholesale Societies are administered almost exclusively by Social-Democrats who have been devoting themselves to the co-operative movement for two complete decades. Their power is also manifest in connection with the co-operative press which is in a well-established direction. And in connection with administrative affairs, especially deserving of mention is Emil Lustig, the director of the Wholesale Society of the Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague, who occupies a most honour-

able and important position in the movement not only by virtue of his keen insight and commercial skill, but also by reason of his personal achievements and by the steadfastness of his socialist and co-operative faith.

The workers' co-operative stores movement attained to great importance during the late war, and since the revolution that importance has continued to increase. Speaking retrospectively, the advance of the stores movement reflects the merit of leading politicians of the Social-Democratic Party such as Dr. Renner, formerly president of the Central Union of Austrian Co-operative Societies, and present chancellor of Austria; Quirin Kokida, director of the Wholesale Co-operative Society in Vienna; Emil Lustig, director of the Wholesale Society in Prague, and Ferdinand Jirasek, president of our Central Union, and member of the State Senate; and many others.

Meantime our politicians have induced the government to confer upon the workers' and functionaries' co-operative societies the official authorisation to distribute those food-stuffs of which the Government itself has taken charge and control. In other words these societies have been made the distributive channel for government supplies. What pressure our Social-Democratic co-operators have brought to bear in Government circles, on behalf of the co-operative stores movement, and what success has been achieved by their efforts in combination with our own, is conclusively shown by the following comparative figures indicating the position of our "Central Union."

	1918		1919
Number of Co-operative Societies . .	384	..	703
Collective Membership . . . . .	139,227	..	300,000
Collective Sales . . . . .	K. 94,305,597	..	330,000,000

Such has been the success of our co-operative movement in the first year of the Czecho-Slovak Republic; and every co-operator capable of practical reasoning will very well understand their significance and bearing.

#### THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS AS CO-OPERATORS.

We now turn to the other Socialist Party, of considerable strength, viz., the Czecho-Slovak Socialist Party, a name which the party adopted on its re-establishment after the national attainment of independence, but which figured previously as the National Socialist Party. So long as the Austrian Empire was in existence, this party not only held aloof from the co-operative movement, but even occasionally opposed it. As a matter of fact, the Party contained numerous professional people and members of the mercantile class, who constitute the chief enemies of all co-operative activity which they regard as a menace to their own undertakings.

Seeing the working people joining the workers' co-operative societies in crowds, and the loss of numerous party adherents as a result of their joining their co-operative institutions, the leaders of

the Czecho-Slovak Socialists Political Party, animated by political rivalry, began hastily to establish their own co-operative organisation. But, needless to say, a co-operative movement cannot be so easily and rapidly built up as a political organisation, in which dazzling oratorical phrases and high-soaring journalistic articles oft-times carry the greatest weight. The building up of a sound co-operative movement requires, first of all, money, and then honest men capable of managing the members' property unselfishly, and of conducting business in a fit and proper manner. Such people, above all, must be sought out, or oft-times even trained, and only when all this is done can the building up of a co-operative society and of an entire co-operative movement be successfully achieved. But the Czecho-Slovak National Socialists had neither money nor trained people, but nevertheless, without attending to the things of first importance, they, all of a sudden, founded a co-operative union, which they burdened with the tasks of a Wholesale Society, and established a Czecho-Slovak bank, which is short of nothing but money. In other words, the Czecho-Slovak Socialists began building their organisation from the roof instead of from the foundation; seeking to accomplish at a stroke, what the Agrarian and Social-Democratic Parties had achieved by twenty years of diligent and devoted endeavour. Furthermore the Czecho-Slovak Socialist Party confines its co-operative societies expressly and exclusively to its own political adherents, for in bringing a new society into existence the founders gave it the frank and unequivocal title of "The Czecho-Slovak (or National) Socialists' Co-operative Store Society." Every co-operator endowed with deeper insight understands very plainly how such concerns, expressly denoting political partisanship, frighten away both adherents of other political parties and indifferent people, and how such concerns are able to exist only in great cities where the party has a sufficiency of adherents on whom it can confidently rely.

In stating all this my sole desire is to show that in the Czecho-Slovak Republic the co-operative movement in some cases is so closely connected with a political party, that the organisation can avail little either for co-operation or the party in question.

However, the National Socialists' co-operative movement has, so far, done no injury to our general co-operative movement, and if the former is able to grow in strength and consolidate itself financially and economically it can only be a benefit to the co-operative movement as a whole, apart from the fact that all dispersion of economic forces is harmful to the working class.

Our co-operative societies which are organised in the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies, and in the Wholesale Society in Prague, effectually showed their solidity and powers of endurance during the five years of the great war—not one of them perished. Our co-operative movement is founded not only on the equitable principles of the Rochdale Pioneers, but also on a financial basis so

firm and solid that no rival enterprise arisen from motives of political partisanship can ever shake its great pillars of solidarity and financial strength. But nevertheless rivals attempting to build up a consumers' co-operative organisation in a few months, without funds and experienced men may court a great disaster prejudicial to the entire movement. Thus in the early sixties of last century a movement of the same type as that which the National Socialists are now engaged in constructing, was attempted with more haste than discretion by Dr. Chleborad and other enthusiasts. But at the beginning of the following decade the ill-starred movement collapsed as speedily as it had come into existence. It is therefore desirable that the leaders of the National Socialists' co-operative movement should form a clearer estimate of the position of affairs and lose no time in doing what is necessary to retrieve the situation.

I trust that this section of my article will suffice to explain the relation of the workers' co-operative movement to the political party. The identity of the Czecho-Slovak National Socialists' co-operative organisation and political party has already been explicitly shown.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF TRADESPEOPLE.

To the co-operative activities of tradespeople and commercialists a word of reference may also be made. The tradespeople and the "legal" merchants (so called) are the chief adversaries of workers' manufacturing societies, and of all co-operative stores without distinction, a circumstance which can cause no surprise. The men of the first sort lose, by the founding of workers' co-operative societies, their best workers, and later on, also their customers; whilst the men of the other sort lose merely their customers; the co-operative stores which sell their commodities to none but their members. In the Czecho-Slovak Republic, the struggle of tradespeople and merchants against the co-operative stores has recently become so keen and stubborn, that the establishment of a new political party of Czecho-Slovak tradespeople and merchants has been the outcome. At the elections which took place this year, this party returned six members to the Chamber of Deputies and three members to the Senate, and this to the detriment of other political parties not in a position openly to oppose the workers co-operative movement. But the struggle of independent tradespeople and merchants against the co-operative movement of large masses of working consumers is as fruitless and vain as in other states and of as little effect as on the political battle field, the struggle of all bourgeois and Agrarian circles and parties has been against the workers efforts and claims. Our tradespeople and merchants know this very well, and being unable as individuals to succeed in the struggle against the co-operative societies, are now themselves founding their co-operative and wholesale societies, and moulding them exactly on the workers' and functionaries' economic organisations against which they are uselessly fighting.



## CO-OPERATORS AS LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS OF STATE.

Having dealt rather copiously with the relation of the co-operative movement and of its components to political parties, I must now refer briefly to the politicians who are either experienced and capable and steadfast co-operators or at least hearty promoters of the co-operative movement. And in this connection mention must first of all be made of the Social-Democratic Party representatives (both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate) who for the greater part devote their activities to co-operation or even direct it. For instance Dr. Leo Winter, a member of the management committee of the Central Union in Prague, has been, from the first, Minister of Social Welfare, whilst Ant. Hampl, president of the Supervisory Council of the Locksmiths' Manufacturing Co-operative Society in Prague, has been Minister of Public Works up till now, and Vaclav Johanis,\* a leading person in social insurance affairs and an ardent promoter of co-operation has recently been made Minister of Supplies, and Ferdinand Jirasek, president of the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague is a member of the Senate, to which he has been sent, under Social-Democratic Party auspices, as a representative of the co-operative organisation, the committee of which has exercised the exclusive right to select and nominate candidates for election to the legislature. In the electoral campaign no candidate for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate ventured to proclaim a separate co-operative platform, for, as may be gathered from my article, every prominent political party relies on its own co-operative organisation.

Hence I may state that in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, there are no open and avowed adversaries of co-operation, with the exception of commercial circles, which, from selfish and material motives are opposing the workers' co-operative movement. T. G. Mazaryk, the President of the Republic, is favourably disposed towards the workers' co-operative movement, and his wife has been for many years a member of our Central Workers' Co-operative Store Society in Prague, and has correctly performed all the duties pertaining to membership.

## THE TWO CO-OPERATIVE TRENDS.

In further characterisation of the co-operative movement in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, I must frankly state that here, two diametrically opposite platforms and trends are in operation, politically speaking. The Agrarian co-operators are, in politics, keen anti-socialist partisans and faithful defenders of private property and of a strong military rule, although they form, in combination with the Socialist Parties, a coalition government fighting against the so-termed "national democracy," the catholic-clericals and the Germans. The co-operators, who are consumers put forward without distinction,

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\* The Social-democratic ministers—Winter, Hampl, and Johanis—have quitted office since this article was written, but still remain members of the National Assembly.

socialist claims, their aim being the expropriation and subsequent communisation of large private capitalist undertakings. And as I have previously stated the farmers' co-operative organisation and the farmers' political party are one and the same thing, and the dominant Agrarian (Republican) Political Party looks after the economic interests of its co-operators, both in the legislative chambers and in the government, and helps them to obtain higher and higher prices for their agricultural products and crops. Day by day the political and economic aims and interests of Socialists and of Agrarians come into sharper opposition. The coalition government is able to maintain itself simply because the Socialist parties are too disunited to be in a position to take the Government in their own hands and yet too strong to content themselves with the political practice of a serious and steadfast opposition.

The Coalition Government with Social-Democrats as the leading party, will—according to my view—yet last for some time, though it may be subject to some personal changes in its composition. But in the Czecho-Slovak Republic no government neglectful of co-operation, or opposed to co-operative needs and interests, will ever be possible. Co-operation aims at Socialism, and will assuredly coincide therewith, but the economic platform cannot be fully materialised all at once in our Czecho-Slovak Republic, but must be fought for and effectuated concurrently throughout the world.

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# THE FINNISH CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

## ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL LIFE.

By E. LINNA.

THE co-operative movement in Finland first gained ground amongst the poorer classes. They tried by means of co-operation to improve their economic condition. For this purpose there were founded agricultural societies amongst the rural population, such as co-operative dairies. In order to satisfy the need of credit of the rural population, co-operative credit institutes, that is, co-operative rural banks were established. The first co-operative stores were founded amongst the industrial workers of towns and factory villages. The small farmers and others of the poorer population commenced, on their part, comparatively soon to establish co-operative stores.



E. LINNA.

In spite of the fact that the Finnish co-operative movement found the greater part of its supporters amongst the poorer classes and that the first membership of co-operative stores consisted of industrial workers, the movement, however, remained quite independent and autonomous in relation to the Labour movement and to other political parties as well. This independence and neutrality of the co-operative movement was considered necessary for successful progress. Although the population in the countryside was not wealthy, it did not adhere to socialistic doctrines. Also not only workers belonged as members to the co-operative stores in factory areas. The ordinary founders of the first agricultural and consumers' societies did not belong to the working class nor to the small farmers of the countryside. The foremen of factories, public school teachers and other leading men of the respective villages very often were the promoters of local co-operative efforts and remained the leading powers of the same.

As the co-operative store movement steadily progressed so the circle of its membership widened and comprised persons from different parties and classes. It was therefore more necessary than before to retain co-operation as a neutral movement, so that the unity amongst co-operators should remain inviolate.

Agricultural co-operation has consequently observed the principle of co-operative neutrality. The question of its rejecting the same has never been raised; therefore it has never caused disputes or special resolutions at the congresses of the agricultural co-operators.

## THE PERIOD OF AGITATION.

In the co-operative store movement also during the first years the principle of neutrality was exclusively observed. As the membership of co-operative stores consisted more of industrial workers than was the case with the agricultural societies, social and labour questions were raised more often amongst the former than the latter. Thus the first congress of the co-operative stores at Tampere in 1903 considered the question, whether the co-operative societies had to support the Social Democratic Labour movement. As it was impossible to arrive at a unanimous decision, the discussion remained as an answer to the question. Everyone was of the opinion that it was necessary to retain the co-operative store movement united, and nobody wished to adopt resolutions which would have divided co-operators and weakened the common collaboration.

This was the standpoint of Finnish co-operators during several years, and this order of things satisfied the majority of co-operators. Then later on, when the Finnish Labour Party became stronger, it began to direct its activity towards the sphere of the co-operative store movement, wishing to subordinate this movement then already strong. The consequence of this would have been that the co-operative store movement would have become an economic supporter of the Social-democratic Party. The Social-democratic Party Congress in 1911 arrived at resolutions going in this direction. Some socialistic co-operators submitted the question: "The social significance of co-operative stores" to the Co-operative Congress in 1911 with the same end in view. The resolution submitted by the movers did not gain, however, the support of the majority of the Congress. Two years later the same question was again submitted, but with the same result. The resolution, moved by socialists, was rejected by 124 votes against twenty-four. The great majority of co-operators, of whom socialistic co-operators formed a considerable part, was continuously of the opinion that the Finnish co-operative store movement could not be subordinated either by the Social-democratic or any other political party without violating its unity and hampering its progress.

Although the efforts made by the Social-democratic Party to subordinate the co-operative movement were so strongly rejected, and whilst independence and neutrality were defended, yet the Co-operative Congress showed a full understanding of the Labour endeavours and therefore took up a sympathetic attitude in regard to the same. Thus the Co-operative Congress in 1915 adopted resolutions in accordance with which the co-operative societies and their Wholesale, the S.O.K., had to promote the living conditions of the industrial workers and to boycott the products of factories engaged in labour disputes with their workers.

## THE SECESSIONIST MOVEMENT.

These resolutions did not, however, satisfy those socialists who were leaders of the Social-democratic Party and who aimed at destroying

the independence of the co-operative movement. The socialistic press commenced a strong agitation against the neutral co-operators—an agitation renewed time after time; the matter was in different forms submitted to the Co-operative Congresses and the annual meetings of the S.O.K. The more violent this party strife of co-operators became, the more closely the neutral co-operators assembled to safeguard the independence of their movement. When the socialistic co-operators observed that they could not succeed in their efforts of subordinating the movement, they seceded from the same and founded their own ideal central organisation, the Central Union of Consumers' Societies, and the Wholesale of their own in 1917. Since the last-named year the Finnish co-operative movement has been divided into two separate groups, namely, neutral and socialistic. The neutral societies—their ideal union being the General Co-operative Union and their Wholesale the S.O.K.—form an overwhelming majority in the Finnish co-operative movement. Thus at the end of 1919 five-sixths of the 632 existing co-operative stores were neutral.

#### THE NEUTRAL MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Although the neutral co-operators want to retain their movement independent and entirely free in regard to political parties and language differences and religious sects, they have not thrown off their sympathy and interest in Labour endeavours since the cleavage. They have still paid attention to the resolutions adopted at the common congresses. In their opinion the co-operative movement is such a social reform movement, which, being independent—and especially just then,—is able to improve the prevailing conditions and thus to further the endeavours not only of workers but also those of other poorer classes. Therefore, they will create a strong co-operative movement which is able to exercise influence in the sphere of social reforms. Thus the conditions of the employees and workers of neutral co-operators are exemplary. For instance, the factory inspectors have stated that the productive works of the S.O.K. are exemplary in their respective spheres. In addition to this the neutral co-operators have founded insurance institutions for their employees and workers, which more completely than any other insurance enterprises safeguard them in case of sickness, old age and disablement. The persons to be insured have to pay as insurance premiums only a half, the other half being paid by the respective local societies. The S.O.K. pays for its employees seven-twelfths of the insurance premiums and the whole of those of its workers. Considerable amounts of the profits of the S.O.K. have been used for the furtherance of social reforms. The neutral co-operators have, by all these measures, shown that they are to the same extent interested in the improvement of the conditions of workers as the socialistic co-operators. The results of the neutral co-operators are, indeed, much greater than those of the socialistic co-operators.

## CO-OPERATORS IN THE LEGISLATURE.

There are in the Finnish Diet sixty-five co-operators out of a total number of 200 parliamentary members. They belong to different parties and have been elected as the representatives of the same and not as co-operators, because the Finnish co-operators have not a special co-operative party. Despite this, however, the neutral co-operators have not been disinterested in the general elections. Thus their organs have urged the co-operators to vote for such candidates belonging to different parties who are experienced co-operators. The organs of the socialistic co-operators on the contrary have urged votes for candidates only of the Social-democratic Party. The number of supporters of co-operation in the Diet is, however, larger than the above-stated figure, which includes only those parliamentary members who either as committee members of the co-operative societies or in general life have evidently shown themselves to be supporters of co-operation. In addition, there are in the Diet several members who belong either to agricultural or consumers' societies and thus support the co-operative movement, although they have not in this capacity distinguished themselves. It is not possible to state exactly whether the co-operators form the majority in the Diet because until the present moment, matters of this nature have not been discussed, so that the decision would have proved the attitude of the parliamentary members in regard to co-operation. In May last a decision was arrived at concerning the taxation of co-operative societies. This decision did not, however, give a correct idea of the standpoint of the members, for the socialistic representatives, owing to party-tactical reasons, with their group voted against a proposal submitted by members who belonged to the neutral co-operators, which proposal took a favourable attitude in regard to this question. Therefore it did not gain the majority and the approval of the Diet.

THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE GENERAL  
CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

It is for foreign co-operators often difficult to decide whether the differences between the co-operators in a country are right and have authority. In regard to the Finnish neutral co-operative movement it should be easy to state, at least, that it is completely based upon Rochdale principles, which fact declares its strong and rapid progress. The membership of the Finnish neutral co-operative stores comprises about 200,000 individuals; their turnover in this year amounts evidently to one milliard\* Finnish marks and that of the S.O.K., the neutral Wholesale society, to more than 300 million marks.† The circulation of the Finnish and Swedish organs of the neutral co-operators reaches to 120,000 weekly copies. These figures when one considers the smallness of our country, may be regarded as excellent.

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\* £40,000,000 at the normal rate of exchange.

† £12,000,000.

# THE RELATIONS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONISM.

By PROF. CHARLES GIDE.

TO me it appears that the question I have to deal with should, for the purpose of elucidation, be sub-divided into three, so as to indicate consecutively what the relations of consumers' co-operative societies are : firstly, to the legislature and the government ; secondly, to the Socialist Party ; and, thirdly, to Trade Unionism represented by the General Confederation of Labour.



PROF. CHAS. GIDE.

## I.—RELATIONS OF CO-OPERATION TO THE LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNMENT.

The question as to whether co-operative societies should enter into politics has not raised the same commotion in France as it has in England. The question has never been discussed in our co-operative journals, nor has it figured on the agenda of any of our congresses. The reason is that the National Federation of our societies has made it a rule to remain absolutely outside of political parties. Hence it has not, in any way, attempted to organise itself with a view to the elections and to put forward candidates. True it is that several of the members of the Central Council of the Federation—four in all, including one of its general secretaries (Poisson) and one of the directors of the Co-operative Wholesale (Cleuet)—put up as candidates at the last general election in 1919, but they figured in their proper name on the list of one of the parties, but not with the official authority (not even indirect) of the Co-operative Federation. Besides, not one of them was elected.

Does it follow that we regarded political and legislative action as devoid of importance with respect to the development of co-operation. No, indeed ! We are well aware that there are many laws which may serve the interests of consumers' societies, and that there are others which may be detrimental thereto. But we do not think that the presence of half-a-dozen direct co-operative representatives in the Chamber of Deputies would have any great influence on the passing or rejection of such laws. We consider that *all the parliamentary representatives* of the nation, irrespective of political party, or the greatest possible number at least, ought to protect the interests of consumers' societies, because these interests are commingled with the national interest itself, and because there is no need for parliamentary representatives to be specially chosen by co-operative societies.

That is why the Co-operative Federation sent to all the parliamentary candidates on the eve of the general election a circular containing a list of questions asking each candidate to state :—

- (1) whether he acknowledged the social utility of consumers' societies as a means of establishing a fair price and of equitably distributing commodities ?
- (2) whether he would join in forming a group of parliamentary deputies with the object of studying the questions relating specially to co-operation ?
- (3) whether he would vote for Bills for the lending of capital to consumers' societies ?
- (4) whether he would undertake to vote against the increase of duties affecting consumption ?
- (5) whether he was determined to support a policy of commercial and economic co-operation between nations ? &c., &c.

A certain number of candidates replied in the affirmative ; nevertheless, out of the 600 deputies elected, there were only seventy-eight who subscribed to the above programme. But what is rather remarkable is the fact that these signatories figure on the most opposite benches in the Chamber, and range from the Socialists (the most numerous section of the group) to the Royalists, amongst whom is the most violent one of all—the monarchist and catholic leader, Leon Daudet.

Conformably to their pledges these parliamentarians have formed themselves into a co-operative group in the Chamber of Deputies, and this group has grown much larger, for it now comprises 122 deputies, or about one-fifth of the total. This group, moreover, includes members of all parties, pretty nearly as follows :—

22 socialists.            33 radical-socialists.

67 deputies belonging to the parties of the Centre or the Right.

But it must not be inferred from this distribution that co-operation counts many more supporters on the parliamentary Right than it does on the Left. A good number of partisans of the Right have joined the co-operative group merely to make a show of democratic spirit.

As regards the relations between the Co-operative Federation and the above-mentioned group, these are as follows. Last year the Federation gave them an invitation to breakfast and had them on a visit to the Federation's establishments ; and whenever the interests of co-operation are at stake, the Federation demands a hearing. Where the government and the ministry are concerned also, the Federation is nothing if not persevering, and it generally obtains a favourable reception. Thus, during the course of the war and since, it has secured the realisation of many measures favourable to the co-operative movement—measures which would take too long to enumerate fully, but of which the following are worthy of mention :—

- (a) the establishment of the "Superior Council of Co-operation" (with two sections—those of consumption and production), which suggests and makes a study of Bills bearing on co-operation.



- (b) an annual distribution of advances to co-operative societies.
- (c) legislative reforms facilitating the formation of societies.
- (d) the admission of consumers' representatives to the majority of the committees appointed to deal with economic questions, such as the cost of living, the fixation of the price of wheat, the housing of workpeople, the struggle against alcoholism, the establishment of a professorship of Co-operation at the College de France, &c.

Yet among the members of the government there are no co-operative practitioners as there are in other countries. During the early years of the war only there was M. Thomas, who was Minister of Munitions and who is now director of the International Labour Bureau as well as one of the delegates of France to the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance. But co-operation has a certain number of practitioners and adherents in the ministerial departments.

## 2.—RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

This second question, far from being put aside like the first, for a long time caused agitation and cleavage in the French co-operative movement.

The French Co-operative Union was founded in 1886 by my friend M. de Boyve, on the model of the English Co-operative Union—and founded, like the latter, on the principle of neutrality, that is to say, the door was open to every one claiming to be a consumer ; in a word, there was the open door for every person, socialist or anti-socialist, and this without question.

But in 1895 a certain number of consumers' societies whose members were militant socialists decided to reject this principle of neutrality and seceded in order to establish a dissident Federation, the door of which was to be closed to the "bourgeois" and opened to none but adherents of the Socialist Party.

In 1911, after seventeen years of quarrelling, thanks to the entrance of new men and of a less sectarian spirit, the two rival Federations concluded the Pact of Unity between them and joined together in a single Federation which endures to this day, but which conserves in its statutes the principle of neutrality. People know that such is the rule adopted in all the Co-operative Unions of other countries (that of Belgium excepted) and in the statutes of the International Co-operative Alliance. This rule is perfectly justified, in our opinion, by two reasons :—

First, because the party termed Socialist is in France (and in other countries as well) a *political party* in the proper sense of the word, just as the Radical Party is or the monarchist is, and which like these aims at realising its programme by political methods ; that is by gaining a majority in the legislative and municipal assemblies—or if needs be, by revolution ; but such is not the method employed by co-operative societies which abide exclusively on the economic plane and seek to establish a new industrial regime.

The second reason is that Co-operation, though certainly representing a Socialist movement, because it aims at the socialisation of the instruments of production and refuses to concede to capital any right to economic government or to participation in benefits—yet nevertheless remains absolutely distinct from Marxian socialism, or class socialism, since by the very definition of the term the consumers' function excludes all idea of class distinctions. It is the only one amongst all the economic functions which is common to all. Therefore the co-operative movement has a right to preserve its autonomy—a right moreover which the socialists have acknowledged by solemn declarations notably at the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910.

This neutrality, of course, does not hinder co-operators from adhering individually to the Socialist Party, but no one is obliged to. In France, in fact, a very great number of co-operators belong to the Socialist Party, and on the Central Council of the National Co-operative Federation the majority of the members are also members of the Socialist Party. One of the general secretaries of the Co-operative Federation is likewise a member of the permanent administrative committee of the Socialist Party. But he does not figure there in the capacity of a co-operator. Legally speaking, any monarchist or confessional society desiring to join the Federation would be admitted, provided that its statutes conformed to the co-operative programme, which has remained almost the same as the Rochdale one; but as a matter of fact, such societies abstain from joining the Federation and prefer to remain aloof. In the Federation, however, there is a certain number of semi-bourgeois societies and some anti-socialist ones even.

### 3.—RELATIONS WITH THE TRADE UNIONS.

These relations, for a very long time, were cool to the point of hostility, and remained so even to a recent period. The circumstance is easily explained by the fact that the co-operative societies and the trade unions represent interests which, if not antagonistic, are at least distinctly divergent—those of the consumers on the one hand and those of the producers on the other; the former striving for the lowering of prices and the minimisation of the cost of production and the latter for the increase of wages. This antagonism is augmented when consumers' societies enter into the sphere of production and establish manufactories, for then they play the rôle of employers, and necessarily find themselves exposed to the same suspicions and antipathies on the part of their employees as capitalist employers. And they also find themselves exposed to similar quarrels with their workpeople and to similar strikes.

But recently, however, the relations between the National Federation of Consumers' Societies and the General Confederation of Labour (the C.G.T.) have greatly improved. And this improvement has been made notably manifest by the two following measures:—

First, by the institution of the "Economic Council of Labour" under the auspices of the C.G.T., to which Council three representatives

of the Co-operative Federation are admitted, besides representatives of workers' trade unions and of engineers' and functionaries' organisations. To this Economic Council of Labour an exalted task is entrusted, nothing less than that of drafting the Great Economic Charter of Society for the future. And the participation of organised consumers has a most important signification and one which even indicates a new era in the history of Trade Unionism. In fact, the leaders of liberty have not hesitated to declare that, in the economic government of society Labour is not everything and ought not to lay claim to omnipotence; that it is essential to counterbalance it by the public interest, the national interest, and it is the representatives of the consumers' societies whom they regard as being the best qualified to represent the interest of all.

Secondly, by the drawing up of an agreement between the C.G.T. and the National Federation of Consumers' Societies with a view to the settlement of disputes which might arise between the consumers' societies and their employees and workpeople. This agreement declares that the Trade Union organisations recognise the consumers' societies as constituting one of the forces of the new society and in virtue thereof must not be confounded with capitalist establishments. Hence, in case of a general strike or a partial one, or in case of solidarity in any industry whatever, the workers employed by the co-operative society shall not be obliged to cease work. Reciprocally, the consumers' societies pledge themselves to obtain their employees and workpeople only from the Trade Union ranks (unless they are unable to find Trade Unionists sufficiently qualified to be co-operative employees) and to pay them the Trade Union standard rates, unless these rates place the societies in a condition of inferiority to their commercial competitors. In case of disputes, parallel committees will be instituted and a committee of arbitration as well.

There is reason for hoping that this agreement will suffice to establish harmonious relations between the Trade Unionist organisations and the co-operative societies.

#### AN IMPORTANT DESIDERATUM.

In conclusion, we believe we express the general opinion of French co-operators when we say that it is desirable that the three movements—the Political organisation, the Trade Unionist organisation, and the Co-operative organisation—should work together in harmony for the formation of future society, but that their action will be all the more efficacious if each one retains its autonomy. The separation of functions is a law which governs not only sociology, but biology as well. It betokens the progress in evolution, whereas the intermingling of functions indicates a backward step. And so, it would not be a progressive step if economic administrations were placed in the hands of political bodies any more than if economic organisations took charge of political government.

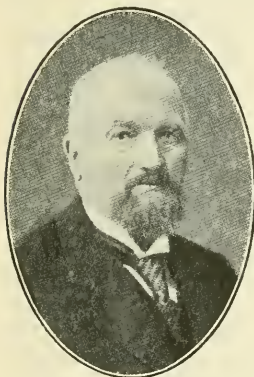
# CO-OPERATION AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN GERMANY.

By HEINRICH KAUFMANN

*Member of the Executive Board of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies, and of the International Co-operative Alliance, and Member of the German State Economic Council.*

**T**O the request of the editor of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK to explain the position of the co-operative movement with relation to political parties in Germany I willingly accede. It is necessary for me, however, to deal briefly with the development of the German co-operative movement in order to make our co-operative influence on German politics intelligible to the British reader.

## ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.



HEINRICH KAUFMANN.

The co-operative seed disseminated by Robert Owen, William King, the Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale, and many other prominent men spread abroad, especially in the year of tumult 1848, over the whole European continent. In Germany also the seed struck root. The economic conditions of Germany at that time, however, were far less developed than was the case in the United Kingdom. Whereas large scale capitalistic production had already stamped its impress on the economic system

in the United Kingdom, in Germany small handicrafts still predominated. German agriculture (apart from the provinces to the east of the Elbe) comprises peasant-proprietary holdings (large and small) almost exclusively. Production for the supply of home demands was the prevalent system; production for the market was merely a surplus production.

On this economic ground no workers' co-operative movement could grow, because the great working masses were lacking. The co-operative seed struck root, but it grew up as a co-operative movement of the middle class—that is to say, as a co-operative movement of independent craftsmen and independent peasant-proprietors. To enable handicraft and agriculture to undertake intensive production, capital was required above all; and requisite it also was that a part of agriculture should be freed from the usurers' clutches. And so the German co-operative movement originated first of all, and in the first rank, as a credit co-operative movement of the industrial and agricultural middle-class. And therewith arose, as a matter of course, the

purchasing societies of the craftsmen and peasant-proprietors, as well as stores-societies, sales-societies, building-societies, and workers' productive co-operative societies.

Along with the increasing industrialisation of the economic system in Germany proceeded the development of distributive co-operative societies whose membership was composed of master craftsmen (who still at that time provided their apprentices and journeymen with board and lodging), of officials, and of workers of the better class. And so, in the years from 1860 to 1870, there grew a flourishing co-operative movement, relatively that is to the conditions of the period.

After the Franco-German war of 1870-71, the industrialisation of Germany advanced with abnormal rapidity. The handicraft trades became decimated, whereby a part of the master craftsmen arose to the position of manufacturers. The workers pursued political ideals which brought no appreciation of the co-operative movement. The young socialism of Germany believed that it saw in the workers' productive co-operative societies a much more efficacious means of overcoming capitalism than the distributive co-operative societies. Later on, the Social-democratic party for many years turned the cold shoulder to the co-operative movement.

Only about the year 1890 did the Social-democratic party gradually adopt a changed attitude, because the industrial workers, from economic necessity and without troubling themselves about political theories, joined the co-operative movement in ever-increasing numbers.

The few still-existing consumers' societies dating back to the first period of the German co-operative movement became the fulcra of a general distributive co-operative development. In the year 1894 the Distributive Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded, but remained a violet blooming in obscurity till the year 1899.

On the invitation of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society the manager of the German Co-operative Wholesale and the members of the Supervisory Council of that time made a tour of investigation in England. They were greatly astonished by the dimensions and strength and many-sidedness of the English co-operative movement. The result of their observations they recorded in a small pamphlet entitled "Our Tour in England," which was issued in several huge editions and which achieved an unexampled success.

In the year 1900 the German distributive co-operative movement and the Co-operative Wholesale Society entered on a period of record growth, and in proportion as the movement grew in strength it obtained the recognition of the Social-democratic Labour Party and the Labour Groups in the "bourgeois" parties.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNIONS.

The first combination of all German co-operative societies was effected by the establishment of the General Union of German Acquisition and Economic Co-operative Societies, which held its first congress

in Weimar in the year 1859 ; and as its name implies, this Union was meant to embrace all co-operative societies. The German agricultural movement, however, soon went its own way. In the year 1877 the General Union of German Raiffeisen Co-operative Societies was established, and a certain one-sidedness of this Union led to the foundation, in 1883, of a second agricultural co-operative union, viz., the Imperial Union of German Agricultural Co-operative Societies. To the General Union (*Der Allgemeine Verband*) there remained still the co-operative societies of all kinds whose membership was composed of the industrial population. In the front rank of the General Union however stood the industrial credit co-operative societies. The next strongest group consisted of the consumers' societies (particularly after the growth of the distributive co-operative movement at the end of the century), and the building co-operative societies.

At the beginning of the present century there arose among the still existent independent master craftsmen, who even to-day constitute a noteworthy economic factor in Germany, a striving for the formation of special credit co-operative societies and purchase and sales co-operative societies, and means thereto were afforded by the Prussian Central Co-operative Credit Bank, brought into existence by Prussian legislation. The co-operative awakening in the handicraft trades led to the foundation of the Head Union of German Trades Co-operative Societies in 1901.

Between the distributive co-operative group of the General Union (which the Co-operative Wholesale Society had joined) and the directorate of the General Union, which represented the purely middle-class anti-social interests of the credit co-operative societies above all, differences arose, in consequence of which the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies was founded in 1903 ; some two-thirds of the distributive co-operative societies of the General Union seceding to the Central Union, which up to the present has enjoyed a prodigious growth, whilst the distributive co-operative group of the General Union ceased to show any further development.

When the war broke out the German co-operative movement as a whole was therefore represented by five co-operative central unions as follows :—

The General Union of German Acquisition and Economic Co-operative Societies.

The General Union of German Raiffeisen Co-operative Societies.

The Imperial Union of German Agricultural Co-operative Societies.

The Head Union of German Trades Co-operative Societies.

The Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies.

No sooner had the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies been founded than a trend towards closer connection between these central unions arose. For the moment, however, the exigencies of the war led to an understanding. In the Spring of 1916 the Free Committee of the Co-operative Central Unions

was brought into existence—in which committee all co-operative affairs (in so far as affected by legislation, and as coming within the influence of political parties) as well as all other mutual affairs of the various branches of co-operation were dealt with at regular sittings of the Committee.

The joint work on the Free Committee led to friendly relations between these different unions, the result of which has been that the General Union of German Acquisition and Economic Societies and the Head Union of the German Trades Co-operative Societies amalgamated into the "German Co-operative Union" at the beginning of the present year (1920). Friendly negotiations besides took place between the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies and the General Union, and as the outcome of these negotiations the distributive co-operative societies of the General Union will come over to the Central Union at the end of the present year (1920). And finally, the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies and both the Agricultural Co-operative Unions have entered into agreements for enabling the distributive co-operative societies to draw their supplies direct (through the medium of their Co-operative Wholesale) from the Agricultural Productive and Sales Co-operative Societies (through the medium of the numerous agricultural central and head co-operative societies). The distributive co-operative movement and the German agricultural movement are united on the point that the direct supply of commodities and the exclusion of the cost-increasing middlemen's trade is of the greatest importance to both sides and to both sides promises economic advantages.

As regards the strength of the five co-operative central unions, herewith are some data in brief:—

The General Union embraces 1,500 co-operative societies with a million members, inclusive of about 1,000 credit co-operative societies with a membership of 600,000. The General Union of German Raiffeisen Co-operative Societies comprises 5,000 societies with a membership of 500,000, including 4,000 credit co-operative societies with 450,000 members. The Imperial Union of German Agricultural Co-operative Societies embraces 18,000 societies with a membership of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million; inclusive of 12,000 credit co-operative societies with 1,100,000 members. The Head Union of German Trades Co-operative Societies comprises 1,500 co-operative societies with 200,000 members inclusive of about 500 credit co-operative societies with 100,000 members. The distributive co-operative group of the General Union (Der Allgemeine Verband) coming over to the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies comprises 200 societies with 350,000 members all told. The Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies itself embraced at the end of 1919, the Co-operative Wholesale Society with 1,000 affiliated societies and a turnover of 350 million marks; 9 auditing unions; 1,132 distributive co-operative societies with a membership of 2,300,000, and a collective

turnover of 1,100 marks ; the Publishing Society of the Union ; the Joint Trade Union and Co-operative Insurance Society " *Volksfürsorge*," and a number of workers and miscellaneous co-operative societies dating from an earlier time.

The sum total of German distributive co-operative societies reaches about 2,500, with a membership of 3,200,000. Hence it follows that a great number of smaller distributive co-operative societies do not belong to a central union. There is still extant also a Christian-catholic Distributive Co-operative Union. This Union has no connection with the Free Committee.

#### THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNIONS.

The whole of the German co-operative central unions represented on the Free Committee are politically neutral ; but that does not debar the members of affiliated societies from belonging, in accordance with their interests as producers, to the various political parties. Statistics, in this regard, of course, there are none, because the compilation of such statistics could not be made to accord with the fundamental principles of neutrality. No society belonging to these central unions asks its members what political party or what religious community they belong to ; and no society contributes to political parties or stands in organised relation thereto. The co-operative central unions are completely independent of political parties.

#### CO-OPERATION, SOCIAL CLASSES AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

Inasmuch as German agriculture appertains in the main to the parties of the right and of the middle class, it may be taken for granted that the members of the agricultural co-operative societies are by preference, members of the Conservative, National-liberal and Centre parties (I use here the old party appellations for the reason that these may be better known than the new ones, outside Germany). It may also be taken as a matter of course that the members of the societies of the General Union belong to the middle-class moderate parties and to the National-liberal and democratic parties above all, whilst the members of the societies belonging to the Head Union are probably also, in part, attached to the Conservative party. The members of the societies of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies belonged (the majority of them) to the Social-democratic party, up to the war and the party cleavage. But the great increase of membership of the Central Union, and above all besides, the influx of members from the ranks of officials and the taking over of the General Union's Consumers' Societies, as well as the splitting of the Social-democratic party into the Social-democratic Majority Party, the independent Social-democratic Party, and the Communist Party, have changed the aspect of things. The members of the Central Union's societies now range politically from the extreme left right into the depths of the middle-class ranks ; but it may be taken for granted that the overwhelming majority are imbued with democratic and co-operative-socialist principles.



## CO-OPERATIVE INFLUENCE ON PARTIES AND ON LEGISLATION.

It must further be noted that the leading persons in the German co-operative central unions, according to the composition of their members, are on terms of acquaintanceship and often of friendship with the leaders of the corresponding political party. Hence it follows, quite unrestrainedly, that the resolutions of the Free Committee of the co-operative central unions receive the greatest attention from all political parties—from those on the extreme left to those of the extreme right. As a matter of fact the Free Committee has succeeded in safeguarding, to the fullest extent, the interests of the co-operative societies of every kind, whilst the precipitate legislation of the last two years has been taking place. The influence of the co-operative central unions on legislation is now essentially greater than it was during the war period or ever before. All the same the fact must be emphasised that the co-operative unions strictly confine themselves to the safeguarding of their co-operative interests and that they leave the discussion and settlement of political questions entirely to the political parties.

As the German Reichstag was elected only in the summer of 1920, it is impossible, as yet, to state how many members of the Reichstag are co-operative functionaries and what particular members are in sympathy with the co-operative movement. Conformably to their neutral standpoint none of the German central unions have either taken an active part in the electoral battle or supported the candidates belonging to their own party or exercised an agitational influence on behalf of friends of co-operation at the putting up of Reichstag candidates by the political parties. But privately great importance has frequently been attached to the fact that at the putting up of candidates on behalf of the various parties eligible friends and connoisseurs of the co-operative movement have been taken into account.

At the present time the composition of the German Reichstag is as follows :—

	Members.
The Conservative Party (German National Party) ... ..	66
„ National Liberal Party (German People's Party) ... ..	62
„ Centre Party (Christian People's Party)... ..	68
„ Christian-Federalist Groups (Guelphs and Peasants' League) ...	30
„ Social-Democratic Party (Majority Socialists) ... ..	112
„ Independent Social-Democratic Party ... ..	81
„ Communists ... ..	2

It may be taken as a definite fact that the instigation given by the Free Committee of the co-operative central unions with regard to legislation to alterations of Bills so far as co-operative interests are concerned have found a willing ear. So far as is necessary the leading persons of the co-operative central unions try to get into direct personal communication with the leaders of the various parties with whom they are personally acquainted, and to approach the

committees instituted by the Reichstag for the consideration of Bills, by which means the wishes of the societies are given due consideration.

#### CO-OPERATORS IN LEGISLATURE AND ON PUBLIC BODIES.

So far as the distributive co-operative movement is concerned it may be definitely affirmed that the number of co-operative functionaries (the executive committee members, employees, workers and members of the Supervisory Boards) among the members of the Reichstag is proportionately small. Of the better known leaders of the German distributive co-operative movement only a very few have shown themselves ready to become political party candidates. Considerably larger however is the number of distributive co-operative functionaries in the parliaments of the individual German states ; and in the ministries of the individual states also there are many persons who were formerly co-operators. Still greater is the number of distributive co-operative functionaries in the town councils ; and in the magistratures also similar functionaries are well represented.

Since the enactment of universal suffrage for men and women over twenty years of age, and of vote by ballot and proportional representation both for the Reichstag and the individual states and municipalities as well, not only has the influence of the parties of the left been considerably increased, and that of the Socialist parties especially ; the influence of co-operation also on the municipalities on the several States and on the collective State has grown very considerably.

Nevertheless it must not be said that the German co-operative movement finds no further difficulties put in its way. There are still very many officials from the foregoing period who are prepossessed with the views pertaining to the old system and who endeavour, as far as lies in their power, to beset the co-operative movement with difficulties. But these are transitory manifestations which will be surmounted within a measurable space of time.

#### THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

The position of the co-operative movement in the new State is essentially better than it was in the old one ; and were it not for the excessively oppressive burdens imposed on the German people by the Peace Treaty of Versailles the German co-operative movement, and the distributive co-operative movement especially, might survey the future with the greatest hope. But so long as the whole economic life of Germany is imperilled to the most grievous extent by these oppressive edicts, and so long as no one can tell whether we shall succeed in escaping a breakdown even by putting forth our whole strength, so long must the co-operative movement be harassed with care ; for the co-operative movement is a part of the national economy, an essential part, the part betokening a gladsome future and constituting the hope of millions in time to come. The co-operative movement withal is a *part of the German economic life* and if the German economy goes to smash then the co-operative movement will go to smash along with it, and the end will be a monstrous chaos of ruins, blood, and corpses.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN HOLLAND.

BY G. J. D. C. GOEDHART,

*Chairman of the Central Union of Dutch Distributive Co-operative Societies.*

IN many of my articles on co-operation in Holland I have stated that co-operation entered our country by the wrong door, and this verdict I must emphasize once again, for, in the circumstance mentioned lies the cause of much of what has happened but which would have been prevented by a better beginning.



G. J. D. C. GOEDHART.

In the early sixties of last century the working-men in Holland began to hear something of the co-operative movement in Great Britain; but as legislation was not well adapted for the security of real co-operative societies, and as the working-men besides were not educated enough to be able to take the management of such societies in their own hands, only here and there a productive association was started and soon ended in failure. Later on, benevolent souls tried to establish building and credit societies for the poorer classes, but with no greater success. The principles of co-operation not being properly explained to the adhering members nothing better could be expected.

### IN THE PIONEERING DAYS.

So the movement sank into a deep torpor. Nevertheless, things were for a short time brought into a better position when Dr. A. Kerdyk, then a young man, came home from England after having attended the Newcastle Co-operative Congress, where he had seen what the movement had already done up to that time (1873) for the working-men of Great Britain. Dr. Kerdyk was a tower of strength. When he undertook a task he did not rest until he had made the most of it. So, during his too short life (he died at 60) he did much for the people of Holland and sowed the seed of later developments. He became the father of the co-operative movement in Holland, and later on the initiator of the Toynbee Settlement work, and it is much to be regretted that he suffered himself to be led to undertake any work but the propaganda and promotion of the co-operative cause; this he felt afterwards himself. Also, with his friends de Witt Hamer, Pekelharing, Goemar, Borgesius, Heldt, and de Jong van Beek en Donk, he began to preach co-operation and to start co-operative distributive societies, wherever he found a possibility of making them a success. Many co-operative savings banks too were organised

and, alas, productive societies also. I say : alas ! for needless to say many of these productive societies soon perished and part of the savings of the working-men that started them, were lost at the same time. In a little weekly paper, edited by Kerdyk and de Witt Hamer, we find most of these miscarriages ascribed to the fact that legislation was not conducive to the proper management of co-operative societies in Holland. It was a fact that the undertaking was always, or nearly always, started as belonging to the chairman of the society, with the evil results that necessarily followed therefrom.

So Dr. Kerdyk and his friends again set to work and succeeded very soon in getting a Bill passed (which is still the law) regulating co-operative societies. It is a singular fact that this law, enacted in 1876, though apparently made with a minimum of knowledge of co-operative principles, practice, and history, has not been amended since and nevertheless has not done much harm. Only now is a new Act being drafted by a Royal Commission. When the law of 1876 was enacted a great many working-men's co-operative societies had collapsed as a consequence of great losses due to stupidity and fraud ; and so, as one may realise, the working-men were not much inclined to go in again for a movement which not only had not helped them, but, on the contrary, had lost them the little money they had. Even Dr. Kerdyk did not succeed in reviving their courage.

#### CIVIL SERVICE STORES.

But now another class of people got the idea of co-operation. The civil service and the military officers were paid very badly in Holland and so they sought for means to enable them to diminish their difficulties in making both ends meet. They saw in co-operation a very powerful aid in this direction and started the so-called " Eigen Hulp (Self-help) Stores." These stores became a success, but they were the wrong doors for the coming in of co-operation.

For what did their initiators see in co-operation ? They saw in the movement only a means to obtain cheaper commodities and as great a dividend as was possible. This was openly advocated in the periodical of the " Eigen Hulp " movement and even in the periodical's name, which was *Ons belang* (our interest), and for years and years it was, and to certain extent is still, a great struggle to instil better ideas about the movement into the heads and hearts of the adhering members in Holland.

But this should not make us forget that the co-operators of Holland nevertheless owe a great debt of gratitude to the organisers of the Eigen Hulp Stores, inasmuch as they, who were better educated in administration and in some other branches of commercial knowledge, gave to the people an object lesson in co-operative stores management and, by the practice of co-operation, educated a great many real co-operators, who were able to complete their co-operative knowledge by the perusal of English co-operative literature, and by correspondence with the friends they made amongst British co-operators,

and even by their visits to the British co-operative congresses and institutions. The Eigen Hulp Stores then became everywhere a success from a commercial point of view and so were the best propaganda we could wish in those days.

But this propaganda was not extended to the principles and history of the movement and so it could not be seen at first by the working-men that co-operation was, according to the words of T. J. Mitchell, the noblest way to improve the condition of mankind.

We tried for a long series of years to imbue the working-men with this idea, but it took a very long time to get the idea adequately grasped by a few.

#### FISSIPAROUS FORCES.

There was also another thing that handicapped us. The social-democratic working-men had naturally very close relations with their brethren in Belgium, and so when this party had arisen in Holland, they adopted the Belgian co-operative practice of linking co-operation and politics together. Every social-democratic co-operative society had in its rules the prescription that 10 per cent. of the profit had to be given to the funds of the party.

This had very disadvantageous consequences for the movement. In the first place it occasioned a division amongst co-operators. Those who did not believe in social-democratic principles and were opposed to social-democratic practice, could not adhere to societies which supported the preaching of these principles and the furthering of this practice. So there arose neutral co-operative societies and social-democratic ones; so there was started besides the existing Co-operative Union a Union of Dutch workers' co-operative societies; so there arose competition even in the lesser towns between two and more co-operative stores, with the effect that consumers' societies led a difficult existence where one society would have flourished. And this splitting up went still farther, when the Roman Catholic co-operators also began to organise themselves in separate societies, followed by the Christian ones, and lastly even by some Jewish.

#### A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

That Dutch co-operation nevertheless is still flourishing and even extending its influence, is due to the circumstances of the last few years. The war has affected the state of living of every class of the population so much, that everyone feels almost by intuition that the way from producer to consumer has to be shortened as much as possible. Hence it comes that happily the Dutch Co-operative Wholesale Society is the commercial centre for *all* the co-operative societies of the country and that not long ago the Union of Dutch Workers' Co-operative Societies amalgamated with the Dutch Co-operative Union on rules proclaiming that political and religious neutrality in co-operation shall be the leading principle in the future.

So here we are in Holland at last in the good direction, though we suffer still from lack of good propagandists.

## AS REGARDS POLITICS.

We do not wish to mix politics with co-operation, but perhaps now and then we shall have to mix some co-operation with politics, *i.e.*, we keep a sharp look-out on government measures and on legislation, and when it is feared that they will be a danger to the movement we try to counteract them.

During the war we had a special committee for this work—the C.C.C. (Central Co-operative Committee)—which worked not entirely without success. But not always did it appear possible to have the interests of the movement well cared for, for the measures necessary for the organisation of the distribution of food could not be executed without following certain lines by which co-operation had to be singled out. We had to subordinate ourselves to the law, and the Government has now given to the Handelskamer, our Wholesale, a credit at the State's bank of five million guilders (£416,500) as a means of helping to lower the scales of prices. We hope now to be able to raise Dutch co-operation to a higher level. It will be seen from the foregoing that we have no members of parliament elected as co-operators, nor have co-operative functionaries been elected as members of the Labour party or of any other. We have even in that respect gone back. Whilst the former Cabinet consisted almost exclusively of members of the Hague Co-operative Society, of the present Cabinet only two or three members belong thereto. But, it seems that there is no need in Holland for special political influence to be exercised by the co-operative movement. Equality for all is a Dutch principle, and I am sure that no Dutch Government would depart from it. So we, the Dutch co-operators, ask but to be left alone, and we are sure to gain in the end.

## FRIENDS IN PARLIAMENT.

Those who believe do not make haste. And at the most we have in Parliament some fifty members who are in favour of our movement, some of them being even members of boards of directors of co-operative societies. For the time being we shall confine ourselves to the organisation of the movement in Holland and to the strengthening of it by education through our co-operative press and our lecturers and by extending the influence of the Dutch Wholesale Society.

As regards my own views, I can say nothing other than this, that I have worked now nearly forty years in the extension and upraising of the movement, and, of course, I am not content, but I have learned to labour and wait.

Humanity goes but slowly. What is mastered by one individual in a year, takes a nation a quarter of a century and humanity much longer. But I see progress, though it be slow. When we met forty years ago, we numbered as many tens of members as we now do hundreds; when we met ten years ago, persons who dared to say that they came in primarily for a large dividend still received some applause; now they dare only think it.

## THE ITALIAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

By ANTONIO VERGNANINI.

*General Secretary of the National League of Italian Co-operative Societies.*

THE Italian co-operative movement, issuing forth unharmed from the tornado of the great war, has in the last few months gained unprecedented political and economic importance. The difficulties into which the country has been plunged by the imprudence of the bourgeoisie, has evoked even in certain bourgeois circles lively sympathies with, and faith in, co-operation, which they consider as the sole chance of salvation for themselves. On the other hand, the workers, watching the defiant squandering and the provoking luxury of the new rich, are no longer willing to be the patient drudges of capitalist parasitism. Italy is in a state verging on catastrophe, and has the choice either of rushing to her ruin down the steep slope of ever-increasing economic disorder or of opening the road for the triumphant march of redeeming Labour. This dilemma is felt and understood even by the more enlightened among the bourgeoisie, who turn to co-operation as the one force capable of warding off disaster. But it is felt and understood as well by the working masses, who rally round the banner of co-operation, unite in consumers', producers' and rural co-operative societies and swell our ranks day by day.

### CO-OPERATIVE AND LABOUR SOLIDARITY.

We may safely assume that Italian co-operation will close the year 1920 with a turnover of over two milliards of lire (£80,000,000).

This vigorous economic penetration might to-morrow serve as a starting point for the coming taking over of control by the working class. The principal currents of Italian co-operation as incorporated in our League have already declared their unconditional solidarity with the General Confederation of Labour (Trade Unions), and have confided the protection of their interests in Parliament to the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party. The recent National Convention of our League passed the following motion of the Hon. Cabrini :—

The General Council of the National League of Italian Co-operative Societies :

Considering the putting into practice of its social programme to be a question of political force ;

Considering that the working class is the sole class of society integrally interested in the suppression of any and every intermediary between producer and consumer and in the nationalisation of social wealth ;

Considering that in Italy the political movement aiming at that socialisation of the means of production and exchange which the National Co-operative Congress of 1918 described as the ultimate end of co-operation, is exclusively the movement led by the Italian Socialist Party in alliance with the General Confederation of Labour ;

Considering that in the recent political elections it was this movement alone which took up the struggle against the mass of shopkeepers, traders, landlords, and industrials; in other words, against the social groups co-operation seeks to eliminate;

Affirming that co-operative institutions ought to adhere ever closer to the movement of resistance, partly in order to strengthen proletarian effort towards liberation from the yoke of bourgeois society and partly in order to gain the confidence of the proletariat and render neutral the mechanism of consumption, production, labour, exchange, and credit in controlled or socialised administration;

Authorises the Board of Directors of the League to negotiate with the General Confederation of Labour and the Italian Socialist Party for the purpose of:

Co-ordinating the respective international, national, and local movements, thus rendering more disciplined the workers' advance towards the common aim;

Confiding to a sole organ—the Socialist group in Parliament—all legislative and parliamentary action concerning the claims put forth by the several Congresses of the National League of Italian Co-operative Societies.

This decision raised various comments and criticism, the resolution being considered to mean complete subordination of Co-operation to the Socialist Party. We quote the answer of the League to these comments as published in the *Cooperazione Italiana*, the official organ of the League:—

No change of direction, we insist. The League, led by men who consider co-operative organisation to be a living force acting towards the gradual transformation of society, has fought for many years against private profiteering and capitalism, as the honest pioneers of Rochdale fought in their time.

By putting the tutorship of the League's interests into the hands of the Socialist Party, co-operation has not given up its autonomy, its liberty of programme and of action, and remains free to practice the principles of pure co-operation, so rarely understood in all their revolutionary and anti-capitalistic importance.

In the Rochdalian sense, co-operation ought to prepare the new world of solidarity in the old world of competition; gradually taking production and distribution out of the hands of speculation and capital.

This revolutionary idea, against which bourgeois co-operative elements have attempted resistance, is now generally accepted. The most eminent statesmen, the most enlightened economists, are at one in acknowledging the collectivist character of co-operation.

Co-operation is collectivist, if only by its tendency of eliminating speculation and profiteering. Its aims correspond to the aims of the Socialist Party. Those who invoke the authority of Rochdale in support of their prejudices and who, on the basis of their own erroneous interpretation of the Rochdalian principles, accuse the League of giving up the old ideals and attaching itself to a political party, do but show that they never understood the revolutionary spirit of those British weavers, who under the unbearable pressure of modern industrialism found a weapon of defence in co-operative organisation.

The two armies—co-operation and resistance—now face a new situation created by the earthquake of the great war—face ruin and the collapse of social life due to the incapacity of the former ruling classes. True to their ideals they close their ranks, unite their efforts and move on side by side towards final victory.

Co-operation, passing through a long series of disappointments and delusions, knows by bitter experience that the sole live, loyal, and trustworthy force, the sole reliable ally, is the force of proletarian organisation, is the Socialist Party, striving to the same end, free from all bonds of interest or sympathy with the ancient order of things.

Thus the League, the oldest organisation of Italy and the one



exercising the greatest influence, continues its revolutionary work in the practical field of reconstruction, conquering resistances, opening breaches, invading the armed camps of bourgeois privilege and ever adding to its membership, realising day by day more and more of Socialism.

Although the Italian Socialist Party, with its intransigent negative attitude towards every and any reconstructive action, renders the positive work of co-operation more difficult, yet, on the other hand, it greatly contributes to the pressure on the ruling classes by the incessant menace of its masses and thus render the impetus of co-operative effort more efficacious.

In an appeal to the Italian proletariat the League of Co-operative Societies, after demonstrating that all struggle for higher wages is vain, as every result of such struggle is quickly swallowed by the consequent increase in the cost of living, invites the General Confederation of Labour and the Socialist Party to unite in posing an ultimatum to the bourgeoisie. The latter must either hand over little by little the control of production and distribution to Labour organised co-operatively, or increase to the last the resistance of the proletariat, even now ready to deny its collaboration to the economic life of the nation.

#### THE POSTULATES OF THE CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE.

The postulates established by the League are the following :—

(1) That the State departments of food control and distribution of commodities be conducted with the participation of the workers and consumers, and that scarce commodities be distributed in equal measure to all.

(2) That a vast scheme of public works be elaborated and entrusted for execution to organised Labour without any possibility of capitalist exploitation.

(3) That large areas of territory be immediately allotted to the organisations of rural workers for the purpose of internal colonisation, in an extension rendering possible the settlement of at least one million agricultural workers, preferably day-labourers.

(4) That the public services and State enterprises be reorganised.

(5) That the housing question be reconsidered. All the societies and enterprises aiming at the construction of cheap and healthy accommodation for the less wealthy classes are to be amalgamated into a single institution.

(6) That all legislation concerning public assistance, hygiene, charity, &c., be unified on a basis of universal social assurance for the benefit of the working masses.

(7) That public education be reformed in the sense of making it conform to the requirements of modern life.

(8) That in each branch of economic activity there be set up

collectively owned enterprises, in which the organised energies of the workers may act freely without being subjected to any kind of exploitation.

Efficacious pressure in support of these postulates is exercised on the ruling classes by all the organisations of resistance and by the entire Socialist Party, which in the last elections conquered 156 seats out of the 508 of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. The Government, through the Hon. Giolitti, President of the Council of Ministers, was forced to declare that co-operation will in future be taken into the most serious consideration. The hosts of resistance are to be turned into hosts of co-operation, and millions of workers now working for Capitalism are to pass into the ranks of co-operative solidarity.

Co-operators and Socialists have received these declarations of Signor Giolitti with mistrust or at least reserve, and expect proofs to be furnished by facts.

It must, however, be conceded that, in a very brief period, co-operation has achieved very significant conquests.

#### CONQUESTS OF CO-OPERATORS,

In the last months precious results have been obtained in consequence of concise demands addressed to the Government with a view to obtaining the concession of various State enterprises destined to be given up or to pass into the hands of private initiative.

To our *Consorzio delle Cooperative di Consumo* (Co-operative Wholesale Society) the War Office has turned over by a regular deed of concession the extensive pork-packing works at Casaralta, which turns out millions of liras' worth yearly and which gives occupation to many thousand workmen. A great State-owned steel works has been handed over to the National Union of Metal Workers' Co-operative Societies, together with a large stock of steel and timber material. Negotiations for the acquisition of other factories, arsenals and munition works to be transformed for the production of the means of production and the first necessities of life, as well as for the setting up of urban refrigeration works, lake navigation services, land colonisation, &c., are taking place.

If incalculable unforeseen resistances or ulterior repentance does not intervene, co-operation will embark, with all sails set, on the great sea of political and economic renovation, and its successes, these genuine conquests of Labour, will increase national wealth and multiply effort.

The flourishing agricultural co-operative societies of the Romagna and Emilia may justly boast of their superiority of productive capacity as well as the co-operative factories of their higher standards of discipline and return.

\* \* \*

In the meantime, co-operation is busy putting its own house in

order, co-ordinating its organisations, averting the tendencies of individualistic or bourgeois degeneration, and forging them into a single block to form an undivided front.

Thus the struggle goes on between the League and the improvised Catholic and independent co-operative societies, consisting of a jumble of elements recruited from all and every camp without concise programme or aim. The Catholic movement, due to the recent political good fortune of the Catholic Party, embraces the greatest landlords of Italy, and ranges from the blackest conservatives to the most exalted anarchists. It has thrown itself with frenzied energy on the turning out of co-operative societies, finding their few adherents chiefly among the ex-service men they angle for with the bait of small landed property. The one hundred Catholic M.P.'s, profiting by the systematic opposition of the Socialist group, have succeeded in exercising a temporary influence in Parliament. The life of governments chiefly depends on the one hundred Catholic votes, and it is this indirect influence the Catholic party exploits in favour of the small-bourgeois co-operative movement under its auspices.

#### POLITICAL FORCES FOR CO-OPERATION.

Our League, lacking its own special representation in Parliament, has opposed to this political influence of the Catholics, the real influence of the masses. In the last political elections many Labour candidates accepted and supported the programme of our League and practically all the Socialist M.P.'s are co-operators or are connected with co-operation. Four members of the twelve constituting the Directing Council of the League, many directors, managers, secretaries, and organisers, are in Parliament. In political and parliamentary circles co-operators are numerous—many of these have been State Ministers, as Luzzatti, Orlando, Raineri, Bonomi (present War Minister) and Labriola (present Labour Minister) and many others.

In past legislatures, the number of adherents of co-operation in Parliament attained the figure of 200, of all parties and fractions. The League, however, wishing to put an end to this kind of mixed representation, dissolved the polychromatic and uncertain Parliamentary group of co-operation and confided to the Socialist party the colours of Italian co-operation, which has entered the period of decisive action, and feels the necessity of putting an end to the old ambiguous and formalistic traditions.

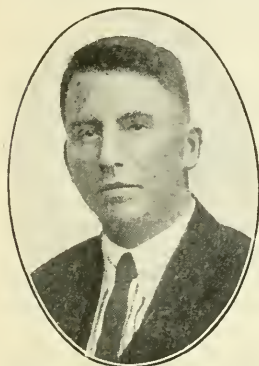
The hour is ripe. The war has hastened the process of evolution, and co-operation is called upon to fulfil its high mission of achieving the economic regeneration of the peoples.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND CO-OPERATION IN NORWAY.

By RANDOLF ARNESEN,

*Secretary of the Norwegian Co-operative Wholesale Society.*

THE Labour movement in Norway is indicated by the Norwegian Labour Party (Det norske Arbeiderparti), which, at the end of 1919 had 105,348 members, and by the Trade Union organisation (Arbeidernes faglige landsorganisation), which had a contemporary membership of 143,926. These two organisations, representing respectively the political and professional interests of the working-class, are working in harmony, and since the war have undergone a strong radical evolution and are now associated with the Moscow International.



RANDOLF ARNESEN.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.

The Labour movement in Norway has quite a strong position in the country. At the elections to Parliament (Storting) about a third of the total number of votes is given for the Labour Party; and at the municipal elections 2,065 representatives have been secured by the Socialists, and the Party has a majority in forty-five municipalities. The great increase of the Labour Party has made its impression upon the social evolution of Norway. Thus the eight-hours' working day was first brought into practice through the instrumentality of the party and thereon the Storting passed an Act establishing the eight-hours' day by law.

Owing to the irrational regulations in force for elections to the Storting, the party has been subjected to very inequitable treatment during the course of many elections. Thus the party has not got half the number of representatives in the Storting which it ought to have in proportion to the number of votes it has polled. The workers have to a great extent lost their faith in Parliamentarism, and when this became a fact, the Storting commenced to reform the unjust regulations and the capitalist press raised a doleful cry over the entrance of Bolshevism into Norway.

### THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The modern Co-operative movement in Norway is young in years. In 1895 a society was founded in Christiania which became the foundation stone for the Norwegian co-operative movement. Progress was

slow for the first few years, but since then co-operation has had a very good growth—a growth full of promise for the future.

At the beginning of 1920 there were 70,984 members comprised in 295 societies affiliated to the Norwegian Co-operative Wholesale Society. The total turnover of these societies amounted to 71,000,000 kroner (£3,944,444), an increase of 23,000,000 kroner (£1,277,778) on the turnover of the year before. The results for these societies were good. The net income from the sales was 3,000,000 kroner (£166,666).

Fifty-one of the societies are engaged in co-operative production in connection with their business, and thirty-one thereof are bakeries. The turnover of the Norwegian Co-operative Wholesale Society amounted in 1919 to 12,000,000 kroner. The Society has tobacco and margarine manufactories and a coffee-roastery.

#### NEUTRALITY.

The Norwegian co-operative movement is neutral in politics and stands open to all. Therefore the question raised by the Editor of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK with regard to the relations between the Labour Party and Co-operation must be regarded as a very delicate matter to deal with.

The opinion of the capitalist parties as regards the question of neutrality is apt to be, that when people belonging to the Liberal and Conservative Parties are co-operatively interested, it is all right with neutrality, but as soon as Socialists take an interest in the movement, neutrality is in danger.

It happens that we all forget that co-operation is a social movement and that the workers, in the first instance, ought to be its natural upholders.

#### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AS THE CHAMPION OF CO-OPERATION.

In contradistinction to the other parties, the Labour movement showed its interest in Co-operation early on. Thus by the Labour Party Congress in 1909 the following resolution was adopted:—

“The Congress recommends the workers to give to Co-operation their solid support.”

The next year (1910) the Trade Unionists took up the cause in right good earnest. A committee was appointed to prepare a statement with regard to co-operation and its importance to the workers. This statement was adopted by the Congress which, in this connection, declared that the consumers' associations ought to seek association from all the working-people and that the consumers' joint interests should be set above that of money. The object must be to obtain “better and fairer conditions of life, through the combination of forces and the greatest possible co-operative production.”

This resolution signified something besides words. The Congress set on foot a propagandist agitation among the working-people with

the object of arousing their interest in co-operation. All over the country committees were appointed to carry on the work of agitation, and the Trade Union organisation supported this work with the requisite money. This work has been of the greatest importance for the progress of Co-operation in Norway. The propaganda committees have issued thousands of pamphlets and leaflets among the Trade Unionists and sent out many agitators. This work of the Trade Union organisation has, in the last few years, had a great influence on the Co-operative movement in this country. At the Co-operative Congresses we always meet the old Trade Unionists ; and many of the leaders of the movement to-day are well-known Socialists.

The Trade Unionists are encouraged to make their investments in the co-operative banking department ; and a joint committee composed of Trade Union representatives and of representatives of the Co-operative Wholesale Society has been appointed to settle all differences as to conditions of co-operative labour, before any cessation of work takes place.

In the Starting the representatives of the Labour Party have been the advocates of legislation on behalf of co-operation, and in this work they receive good help from the peasants' representatives, who are also eagerly interested in the movement, although the peasants, after all, have a rather conservative outlook on life.

The Co-operative movement has secured exemption from the payment of taxes on sales to members, but the Trade regulations have yet the drawback, that if a society has more than one store, it must sell to members only.

Co-operation in Norway is a neutral movement which seeks association from the people as a whole ; but just as Norway is a country with high mountains through which the workers dig tunnels for modern communications, so the various social movements of our time also will dig through the old social stratifications and combine forces to construct clear lines for the new era.

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## THE PORT OF COPENHAGEN.

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**G**REAT extensions are in progress in the port of Copenhagen. During the war the territory north of the free port has been extended by some thirty-eight acres. While the extensions north of the harbour have had the development of oversea trade in view, the extensions south of the harbour have been constructed to serve industrial purposes. Behind the new pier about forty acres of land have been reclaimed

from the sea, and when the works at present in progress have been completed (by the Spring of 1921) the port of Copenhagen will have been extended by about four miles of new quays, and the total area of the harbour will comprise about 190 acres. The extensions will cost forty million kroner, or over £2,200,000, and the capital of Denmark will undoubtedly derive great benefit from the outlet.

## CO-OPERATION AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN SWITZERLAND.

By DR. OSKAR SCHÄR.

*Vice-Chairman of the Executive Board of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies and  
Member of the Swiss National Council.*

THE co-operative movement in Switzerland is not so uniform as the co-operative movement in England. In England the term "Co-operative Society" is nearly always used as a synonym for "Consumers' Society," and the later established agricultural co-operative societies play a comparatively insignificant role; but in Switzerland there is no sphere of economic operations from which the co-operative movement is debarred. In accordance with Swiss legislation every economic undertaking can be carried on in the form of a co-operative society; in practice, however, a division of the economic activities of joint-stock companies has been made, in such wise, that large undertakings employing much capital (railway undertakings, for example) are conducted exclusively in the form of joint-stock companies and never in the form of co-operative societies.



DR. OSKAR SCHÄR

During the world-war, however, there was established, with official participation, a co-operative society with 60 million francs of share capital, with the object of conducting sea-transport affairs in furtherance of the country's supplies, but which from a financial point of view, will probably prove to be a non-success.

Generally speaking, capital, for its undertakings, disdains the co-operative form except where this form offers privileges in the matter of taxation, as it does in Canton Zurich, for example, to co-operative societies established for the acquisition and administration of real estate. Nevertheless, there are cases, by no means few, in which the co-operative form for the conduct of undertakings is abused and is utilised solely for profiteering purposes as it is by the pseudo-co-operative societies, so called. Misuses of this nature are possible when an *entrepreneur* seeks to shirk personal responsibility for his undertaking and will not conform to the strict prescriptions regarding joint-stock companies. On the other hand, it also happens that even undertakings of an exclusively public, or public-utility character utilise the legal form prescribed for self-help *i.e.*, the co-operative form, as in the case of water-works, school buildings, the conducting of secondary schools, and so forth.

## CO-OPERATIVE CATEGORIES AND CHARACTERISTICS.

Altogether, at the end of the year 1919, there were in Switzerland about 11,000 co-operative societies, of which 1,000 only (in round figures) could be termed consumers' societies; whereas more than half of the total number of Swiss co-operative societies operate for the various needs of the Swiss farmers. Of the 6,000 (approximate) agricultural co-operative societies, about half of them are societies for the conversion of milk and milk products and are organised in compact unions which during the war-period managed to secure a virtual monopoly for the supply of milk to consumers.

Although a thousand or so of such dairy societies embrace no more than 30,000 members as a whole, there are single societies whose membership goes far beyond this. Thus, the Swiss People's Bank, the greatest credit co-operative society of its kind in the world, has (in round figures) 80,000 members, while there are others whose membership also reaches tens of thousands as, for example, the Furniture Insurance Company (which was established on the initiative of the Swiss Public Utility Company a hundred years ago) and the Hail Insurance Co-operative Society, and various Life Insurance Co-operative Societies likewise.

After all, it must be said, generally speaking, that when co-operation is referred to Switzerland, it is the two most important branches thereof which are signified, that is to say, the agricultural co-operative societies and the authentic consumers' societies. And although consumers' societies come far behind in point of number, when reckoned in the sum total of co-operative societies, yet by virtue of their large membership, combined with the large turnover they possess and the unique propaganda apparatus at their command, the consumers' societies have attained to paramount importance in Swiss co-operative affairs; and this for the reason that the consumers' societies are the only co-operative organisations operating in accordance with the aims and ideals of the Rochdale Pioneers, and which, therefore, go far beyond the usual operation of business, and which, with the support of their members, conscious and unconscious, consequently work to establish a system of public economy and solidarity in place of the present system of profit economy and of competition in economic life; whereas, so to speak, all other co-operative societies regard co-operation as an auxiliary medium for improving or alleviating the dominant economic system of to-day and for upholding it always.

In the Swiss co-operative societies of the latter kind there are no cleavages on political or religious party lines. In the Swiss People's Bank, in the Furniture Insurance Company, and in the Dairy Societies all interests are united without regard to their politics or creed. But the distributive co-operative movement, unfortunately, is not altogether, in the same case. True it is that the greatest organisation—the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies, with head-quarters in Basle and embracing to-day (in round figures) 480 affiliated societies



with a collective membership of 360,000—has, since its foundation in the year 1890, represented the principle of the universality of the co-operative movement and that of neutrality in regard to questions pertaining to politics and religion, and this with the solitary exception that, in politico-economic questions, the consumers' interests must be safe-guarded. On the other hand, however, direct divergencies in the consumers' movement have taken place, Agricultural Co-operative Societies exist, which in all essentials are consumers' societies, but likewise make it their object to sell a part of their products—societies which in the main are organised in the Union of East Swiss Agricultural Co-operative Societies, whose headquarters are at Winterthur. Furthermore, the Christian-Social (Catholic) workers have organised a separate movement, inasmuch as they have founded the Konkordia Consumers' Societies, so termed, and have combined them into a union—the “Konkordia”—situated at Zurich. This “Konkordia” Union has for some years been affiliated to the International Co-operative Alliance. In addition to the foregoing there also are a few old consumers' societies existing in the form of joint-stock companies—societies which belong to no union and therefore have nothing to do with the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies because they stand not on a public-economy basis but on that of the economic conditions of the present day.

In the co-operative societies of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies the population is organised without regard to political or religious opinions, or avocation. One may indeed affirm that the fixed salaried class (comprising officials of the State, of the State railways, of the cantons, of the municipal, public and local government bodies, as well as the higher commercial and technical employees employed in transport, and in most private undertakings) and the wage earners are practically all members of consumers' societies, in so far as these exist in the respective neighbourhoods, which they do in nine-tenths of Swiss territory.

#### POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD

##### CO-OPERATION.

The very diverse conditions—constitutional, geographical, and orographical—prevailing in Switzerland, must also be taken into consideration as well as their bearings. Switzerland is not a unitary or centralised state but comprises twenty-five (in certain respects, sovereign) cantons containing populations speaking four languages (German, French, Italian, and Romansch) and dwelling peacefully, side by side. And along with thickly-populated industrial centres, such as Zurich, Basle, Geneva, and St. Gall, there are also thinly-populated mountain regions which are difficult of access and which are lacking in facilities for intercourse between different parts of the country.

Corresponding to this diversity of conditions is the diversity of

attitudes of political parties to the co-operative movement; for it must be noted that the division into twenty-five cantons forces political parties into twenty-five parts, and that the historic parties—the Radical or Radical-democratic party and the Catholic-conservative party—do not really possess a solid organisation or a unitary programme available for the country throughout, the only exceptions to this rule being the younger parties, that is to say, the Social-democratic party and the Christian-social party, the latter, as yet, forming a part of the Catholic-conservative party. In regard to co-operation two party programmes adopt a definite attitude, viz., those of the Social-democratic and Christian-social parties, in addition to that of the, by no means, large Democratic party of East Switzerland. But while all three programmes declare for the support and promotion of co-operation, the two first-named have the consumers' movement in their mind's eye, while the Democratic party is prepared also to promote the co-operative organisation of other circles of the population.

Recently there has also been established a real farmers' party which regards the promotion of agricultural co-operation as the chief part of its task. The Social-democratic party advocates—at least this was the case up to recently—not the establishment of separate workers' consumers' societies, but the organisation of all-embracing co-operative societies based on neutrality.

Thus the outcome is that in the establishment and administration of co-operative societies political influence is exercised not directly, but only indirectly through the committee-men elected, with the possible exception of the "Konkordia." If there should be, in a neutral co-operative society, a section with a definitely political or religious or ulterior trend, and this section were to claim a share of representation on the board in excess of its (the section's) proportionate strength in the society's membership, then the possible result would be that the members, imbued with different convictions, would be in a state of unrest, and injury to the society might be the sequel. Therefore, in large consumers' societies, there was inaugurated, twenty years ago, a system of election to the administrative boards which secures a fair representation to the minority by the exercise of its capabilities. And so elections are now conducted according to the system of proportional representation, in many places where the membership cannot keep quite clear of political-party conflicts, provision being made that no considerable section of the membership shall suffer injustice in the matter of representation; and this in great measure avails to secure peace in the societies in question and to unite for joint effort the otherwise-contending forces.

#### AS REGARDS CO-OPERATORS ON PUBLIC BODIES.

With regard to the possibility of active co-operators being placed on public bodies, we have, in this connection, to distinguish between

the communes, the cantons, and the Federal State. Least difficult it is to get co-operators elected to the local bodies, more difficult it is to get them elected to those of the canton, and most difficult with regard to those of the State. And in this connection the fact has to be taken into consideration that consumers' societies—and especially if they rightly fulfil their duties—have a profit-hindering effect. Consequently, all those voters who perceive their income lessened through the operation of the co-operative societies or have a similar apprehension with regard to the future are against the society and against those persons who are actively engaged therein, and deem it a matter of importance to prevent such co-operators obtaining a seat on public bodies. As these representatives of profit-trades and profit-capital possess great influence in the "bourgeois" parties, they have been able in the past, and have no great difficulty, as yet, in eventually bringing to grief co-operative friendly candidatures, even in areas where nearly every voter is a member of a co-operative society. The great mass of the members of co-operative societies have their election watch-word determined by their political party and not by the co-operative society, and they are in a position, when the political notes are appropriately struck, to prefer the sharpest representative of profit-capitalism to the tried and true co-operator who would represent their economic interests first and foremost.

As yet, it is the agricultural co-operators who have attained success at the cantonal or the parliamentary elections with most ease, and this because active work in agricultural co-operative societies constitutes a special recommendation to electors connected with agriculture. And in like manner, active work in co-operative organisations is no less advantageous to a candidate of the Social-democratic party, when his party controls the requisite number of votes in the electoral area. About thirty years ago the Swiss Social-democratic party, from Marxism pure and simple, combatted the stores movement, but some twenty years ago it changed its attitude and has since designated co-operation (along with trade unionism and the party itself) as a means to the attainment of the party's ultimate aim. To this programme the Social-democratic party has faithfully adhered, on the whole. But as a sequel to the war there have been, here and there, inside the Social-democratic party, voices clamant for the class war in the consumers' societies and even for transforming co-operative societies into compulsory organisations after the Russian model and for placing them under the dictatorship of the proletariat; but in view of the temperate attitude of the Swiss people to all economic problems there is no apprehension that the tendency in question will eventuate in any greater results.

#### CO-OPERATORS IN PARLIAMENT.

How many co-operatively-active persons have been elected to the Swiss Parliament is a question which cannot exactly be answered,

for the reason that it is not known with regard to every member, whether he has already worked co-operatively or is at least a member of co-operative societies. In view, however, of the great number of co-operative organisations and their multifarious spheres of operation, it may be taken for granted that every Swiss belongs to one co-operative society at least, though this constitutes no criterion that he thinks co-operatively or is an active propagandist in the cause. It may be stated *en passant* that there are co-operative societies on whose administrative boards there are persons whose interests are purely capitalistic.

The Swiss National Council or Chamber of Deputies numbers 189 members, 187 of whom belong to various groups, whilst the remaining two members are "independent" and belong to no party.

The strongest group—the Radical-democratic—which, up to a short time ago, represented the dominant party, comprises sixty-one members of whom one alone (National-Councillor Graf, scholastic-secretary in Berne) is known to have once belonged to the administrative board of his consumers' society; National-Councillor Gabathuler is president of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies of Canton St. Gall; National-Councillor Stadlin (Zug) has become an active member of the board of directors of the Swiss People's Bank; and National-Councillor Streuli (Winterthur) belongs to the supervisory board of the same institution. Of the other fifty-seven members of the National Council, it is very possible that the one or the other may be a member of a consumers' society, but, as regards the majority, it may be taken for granted that they are no friends of the consumers' co-operative movement, which fact, however, constitutes no hindrance to their occupying (nearly all of them) an honorary post in one co-operative society or another such as Furniture Insurance, Life Insurance, Hail Insurance, Electricity Supply, and so forth.

The Catholic-conservative group numbers forty-one members, of whom four at least represent the pronounced Christian-social trend. Two of this group (Bamberger, Zürich, and Jos. Scherrer, St. Gall) are connected with the "Konkordia" Union, whilst Z'graggen (Basle) is a member of the Board of the General Consumers' Society of both Basles and has been for six years. National-Councillor Zurburg, of Altstätten (St. Gall), the writer has met with at a consumers' society's general meeting, and of National-Councillor Petrig from Canton Valais, it is stated that he is closely connected with Christian-social co-operative societies. Herr Franz Moser-Schär, another member of this group, is president of the Union of Dairy Co-operative Societies of Central Switzerland.

The Social-democratic group also comprises forty-one members, all of whom, conformably to the party programme, should be friends of the consumers' co-operative movement, whereas odd individuals, such as Hauser (Basle town), have shown themselves to be pronounced opponents. Of the other forty members, Herr Eymann (Le Chaux-

de-Fonds) is manager of the United Co-operative Society in Le Chaux-de-Fonds; whilst the following members of the group have been, or are, to our knowledge actively engaged in the administration of consumers' societies—Greulich (Zurich), Höppli (Frauenfeld), Huber (Rorschach), Müri (Turgi), Naine (Lausanne), Schäublin (Bassersdorf), Schmid (Olten), Schneeberger (Berne).

In the group of the Farmers, Trades, and Burgher party—a group composed of twenty-eight members—there is a whole row of agricultural co-operators as, for example, Herr Freiburghaus (Berne), president of the Economic and Public Utility Company, of Berne Canton, a concern which has been in existence over 150 years; Herr Jenny (Berne), president of the Bernese Agricultural Co-operative Union; Herr Minger (Schüpfen-Berne), president of the Schüpfen Agricultural Co-operative Society; Herr Siegenthaler (Trub-Berne), Central President of the Swiss Milk Unions' Alliance; and Herr Wunderli (Winterthur), secretary of the Union of East Swiss Agricultural Co-operative Societies; the other agriculturally-active members of the group can also be designated as adherents and promoters of agricultural co-operation, whilst in Regierungsrat Tschumi, of Berne, the group possesses a member who, as Central President of the Swiss Trades' Association, regards the combating of the consumers' co-operative movement as his principal task.

The nine members composing the Liberal-democratic group (termed the millionaire group) has been elected on a programme which expressly combats public economy, but the only one known to adopt an actively hostile attitude towards consumers' societies is Herr de Dardel, from Neuchatel, formerly editor of *La Suisse Libérale* ("Liberal Switzerland").

The "Social-political" group contains seven members, four of whom belong to the extreme "bourgeois" left (which truly advocates social reform, but rejects and combats the principle of the class-war), while the other three represent the Grütliverein (national-minded Social-democratic party). These seven members are no less strenuous in their advocacy for the co-operative movement in the National Council, when co-operative questions come to the fore, than the members of the Social-democratic fraction. Of the seven members, the following are, or were, actively engaged in consumers' organisations: Hefti (Schaffhausen, formerly Hätzingen), Schär (Basle, the writer of these lines), Weber (St. Gall)—the latter in the St. Gall Joint-stock Consumers' Society.

Among the forty-four members of the States Council or Senate (elected by the cantons), there is not a single individual who can be designated as having been actively engaged in connection with consumers' societies. On the other hand it is known that here also individual friends of the movement are to be found. The outspoken friend of our movement who belonged to the State Council—Heinrich

Scherrer (St. Gall), ex-president of the International Labour Bureau—unfortunately died last winter.

Lastly, as regards the seven members of the Federal Council (or governing body like the ministry of other countries), it may be stated that there is not one amongst them so far who has made himself manifest in the matter of active co-operative practice; nevertheless, during the State economic regime, necessitated in Switzerland during the recent war period, some of these federal councillors displayed a certain goodwill towards the co-operative movement and appreciation thereof, and the chief of the Department of National Economy (Herr Schulthess) most of all. It may also be stated that the entire seven federal councillors prove themselves to be energetic friends of agricultural co-operation, a fact which is undoubtedly due to the importance gained by Swiss agriculture in supplying our country's needs.

#### AS REGARDS OFFICIALDOM.

To what extent the friends of co-operation are represented amongst the administrative officials of the State and the cantons it is impossible to say. The tendency of all official departments in Switzerland is to give no preference to co-operative societies (apart from those connected with agriculture) relatively to profit-enterprise concerns; hence any decided co-operative predilection amongst officials could have no influence on their official activity. At the same time there is no concealing the fact that among the higher officials, here and there, a certain lack of understanding with regard to the importance and true inwardness of consumers' societies is demonstrable—a lack of understanding which expresses itself in a certain disregard of the consumers' societies.

As regards the co-operators themselves and the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies first and foremost, it must be said that the latter claims no preferential treatment from the administrative authorities, but at the same time resolutely opposes all attempts to keep it in the background. From the same view point must the attitude of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies likewise be judged. As consumers belonging to all political parties must be able to work together, in the organisation, so the Union is also neutral in regard to all political parties. It gratefully accepts the support of the parties friendly to co-operation but without incurring any obligations towards them; and in case of attacks from representatives of other parties, it resolutely repels these onslaughts without its attitude towards the co-operators belonging to these parties being influenced or affected.

#### THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE.

A parliamentary committee such as co-operators have in England does not exist in Switzerland, but when co-operative interests have to be safeguarded against proposals brought before the legislature, the endeavour is made, in every instance, to interest the parliamentarians who are favourably disposed towards co-operation. And besides,

the parliamentary despatch of affairs, so far as Bills are concerned, does not amount to the same importance in Switzerland as it does in England, inasmuch as in Switzerland all laws are amenable to the Referendum—that is, to the decision of the whole electorate. Thus the co-operative societies, with their numerous adherents and their influential press, circulating in 300,000 families, have it in their power to urge a pressing demand for a referendum and to have it carried into effect. Likewise, in case of emergency, the popular Initiative (brought into operation through the medium of 50,000 signatures) is an appropriate means for bringing a definite question to the vote of the people and of the cantons. On two occasions up to now, the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies has promoted Referendum agitations or taken part therein, and two Initiative agitations it has supported likewise.

The Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies acts on the conception that the consumers' co-operative movement is high above all politically-separating momenta, and that it does not need the support of the political parties; and, thanks to the sound idea with which it is imbued, it will win through, be it with or without support, or even against the political parties.

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## CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT UNDER THE SOVIETS.

[For the following descriptive and historical account, we are indebted to the All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd.—“ARCOS,” ED.]

**T**O understand the position of the Co-operative movement in Russia at the present time it is necessary to view it in its relationship to the world situation in general, and to that of Russia in particular.

The imperialistic war has severely shaken the economic fabric of Europe, but in no other country has it wrought such radical changes going down to the very roots of economic life as in Russia.

The problem with which the world is faced is essentially one of food supply. The food situation became acute almost from the very beginning of the war, and already in 1916 in Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and in many districts in Russia it bordered on actual famine. Firm prices, the ration system, State regulations of various kinds were the means by which in Russia, as elsewhere, the Government attempted to solve the difficult conditions of food supply brought about by the ever-increasing breakdown of the capitalist economic machinery.

The situation thus created placed before the co-operative movement a task of extreme difficulty and responsibility.

About 1914 there were three main types of Co-operatives in existence in Russia—Co-operation of Supply (consumers' societies); Co-operation of Credit, and Co-operation of Purchase and Sale of the Producers' goods. Of these three the Co-operation of Supply was by far the best organised and developed. This can be seen from the following comparative figures: In 1913 the total turnover of the Centrosoyus, called at that time the Moscow Central Union of Consumers' Societies—an organisation embracing all the consumers' societies—amounted approximately to £800,000. In 1917 the total of transactions of the Centrosoyus rose to about £20,000,000.\* Private capitalist enterprises, particularly in the sphere of commerce, were but little developed in Russia, so much so, that co-operation had a relatively easy task in establishing itself, especially in the villages, where it very often acted as the pioneer in the matter of supply of the ever-increasing necessities of the village population.

The outbreak of war coincided with the moment of intense development of co-operation in Russia, which still received further impetus from the war as it made ever-increasing calls upon all the resources of the nation. Owing to the constant increase in the cost of living a great number of people were induced to become members of the

\* At pre-war rate of exchange.



Co-operatives in order to benefit by the advantages connected therewith. Even the Government of the Czar, in spite of its hostility to and mistrust of the co-operative movement, had to put up with the work of the Co-operatives owing to the great assistance they rendered in the matter of supplying the army with agricultural produce.

#### CO-OPERATION UNDER THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Revolution of February, 1917, inaugurated a new era for the co-operative movement in Russia. All the restrictions which were imposed upon it by the old regime were removed by the Provisional Government, which even published a law favourable to co-operation, giving it the widest possible scope of action. This is easily understood, since the Government depended almost exclusively on co-operation to solve the problems of supply.

The ever-growing importance thus gained by co-operation in the sphere of economic life of the country was irresistibly driving it in the direction of political activity. We find here exemplified the truth of the dictum pronounced by Saint Simon as far back as the beginning of last century, that "all politics must inevitably merge in economics."

Every economic activity sooner or later finds its reflex in the sphere of politics, and just as in England co-operators, by the sheer force of events, were ultimately driven on to enter the political arena in real earnest, so in Russia co-operation during the days of the February Revolution, was brought to the very forefront of political life. Both in Government institutions, as throughout the country, the co-operative movement had perforce to take a prominent part in the work of national re-organisation. This is evidenced by the fact that under the Government of Lvoff and Kerensky more than fifteen co-operators filled ministerial posts and under-secretaryships of State.

The political democratic Revolution, as exemplified by the Provisional and Kerensky Governments, was, as is well known, a short-lived one. New forces were gathering strength—the forces of the town and village proletariat, which challenged the bourgeois Government and finally overthrew it by the Revolution of October, 1917.

Thus the Bolsheviks came to power.

#### AFTER THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.

The old co-operators took up an attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the Bolshevik Revolution. The Council of Co-operative Congresses, which was formed at their Congress and which was to act as the central representation of all forms of co-operation, issued a manifesto denouncing the Bolshevik's "coup d'etat," and calling upon all the co-operators to fight them to the end.

The whole course of the co-operative movement since the advent of the Bolsheviks to power, cannot be understood apart from this

attitude of the old co-operators towards the Government of the Soviets. What is the cause of this hostility? It springs from the essential difference of principle underlying the orthodox type of co-operation as compared with those which govern the policy of the Soviets aiming at the establishment of a Socialist State. Modern co-operation is a child of capitalist relations in the sphere of production and exchange. Co-operation does not set itself primarily the task of destroying the institution of private property, but, by grouping people together for certain limited ends, confines its activity to a struggle against some form of capitalist exploitation. On the other hand, Socialism means the substitution of private by social ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange. Professor Gide rather narrows down the scope of Socialism when in his article on the "Tasks of co-operation in the new era," published in the last year's issue of the PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, he says that "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." Lenin, in his programme address delivered before the Soviets in April, 1918, said that a Socialist State can come into existence only as a net of production and consumption communes. He pointed out that in the achievement of this object and in facilitating the transition to mass distribution, the consumers' co-operatives must play a predominant part. It is with this object in view that the Soviet Government is framing its policy in such a way as to transform the co-operatives from an organisation serving the interests of their members only into one including the whole population.

#### FACTORS OF TRANSFORMATION.

The exclusive position in which co-operation was placed owing to the conditions of war had prepared the ground for such a transformation. Two factors are to be considered in this connection: the continuous depreciation of the value of paper money which *ipso facto* abolished the value of the shares subscribed by the members of the co-operative organisations, and the consequent and ever-growing dependence of co-operation upon grants advanced by the State for carrying out its operations. To this must be added the fact that many articles of general consumption, such as sugar, cloth, thread, nails, &c., were distributed exclusively through the Co-operatives. This brought about an enormous growth of the co-operative organisations which were joined by the people *en masse*, not so much because of any particular sympathy with the co-operative movement, but rather because there was no other way of ensuring the satisfaction of their needs. In many places, especially in small, out-of-the-way towns and villages, this often led to an undesirable state of things; consumers' societies were formed by the village grocer or miller, by local "fists" (sharp dealers), who, seeing their stocks going or gone, hoped with the aid of a co-operative shop to obtain a supply. It

stands to reason that such co-operative societies did not aim at ousting the middlemen but considered themselves as emergency organisations for tiding over the "difficult times."

#### CO-OPERATIVES TRANSFORMED INTO CIVIL SUPPLY STORES.

The need for co-ordinating and unifying the whole business of distribution and bringing it into line with the general social policy of the Soviets was given expression to in the Order issued in April, 1918. This Order instructs every consumer to become a member of a consumers' Co-operative, and stipulates that the co-operative societies which will be successful in incorporating the whole population of their localities stands to benefit by special advantages (for instance, the abolition of the tax of 5 per cent. levied on the total of turnover of all commercial institutions). The Order further stipulates that within the confines of each locality there may exist at the most only two co-operative societies: one for the "general" citizens, and the other for the workers.

#### THE WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATION.

This division needs explanation. The co-operative movement in Russia had evolved a distinctly working-class branch. The Workers' Co-operation came into existence after the Revolution of 1905 and acted as an autonomous and independent organisation. As an indication of the growth and importance of this movement may be cited the fact that in 1917 there were in Moscow and Petrograd districts unions of workers' Co-operatives, and several other unions composed chiefly of workers' Co-operatives existed in many other industrial districts.

For a long time the workers' co-operative organisations acted in agreement with the Centrosoyus, but already at the second Workers' Congress, held in April, 1918, a desire was expressed to have special representation in the organisations of the Centrosoyus. The gradual falling away of the Workers' Co-operation from the Centrosoyus and the evolution of the former in the direction of a distinctly Soviet policy crystallised at the third extraordinary Congress of the Workers' Co-operation, convened on December 6th, 1918. The election to the All-Russian Council of Workers' Co-operation resulted in a two-thirds majority for the adherents of the Soviets, which led to a demand presented to the Centrosoyus that two-thirds of the seats on the latter's board should be reserved for workers' representatives holding convictions favourable to the Soviets.

In case of non-compliance on the part of the Centrosoyus, a motion was put forward for the formation of a special workers' economic centre, and soon after this Conference a move was made for the organisation of an All-Russian Union of Workers' Co-operatives adhering to the principles of the Soviets. At the same time the Workers' Co-operative Council addressed to the Workers' co-operatives an

invitation to leave the Centrosoyus and to combine against it in Centrosections.

The All-Russian Conference of Workers' Co-operation convened in April, 1919, in connection with the creation of a workers' economic centre of their own clearly demonstrated that the departure begun in 1918 was gaining in momentum. In spite of the agitation the adherents of the Soviets secured a decisive majority.

This result was the more significant as it proved beyond doubt that the decrees of the Soviets of March 20th and April 3rd, 1919, which defined the constitution and functions of co-operation were approved by the labouring masses.

#### “THE CONSUMERS' COMMUNE.”

The main lines of the Decree of March 20th can be summed up as follows:—

In all towns and villages consumers' societies are to amalgamate to form a single organisation of distribution—“the Consumers' Commune.” The bases of the Commune are—in the towns and industrial centres, the workers' Co-operatives or, failing those, the general citizens' co-operative societies; in the villages, the rural distributive stores. The Consumers' Communes are to include the whole population of the locality, the duty of every citizen being to become a member of the Commune and to inscribe himself at one of the distributing centres. The affairs of the Commune are managed by a Board and a Controlling Council. The right to elect and be elected a member of all the administrative and controlling bodies of the Commune is based on the suffrage governing the election to the political institutions of Soviet Russia—that is to say, by a vote of all citizens who have attained eighteen years of age and support themselves by their labour. The task of distributing produce and articles of prime necessity passes to the Communes thus organised, which take over all existing co-operative stores of the Soviets, all depots and distributing centres and all productive enterprises belonging to the co-operative with all their assets and capital. The late members of the consumers' societies are paid back the value of their shares in strict conformity with the statutes of the respective societies.

#### UNIFICATION OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

The unification of all existing co-operative organisations is effected by the amalgamation of local Communes into district, provincial and regional unions, the provincial delegates electing the central body, the Centrosoyus.

The Decree of April 3rd, published as a supplement to the Decree of March 20th, provides for the nomination on the Board of Centrosoyus of representatives of the Council of People's Commissaries with a view to insuring the absolute control of Co-operation by the State. Seeing that Co-operation is now financed by the latter to the

extent of 90 per cent., this measure cannot be regarded as going beyond the legitimate limits.

The Decree of March 20th has thus completed the work initiated by the Workers' Co-operation.

The policy of the Soviets towards other forms of co-operation proceeds along the same lines, aiming at making them fit into the structure of the new social order evolved by the Soviets.

#### NATIONALISATION OF THE MOSCOW NARODNY BANK.

The Moscow Narodny Bank, the financial centre of co-operation in Russia, was nationalised by a Decree published in February, 1919, and transformed into the Co-operative Section of the People's Bank of the Federal Russian Republic of Soviets. The share capital of the Bank was abolished, and the shareholders became instead its creditors, the value of the shares held by them being transferred to their respective current accounts.

The same policy is manifest in respect of credit co-operation; it has for its object the transformation of credit societies into organs of supply of agricultural machines, implements, &c., for the agricultural population, and of disposal of the latter's products through the medium of Government centres. By a Decree published on January 27th of the current year all co-operative credit and loan saving societies, as well as their district, provincial and regional unions, are to be merged in the general consumers' co-operation to which pass over all the assets and liabilities, technical equipment and the staffs of the former.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVES OF KUSTARS.

The Soviet Government is exhibiting special tolerance to the co-operatives of Kustars (Russian peasant home industries). A Decree published on April 26th, 1919, laid it down that "undertakings of small Kustars and artisans are not subject either to municipalisation, nationalisation or confiscation (Clause 1), and in Clause 6 it invites local authorities to render every possible assistance to Kustars and artisans in respect of organisation of their unions and artels.

#### THE WORK OF ORGANISATION.

Thus the work of organisation goes on. It is not yet complete. There is much yet to be done for the consolidation and improvement of the all-important machinery of distribution, such as co-operation has become in Russia. But its main features and the general line of its development are already clearly discernible. Since the Decree of March 20th, 1919, co-operation in Russia embraces the whole population, and since January last all the co-operative organisations have been united in one national organisation, the re-organised Centrosioius, which thus represents all the consumers' interests. The present functions of co-operation in Russia consist not only in distribution but in the production and collection of products for various

Government departments with which it works in complete harmony. Co-operators continue also to carry on educational work, for although education has been in part transferred to the Commissariat of Education, they still have under their control not only co-operative educational organisations and institutes for co-operative instructors, but also schools for general education of children and adults, museums, cinemas, &c.

Co-operation thus, in conjunction and under the control of the Government is carrying on the all important work of restoration of the economic life of Russia shattered by long external and internal wars.

This work of re-construction will be greatly facilitated and enormously stimulated by peace, which has become a vital necessity not only for Russia but for the rest of the world.

Peace will open up trade between Russia and other countries, and in this, Co-operation is destined to play a part of paramount importance.

Events are moving in this direction. The long night is not yet over, but it is drawing to a close and through its mist one can already discern the dawn of a brighter day.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

A GREAT change in the organisation of the Co-operative Societies took place in April, 1920, and the Chairman (M. Lejava) is already (interview June 2nd, 1920) able to look forward to the handing over of the functions of the Food Commissariat to the Central Organisation of the Co-operative (the Centrosioius). At present the Centrosioius controls both certain productive enterprises and distribution. All citizens of whatever class are members of Co-operative societies. The workers are being educated in the principles of co-operation as laid down by Robert Owen. In its dealings with commodities the Centrosioius carries out the orders of the Supreme Economic Council with regard to the distribution

of State monopolised articles, and works according to the tariffs and categories laid down. The monopolised articles are wheat, bread, coal, sugar, textiles, fur, clothing, and timber. Other foods are not monopolised, but the Centrosioius, while working here as a voluntary organisation, adopts in practice the general economic plan as a guide and distributes goods according to the need for efficient workers, and not according to capacity for payment.

The Centrosioius has a representative on the Supreme Economic Council and the Chairman has the right to attend meetings of the People's Commissars although without power to vote.

From the "*Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia, 1920.*"

# YOU CO-OPERATORS

Wouldn't dream of buying your weekly groceries from any other source than the Co-op. That's the spirit of Co-operation—purchasing your necessities from the workers' own shops.

The same principle should apply to your daily newspaper. When you buy a capitalist morning paper, you negate to a great extent the attacks you are making on Capitalism through the medium of the C.W.S.

THE DAILY HERALD—the only Labour Daily in the United Kingdom—caters for the worker. Labour news and Labour views, combined with the ordinary daily happenings of life, help make the DAILY HERALD more interesting to the worker than any capitalist paper can be.

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## THE COURSE OF BRITISH CAPITAL.

A Survey of Operations during 1920.

NEW problems are facing the financiers of both the Old and the New Worlds. No longer is an international organisation of the bankers able to control the destinies of mankind. Joint stockism has taken control of the national resources and the spirit of adventure which led the bold mariners and traders of the Elizabethan age to distant lands, has been subjugated to the money making associated with Wall Street on the other side of the Atlantic and with Throgmorton Street on this. The love of quest and the impetus for discovery that animated the founders of the great trading corporations like the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company no longer operate. From the board rooms of prospecting and exploration trusts men are sent to justify the glamour of the prospectus. Should they strike oil, tap rubber, or discover gold, all is well; if not, the liquidation of the concerns brings further profit to the promoters and deeper plundering of the public pocket. During the years of war the company promoter was held in check; now he is boldly alluring the savings of the middle classes and the accumulations of the wealthy.

But the company promoter does not work in isolation nowadays; he hunts his prey from syndicated offices known as trusts or issuing houses, and the underwriters encourage operations by taking what he cannot sell and foisting it upon the public as the markets are advanced in their favour.

It must not be thought that only reprehensible practices prevail. It is all in the way of business—modern business. Before the war company ventures were so speculative that dividends of 10 per cent. were exceptional; but now such remuneration for capital has become the commonplace of the City. Preference shares with fixed interest at 5 or 6 per cent. are procurable so far below par as to earn a return of 9 or 10 per cent.—and that is done fairly and squarely by legitimate means. Nowadays all are able to join in the flutter and excitement of joint stock finance. For a while cotton mill speculation rivalled football betting as a pastime in Lancashire, and the small investor has been so well catered for in £1 shares that many companies which a few years ago would have scouted the idea of accepting owners of less than £1,000 shares are proud of the confidence that large numbers of £100 people have reposed in them.

So universal has become the interest in public companies that the matter should be studied carefully by those who seek to open avenues of finance of a more mutual character. I remember the stir in social religious and financial circles when a commission of bishops, having inquired into commercial and city results, decided that "five per



cent." was a reasonable and justifiable return for the capital involved in industrial enterprise. "Philanthropy at 5 per cent." was the slogan of semi-derision with which schemes of housing reform, garden city planning, and public house trusts were received in the early years of the present century. The illustrious censors of finance overlooked the fact that the co-operative movement had from early Victorian years sought to standardise 5 per cent. as the ruling rate of interest, surplus above which was devoted to the charitable, educational, and thrifty purposes now so enviously regarded by a Chancellor of the Exchequer almost out of his financial wits. But the war has upset traditional standards of values; even co-operators have had to revise their rates of remuneration of capital, and ecclesiastical admonitions no longer suggest modifications in the views of the City on interest. Hence the advancing profits of companies of all classes that I have recorded in these annual volumes beginning with 1917 has continued during 1920. That fact is easily established; alongside of it I would venture on the prophecy that the zenith of profit-making has been reached. The flowing tide of financial opulence has spent itself—and the ebb tide is setting in.

#### CAPITAL RAISED IN 1920.

Reviewing the registration of public companies during the first nine months of 1920, and the nominal capital required for the development of public and private company enterprise, the figures compiled by the *Stock Exchange Gazette* exhibit the variety of business offered to the public, and carry us back to the activity of pre-war years. The production and distribution of the daily necessities—grocery, provisions, drapery, clothing, etc.—still attract financiers. Gas, electricity and water concerns are becoming less and less the profit-making schemes of private capitalism. Transport and efforts to reach the raw materials of industry are figuring more largely in these returns, as shown on the opposite page.

These totals of the companies registered are suggestive of the optimism of the Money Market, an optimism only slightly shaken during the anxious period preceding the coal strike and during the actual progress of that industrial phenomenon.

In the review of British capital during the years of war I gave figures showing how, before the war, British capital was largely organised for the development of enterprises abroad. The exploitation of new countries, the establishment of colonial and foreign railways and the encouragement of mining, land and forest resources were responsible for a great proportion of the investments of people with money to spare. Russia, the South American Republics, South Africa, Australasia, Canada, and other distant lands attracted British savings. In 1911 out of £191,000,000 British capital to which the public were invited to subscribe, only £17,500,000 represented the issue of companies formed to operate in these islands. The proportion was 1 to

CAPITAL RAISED IN 1920.

Total Nominal Capital for First Nine Months of 1920.

COMPANIES.	ENGLISH.		SCOTTISH.		IRISH.	
	Public.	Private.	Public.	Private.	Public.	Private.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Aircraft .....	275,000	313,100	—	5,000	—	—
Agricultural .....	1,392,800	1,277,950	9,500	117,600	—	42,000
Bakery, confectionery, flour, &c. ....	820,000	3,242,300	35,000	132,000	—	73,000
Boot, leather and rubber goods .....	4,125,000	9,539,250	—	199,000	—	11,500
Breweries and distilleries	1,257,000	1,036,000	—	377,000	350,000	—
Chemical and medical ..	5,262,600	12,553,599	—	914,000	—	15,100
Cinemas, theatres and amusements .....	6,981,200	5,449,630	543,000	502,300	100,000	256,500
Coal and fuel .....	4,605,000	8,285,052	364,000	274,000	100,000	15,000
Drapery and clothing ..	14,651,500	8,791,357	150,000	1,144,000	—	366,000
Electric .....	3,130,000	2,290,700	—	74,500	17,000	52,000
Engineering and hardware	13,470,930	19,010,640	1,500,000	1,814,000	—	100,000
Finance, banking and investment .....	20,252,688	11,735,267	72,000	111,200	—	100,000
Furniture .....	415,250	3,791,955	—	47,500	—	12,000
Gas .....	797,220	105,000	22,500	—	—	8,000
Hotels, licensed trades and catering .....	1,412,000	2,726,600	46,000	273,200	—	26,000
Insurance .....	2,524,600	1,734,460	—	—	—	7,000
Jewellery, fancy goods and optical .....	250,000	2,301,300	—	173,000	—	12,000
Land, building, bricks, concrete, &c. ....	5,955,200	7,028,950	25,000	372,500	—	134,000
Mining and exploration ..	17,231,921	1,288,164	145,000	6,000	—	—
Motor, cycle, 'bus and haulage .....	10,776,200	8,430,050	5,000	482,730	5,000	176,800
Oil producing .....	12,311,100	1,736,510	—	—	—	—
Pottery, earthenware, glass, &c. ....	2,493,000	1,647,000	60,000	373,000	—	100,000
Printing, stationery, ad- vertising, publishing, &c.	9,968,000	6,289,350	600,000	229,000	—	12,500
Produce, provision, oil trades, &c. ....	23,430,721	12,434,162	125,000	1,063,100	—	317,000
Railways and tramways	1,100,000	565,060	—	—	—	—
Plantation, including rubber, tea, &c. ....	18,032,352	3,519,400	2,191,594	20,000	—	—
Shipping .....	39,208,543	21,168,606	180,000	1,778,500	—	396,000
Textile manufacturing ..	85,925,100	24,975,321	882,000	768,800	20,300	862,000
Timber .....	2,160,300	4,910,949	120,000	454,000	—	110,000
Tobacco .....	33,000	1,206,155	—	5,000	—	—
Water .....	—	6,000	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous .....	1,904,907	4,181,106	6,000	415,850	45,000	61,511
Grand totals .....	312,153,132	193,573,943	7,071,594	12,156,980	637,300	3,265,911
	£505,727,075		£19,228,574		£3,903,211	

11; in 1913 it was even less—£1 in £15 being for home purposes. In 1914 £40,000,000 were raised for home development, and £158,000,000 for other countries. Then came the shrinkage of the war years when the total of the new issues of capital were—

	£
1915.....	82,982,000
1916.....	34,743,000
1917.....	26,437,000
1918.....	65,330,000

In 1919 there was a leap to £237,540,000, considerably above

pre-war activity. And 1920 will go even higher. For the twelve months ended August 31st last, £408,666,000 was the new capital issue of joint stock concerns, while for the first nine months of 1920, 294 millions were raised, of which only 30 millions were for foreign countries and British possessions, and 264 millions for home purposes—the raising of local loans, housing, industrial development, manufacturing operative and distributive purposes. Some of this was along lines that directly compete with the undertakings of co-operators such as merchants and importers (capital raised  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions), manufacturing ( $61\frac{3}{4}$  millions), stores and trading (4 millions), patented and proprietary articles (1 million). We are thus partially able to gauge the extent of the task to which the system of voluntary co-operation federated in the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. is committed—a task by no means impossible if the fidelity of the 4,000,000 individual co-operators could be as strongly [exercised in the matter of savings as in the way of trade.

#### COMBINATIONS AND AMALGAMATIONS.

The tendency for companies to become wholly self-contained is increasing, and absorptions to that end have been of weekly occurrence during the year. Manufacturing concerns have sought to get to the control of raw materials, and distributing companies have become linked with the owners of factories and mills. This policy has been greatly accelerated in connection with food supplies, and Sir George Watson, who confided to the Maypole shareholders that the turnover of their companies is at the rate of £31,000,000 per annum, also told them that the only amalgamations that would tempt them to new enterprises would be those calculated to secure the necessary raw materials for their business. Along such lines Aplin & Barrett and the Western Counties Creameries Ltd., have acquired many cheese factories for the supply of their customers in the retail grocery trade. Messrs. Crosse & Blackwell Ltd., not satisfied with owning or controlling the businesses of James Keiller & Son, and Lazenby & Son, raised £2,500,000 new capital and obtained possession of Batger & Co. and A. Cairns & Sons, thus giving them a larger influence in settling prices as well as increasing production. This was followed by the formation of another concern, E. & T. Pink & Plaistowe (Proprietary) Ltd. Their sales for 1919 exceeded two and three-quarter millions, the output of jams and marmalade being 24,000 tons, and about 7,500 tons of confectionery. Of the authorised capital of £1,500,000, £900,000 has been issued. Another notable combination dealing with the food supply of the people was the Fruit & Produce Exchange of Great Britain—an amalgamation of nine firms which did an agency or commission business aggregating £1,427,000 per annum. This was issued with a capital of £1,250,000, and there was a prospect of other firms joining the combination. Harris (Colne) and the General Produce Co. is a new combination of half a dozen bacon and produce

houses with a capital of £2,500,000. Peek Frean & Co. on a paid-up capital of £800,000 issued 500,000 8 per cent. cumulative preference shares at par. Later a declaration of 15 per cent. interest free of tax was equivalent to 42 per cent. less tax, on the old capital. Firms engaged in milling are becoming fewer in number and greater in power. Mr. Joseph Rank's activities now extend beyond his mills at Liverpool, interests having been acquired in mills at Birkenhead, Edinburgh, and Selby, and Spiller's Associated Industries have become linked with W. Vernon & Sons, the Liverpool flour millers. During the year several provision businesses in South London have been acquired by John Quality—a name that has appeared over many grocery and provision shops in the residential areas of the Thames, and which is generally credited with being a subsidiary enterprise of the Selfridge concern that is going out into the provinces generally. During the year Van den Bergh's issued their report for 5½ years showing profits of over half a million per annum. This firm has nearly 40 factories in Europe, the major part of its productions being margarine, condensed milk, soap and oil products.

#### MULTIPLE SHOPS AND DAILY NECESSITIES.

Truly capital is becoming more cohesive and the elimination of competition by the amalgamation of great companies is threatening monopolies in several directions. It may be true, as in the case of margarine, that official inquiries can find no evidence of rings or syndicates; but the public naturally becomes suspicious when manufacturing firms are absorbed into their rivals or the prices of their productions advance on the same day in similar proportions. Lyons, the A.B.C., and other catering firms which refresh the people in London, are separate entities, but their patrons could not help thinking there was some previous discussion before the tariff for the cup of tea was increased to 3½d. in all the shops on the same day. Possibly this was necessary to restore the dividends on the ordinary shares of Lyons to the 42½ per cent. pre-war level. Steadily the number of makers of daily requirements is lessening, and Hargreaves Bros. & Co., of Hull, who recently issued the now familiar Eight per cent. Cumulative Preference shares, not only makes its own polishes, but owns or controls such household firms as W. G. Nixey, Ltd.; Day & Martin, the Aladdin Polish Co., the Radium polishes, and Zog.

All the concerns supplying the needs of the people have made records in every direction. The stocks of Lipton's rose from £1,349,600 to £2,150,000, and the turnover advanced 30 per cent., the profits of £415,700 enabling the payment of a dividend of 12½ per cent. The Home & Colonial Stores made a profit of nearly half a million. The Meadow Dairy Co. has acquired a dominant interest in Peark's Dairies and also considerable influence with Brougths. At the beginning of 1920 it had 473 establishments and 18 were in course of opening. The value of the Tower Tea Buildings rose, on re-valuation, by £15,000,

and the directors were able to reduce the goodwill by £20,000. Harrods made an increase of £1,850,000 in their turnover. Further evidence of the advance of the multiple shop principle is seen in the 700 chemists' shops connected with the Boots enterprise now associated with an American house.

During the year a dozen of the multiple shop companies in the footwear industry raised their dividends which fluctuated between 5-15 per cent. in 1914 to 10-25 per cent. The Public Benefit Boot Co. which has 143 retail shops and six boot repairing works in the North and Midlands, was able to show profits of £125,000 in 1919, when making a public appeal for capital. This profit was six times the amount of six years before. One notable feature of the development of multiple shop concerns is the endeavour to secure the financial interest of as large a number of consumers as possible, and Lotus Ltd. which is a company formed to sell the boots made by Messrs. E. Bostock & Co. secured 2,000 shareholders for an issue of £188,150 7 per cent. cumulative preference shares.

#### TEXTILE DEVELOPMENTS.

Big combinations have become the usual thing in the textile trade. Fortunately for the stability of finance and the security of the leading export industry the boom in cotton mill shares has fizzled out and the last owners of the capital are now wondering whether they are likely to receive opulent dividends on the inflated values. While company speculation has enveloped the Lancashire cotton trade in the trying atmosphere of joint stockism, the Yorkshire woollen industry continues to be carried on by private firms with experienced partners actually acquainted with the business. But the disposal of the Illingworth interests in Bradford to Amalgamated Textiles Ltd., suggests that the company promoter is seeking fresh fields of operation. During the year the Fine Cotton Spinners raised their capital to ten millions; the acquisition of John Haslam & Co., Ltd., by the Amalgamated Cotton Mills, involved a three million pounds deal, and the combination of thirteen mills with 785,258 mules and 116,604 spindles known as Crosses & Winkworth Consolidated Mills Ltd. was created with a capital of £7,000,000. A significant fact was the association of Messrs. Sperling & Co., the great London financiers, with the underwriting of several Lancashire cotton concerns. Bonus shares have become a familiar means of dividing profits which hitherto would have been distributed in the form of dividends. Among the concerns that have thus divided the "melon" with their shareholders are Courtaulds, Lister & Co., Fine Cotton Spinners, Joshua Hoyle and Sons, Woolcombers Ltd., English Sewing Cotton, and the British Cotton and Wool Dyers.

Harrods' Stores has shown a progressively absorbing character. The concern commands a purchasing power of over £15,000,000 of merchandise per annum. For not only does it control Swan & Edgar,

Dickins & Jones, and Kendal Milne & Co., but it directs the supplies to Harrods (Buenos Ayres) Ltd., with which the South American Stores of the same city has been amalgamated. Moreover I learn that having become large distributors, Harrods' are now increasing the manufacturing side of the business supplying goods from their own factories to their own shops—just as co-operative societies have been doing since the earliest days of the movement. During the last financial year the net profits were £583,635 from which 20 per cent. was paid on the ordinary capital. In addition, shareholders received a *bonne bouche* in the form of a bonus of one ordinary share for each three held. Despite the allocation from the reserve fund that asset stood at £1,400,000—more than half the authorised and issued capital of £2,150,000.

#### STEEL AND SHIPPING.

Developments in the coal, iron, and steel industries have been considerable and intensive. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., have added civil engineering to their other branches; the General Electric Co. has acquired other companies; the English Electric Co. Ltd. is now associated with Siemen's Bros. & Co.; Agricultural Industries Ltd., is a combination of a dozen well-known engineering firms; Harland & Wolff, the Belfast shipbuilders, have acquired a controlling interest in David Colville & Sons, Ltd., the iron and steel manufacturers; the United Steel Companies are acquiring shares and direction of many kindred concerns; Mr. D. R. Llewellyn is now the owner of a twentieth of the South Wales coalfield; Guest, Keen & Nettlefold, Stewart's & Lloyd's, the Leeds Forge Co., and other concerns, have absorbed rivals in various directions. Harper Bean Ltd. is a typical example of what is happening in the motor trade, this being an amalgamation of several firms making cars and producing the materials for the various parts. It has a capital of £6,000,000, and its chairman is also the chairman of the British Motor Trading Co. that has opened showrooms in many centres. Equally comprehensive has been the amalgamation in the shipping trade. Elder, Dempster & Co. have property and assets valued at £11,460,700; the income of the Cunard Co. jumped to £9,201,700, and the net profit of Furness, Withy & Co. rose to £1,004,800, that of the White Star Line being £1,746,624. During the year the Union Cold Storage Co. increased its capital by £2,700,000, and took over fifteen refrigerated steamers controlled by the Blue Star Line. This unity of aim finds expression in the smaller, as well as the bigger, companies, as is well illustrated in the case of Messrs. Eastwoods Ltd., the London brick and builders' material merchants. They have added to their facilities for distributing their goods by securing fifteen wharves on the Thames, and forty-one barges for river and coastal traffic, thus saving the profits that would otherwise go to the owners of vessels and wharves handling their merchandise.

Right at the top of the list of multiple concerns is that of Lever Bros. with Lord Leverhulme as the inspiring and directing force. How the swallowing-up process develops is well illustrated in the case of the Eastern & African Trading Corporation which, after absorbing a number of rivals, is now entering the Lever circle. It had a turnover of £22,000,000 per annum, mainly in West African produce, and a short time since purchased a Norwich chocolate works in order to find an outlet for some of its produce. Now it is likely to go the way of 130 other concerns that are in the Lever combination. There are sixty-seven firms in the United Kingdom which are now controlled by Lever Bros. They make soap, candles, disinfectants, margarine and cattle food, and also carry on business as West African merchants, oil extractors, and refiners. Then there are fifteen Lever concerns in Belgium, France, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, and Norway; five in Japan, China, and India; twelve in Australasia, eight in Canada, twenty in Africa, and two in South America—a veritable international alliance. The authorised capital of Lever Bros. is £130,000,000, of which a third, £46,000,000, has been issued.

#### PROFITS ON THE HIGH LEVEL.

There seems no limits to the profits possible by limited liability companies—so far as the public are willing to support such enterprises by their trade. The *Economist* review of the Industrial profits declared by 1,406 companies between July, 1919, and June, 1920, showed a total of £119,208,961, as against £98,507,899 in the previous year, an increase of 21 per cent. How well the shareholders fared may be gleaned from some of the groups as itemised by the *Economist* on July 17th, 1920. I take only those relating to daily necessities, viz., food and clothing. But the figures are typical of the others, as well as significant as to the actual situation:—

	No. of Companies	Net profits in year ended June 30th, 1920.	Percentage increase.	Debenture, Preference, and Ordinary capital, in millions.	Interest on Ordinary capital.	Rate year ago.
		£		£		
Hotels, restaurants, &c	31	1,524,880	56	16	10.8	8.1
Shops and stores . . . .	50	7,505,967	26.8	36	22.4	12.2
Textiles . . . . .	39	13,493,177	38	58	23.1	19.0

The food supply of the people makes profitable investment for many of the concerns. Liebig's Extract of Meat paid 25 per cent. interest; Henry Tate & Sons, 30 per cent.; J. Lyons & Co., 42½ per cent. Maypole paid 100 per cent. on their deferred shares, and Maynard's 50 per cent. as compared with 10 per cent. before the war. The list might be extended indefinitely, but perhaps is best supplemented by bringing up-to-date the comparative table of the value of typical stocks as given in previous years.

## A NEW SPIRIT.

The foregoing notification of some of the movements of prominent companies during the past year will serve as evidence in proof of the general impression that, under the ægis of the joint stock idea, all industry is tending towards monopoly. Amalgamations are preventing the competition that previously kept prices down; competition is swallowed up in co-operation that is manipulated by financiers and not inspired and directed by the consumer. Therein lies a great difference. But quite as significant as the growing combination is the new spirit that is suffusing the company world in many directions. Directors are beginning to recognise that the cash nexus cannot continue as the sole link between the operative and his work. There must be an interest in the results. It may take various forms and sometimes the actual value may be elusive; but the work of joint stock concerns now flourishes most in an atmosphere which is an amalgamation of co-operation and the benevolent attitude of the personal employer who organised industry before the company promoter showed his hand. At one time schemes of profit sharing were thought to be the solvent of the industrial ills; now welfare work and similar departmental activities seem to be a popular phase. Thus Messrs. J. Lyons & Co., whose wages bill increased by a million sterling in 1919, and is constantly advancing, have established a fine club ground at Sudbury, to which the London members of their staff of 16,000 employees have full access. And when a public appeal was made for new 8 per cent. preference capital in the summer, assistance was given employees in subscribing to the same. Similar encouragement has been a feature of many prospectuses and there are more concerns than ever before in which the employees own considerable capital. The Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron, & Coal Co. has 34,000 workmen and they could, by the strength of their votes as shareholders, entirely control the company if their average holding was £72 each. It is rather less than £30 each, with the result that the 10,000 shareholders possessing the rest of the capital have a larger voting power in the selection of the directors, and, of course, exercise their privilege, while the employees are as apathetic in voting for directors as are thousands of co-operators in attending the business meetings of their societies. Maypole employees own 670,000 Maypole trust shares, and the employees of Lever's companies have over a quarter of a million in the business. The establishment of pension and superannuation funds has become a feature of modern industry, and the allocation of £50,000 by the Bradford Dyers' Association for the superannuation of employees, is but one example of a general practice among the great capitalistic concerns. In fact the pension fund is now a valuable means of recognising faithful service and, at the same time, encouraging the younger men to look forward to promotion—thus quickening the internal interests in great concerns. Moreover the employees of the Bradford



Dyers hold £320,000 share capital, and the directors have granted thirteen travelling scholarships of £300 each for the study of foreign languages, the applicants to be in the textile trade.

And amid all the changing views of industry represented by the inauguration of this new spirit on the old financial methods the speculative element continues to attract the owners of capital. Its casual and fictitious value is best recorded in the revisal of the table given in previous issues of THE YEAR BOOK showing the fluctuating quotations of a score of representative British securities:—

	Quotation, July 27th, 1914.	Quotation, Oct. 31st, 1918.	Quotation, Nov. 6th, 1919.	Quotation, Oct. 27th, 1920.
Allsopp's Ordinary (£100) .....	£10	£52	£110	£70
Watney Combe Deferred (£100) ....	£31	£105	£190	£145
Bengal Iron .....	£2 $\frac{3}{4}$	£5 $\frac{7}{8}$	£11 $\frac{1}{8}$	£2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brown (John) and Co. ....	25s. 6d.	39s. 6d.	32s. 6d.	23s. 6d.
Cammell Laird (£1).....	£4	£6 $\frac{1}{4}$	22s. 6d.	18s. 6d.
Cargo Fleet .....	7s. 6d.	27s.	28s.	21s.
Bleachers Ordinary .....	18s.	21s.	34s. 3d.	36s.
Bradford Dyers .....	22s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	50s. 9d.	42s. 6d.
Calico Printers .....	8s. 9d.	16s. 3d.	24s.	24s. 6d.
Courtaulds .....	£2 $\frac{5}{16}$	£7 $\frac{15}{16}$	£11 $\frac{13}{16}$	£7 $\frac{1}{2}$
English Sewing Cotton .....	36s. 9d.	£3 $\frac{1}{4}$	£4 $\frac{11}{16}$	£1 $\frac{13}{16}$
Fine Spinners .....	32s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	78s. 9d.	£2 $\frac{3}{8}$
British and Argentine Meat .....	7s. 6d.	25s. 3d.	26s. 6d.	21s.
British Oil and Cake Mills .....	14s. 3d.	35s. 9d.	48s.	43s.
Bryant and May .....	£1 $\frac{5}{32}$	£2 $\frac{11}{32}$	£1 $\frac{25}{32}$	£1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dunlop Rubber .....	£2 $\frac{3}{16}$	£4 $\frac{11}{16}$	£10	29s.
Eastman's .....	11s. 9d.	15s. 3d.	20s. 6d.	24s.
Lipton's .....	17s. 6d.	27s. 3d.	31s. 9d.	24s.
Maypole Dairy Deferred .....	19s. 9d.	19s. 9d.	20s. 6d.	10s. 6d.
Nelson Bros. ....	18s. 9d.	27s. 6d.	£2 $\frac{1}{16}$	£1 $\frac{11}{16}$

After an orgy of profit making and profit taking those who purchased shares at 1919 values are now left in the doldrums of depreciation. Co-operative enterprise based on the idea of production for utility, rather than for profit, gives a security for the investor that the joint stock system never knew.

W. H. B.

## ESTATES AND DEATH DUTIES.

Of the estates which became liable to Death Duties during the past year, 243 of them ranged individually from £100,000 to £500,000; 20 between £500,000 and £1,000,000; eight between £1,000,000 and £2,000,000; and two over £2,000,000 each. The collective value of the 10 millionaire estates amounted to 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  million pounds sterling. What the State receives from Death Duties may be seen from the net receipts of Death Duties for the last five years.

1913-14 .. .. .	£27,165,123	1916-17 .. .. .	£31,192,146
1914-15 .. .. .	£28,542,571	1917-18 .. .. .	£31,674,000
1915-16 .. .. .	£30,937,982	1918-19 .. .. .	£31,735,498

## THE RING IN THE SALT TRADE.

IN May, 1920, there was issued the Report of the Sub-committee appointed by the Standing committee on Trusts to enquire into the existence and effect of a Ring in the Salt Trade. The following is the official summary of conclusions:—

(a) There is in the salt industry a Trade combination, viz., The Salt Manufacturers' Association.

(b) This Association fixes—directly or indirectly—the manufacturers' selling prices for 95 per cent. of the salt sold in this country.

(c) Except for small retail transactions, the Association fixes, at all stages, the prices at which most of the salt sold in London is sold.

(d) Neither the quantity of salt produced by manufacturers outside the Association nor of imported salt is at present sufficient to affect adversely the business of the members of the Association or to cause a reduction in price.

(e) The action of the Association has increased very materially the prices of salt in this country.

(f) The Association has abolished the price-cutting which formerly made the salt trade barely remunerative and has made the trade remunerative to both manufacturers and merchants.

(g) The standard of prices aimed at and achieved is such as has enabled the manufacturing company responsible for 60 per cent. of the total output of this country and whose costs of production are highest (viz., The Salt Union), to make instead of a loss on salt, a profit, which in combination with the profit on other trading has sent their shares to a substantial premium upon the reduced nominal value (claimed by the Salt Union to be a fair representation of the company's assets).

(h) Whilst admitting that the dividend paid by the Salt Union for the financial year 1918 on the ordinary shares was equal to only 6 per cent. on their original nominal value, we find that the revenue made in that year from all sources was sufficient to provide, *inter alia*, for—

- (1) The payment of 15 per cent. on the actual ordinary share capital (as reduced in 1902 to represent the assets of the Company).
- (2) An addition to reserve of £50,000, equal to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the reduced ordinary share capital; and
- (3) an expenditure of £100,000 for current repairs, in addition to £100,000 for deferred repairs, the latter (which will not presumably be a recurrent item) being no less than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the ordinary share capital.

(i) The prices ruling on December 31st, 1919, were such as to give to the Salt Union (together with other trading) results differing little from those referred to in paragraph (h) and to give other manufacturers who produce salt more cheaply than the Salt Union a very liberal profit on that commodity.

(j) We are decidedly of opinion that no justification can be shown for any further increase in the prices ruling on December 31st, 1919, unless and until the cost of labour and/or fuel increases, and then only in proportion to such increase in cost of production.

(k) We think that with a view to reduction in the cost of manufacture and in the selling prices, the possibility of improvement in methods of production should have received more attention in the past than it appears to have received. We understand that considerable regard is now being paid to this subject.

(l) There is no evidence of a monopoly of brine supplies, nor is there any actual shortage of manufactured salt.

(m) In view of the low price of salt in relation to weight, the prevailing high cost of means of transport is an important factor in the price to the consumer.

### ADDENDUM.

Since the above report was written, it has come to our knowledge that on May 1st an all-round increase of 5s. 6d. per ton was made in the manufacturers'

prices fixed by the Association. Upon enquiry we are told that this is necessitated by an increase of wages of 8s. per week, and an increase in the price of coal of 2s. 2d. per ton due to increased railway rates, since July, 1919 (when the price of salt was last increased). Moreover, we are now informed that a further increase of wages of 3s. per week, which comes into operation on June 1st, and the recently announced increase in cost of industrial coal, of 4s. 2d. per ton will necessitate a further increase in the price of salt of 1s. 6d. and 3s. 2d. per ton respectively, making 4s. 8d. in all.

During our investigation we were told by the representative of the Association that although there had been

several increases in wages since the price was last fixed, the trade had decided not to increase the price to cover them.

These increases are based on the scale submitted to, but not approved by, the Ministry of Food. Without a thorough accountancy examination of the books of the salt manufacturers, we are not able to state whether that scale is a correct and reasonable one. If, however (as seems to us probable), it is based on the cost of production by the open pan method, with direct coal fires, on the costs of production of the Salt Union in Cheshire, then it cannot be admitted as a justifiable basis for increasing the selling prices of the entire produce of all the Salt Manufacturers.

## THE BANKING ORGANISATION.

THE banking organisation of the country differs from every other "industry." The total paid-up capital of the five large banks—"the big five"—amount to rather over £43,000,000, but their aggregate deposits amount to over £1,548,000,000. They are the custodians of the surplus resources of the people, resources which they utilise for the benefit of the shareholders. We are not denying that the banks perform a necessary and valuable service in mobilising these surplus resources and putting them to productive use; but we would point out that the function is one which, under modern

conditions, ought not to be left to virtually uncontrolled private agencies.

The stock-in-trade of the banks is derived from the combined resources of the people as a whole. Their funds are the people's funds, and the realisation of democratic ideals necessitates that the banks should be popular institutions.

We suggest, therefore, that the banks should be brought under the control of the Government. The banking functions of the Post Office, which have little in common with its main activities, could then be transferred to the national banks.—*Interim Report on Money and Price.*

\* The London Joint City and Midland Bank; Lloyd's Bank; the London, County Westminster and Parr's Bank; the National Provincial and Union Bank of England; and Barclay's Bank.

## AMERICAN NEW CAPITAL.

ACCORDING to the Bulletin of the Bankers' Trust Co., New York, capital issues in the United States in 1919 far surpassed the amount of the previous highest year, which was 1912. The comparative figures for these years are 1912, \$2,253,587,300; 1919, \$3,021,171,300, or in British normal equivalents £450,717,460 and £604,234,260.

During the first four months of 1920 the American business demand for new capital totalled \$1,288,440,500 (£257,688,100).

## GOVERNMENT INVESTMENTS.

### HOLDINGS IN JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

THE following is a summary of the official figures (issued by the Treasury) "showing the amount of public money invested in registered companies by His Majesty's Government." It will be seen that the only pre-war investments are those comprising the Suez Canal Shares, the advances to the Cunard Co., and the first instalment of a total of £5,200,000 in Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

Department.	Names of companies.	Amounts invested.			Date of Investments.
		£	s.	d.	
Ministry of Food* . . . .	British Farina Mills, Ltd.	325,000	0	0	Seven investments, May 2, 1918, to June 11, 1919.
Board of Trade . . . . .	British Dyestuffs Corporation, Ltd.	1,700,001	0	0	{ July 17, 1919 { Aug. 19, 1919
	Turkish Petroleum Co.	22,105	5	0	{ Jan. 1, 1919 { Nov. 25, 1919
	British America Nickel Corpn. (of Canada).	629,618	6	1	Six investments, Dec. 29, 1916, to Aug. 10, 1918.
Ministry of Shipping . .	The Standard Shipbuilding and Engineering Co., Ltd.	656,250	0	0	Two investments, 1918.
	Messrs. Edward Finch and Co. (1916), Ltd.				
	The Chepstow Property Co., Ltd.				
Treasury . . . . .	Suez Canal Co. . . . .	4,050,000	0	0	1875.
	Cunard Steamship Co.	†2,600,020	0	0	26 dates between Oct. 1, 1904, and June 1, 1907.
	Anglo-Persian Oil Co.	5,200,000	0	0	Ten investments, July 22, 1914, to Mar. 22, 1920
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	Home Grown Sugar, Ltd.	187,500	0	0	{ April 26, 1920 { July 2, 1920
Ministry of Munitions..	British Cellulose and Chemical Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	1,450,000	0	0	Feb. 28, 1920.
Foreign Office . . . . .	Commercial Bank of Siberia.	1,198,371	8	7	Feb., 1918.

(\*) The Ministry of Food is also interested in The Wheat Exports Company which was formed by the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies, with a capital of \$500, divided into 10 shares of \$50 each, and registered in the names of the members of the Wheat Commission stationed in America.

(†) Of this sum £1,560,000 has been repaid, and the equivalent stock cancelled.

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1916	- -	£18,800	1920	- -	£73,269

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## SCIENCE AND WORK.

### BRITISH WEALTH UNSTABLE WITHOUT SCIENTIFIC APPLICATION.

**W**HEN the economic history of the great struggle of 1914-18 comes to be written, it will appear that Britain came very nearly to disaster because of her neglect of scientific work.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF NEGLECTING SCIENTIFIC WORK.

Very early in the war I was brought to realise this as a member of a War Committee which had cause to investigate the sources and production of important materials. Our soldiers had hardly begun to use cartridges, or our artillery to fire shells, when we found that we were in desperate straits to obtain supplies of what is called "fine zinc." Fine zinc is merely spelter which contains very little foreign material. It is absolutely necessary for the production of brass good enough for cartridge and shell cases. I shall never forget the humiliation of discovering that Britain, the old-established workshop, had practically no works to produce fine zinc, while the Germans were past masters in the art. So, in great haste and with anxious care, we had to discover how to come by fine zinc in the midst of the greatest war of history.

So also it was with high explosives. Let it not be thought that this was a matter which solely concerned war industries: far from it. High explosive is simply one of the many scientific products which are derived from coal. We had neglected it in common with many others of the products locked in coal and to be released only by scientific work. From coal can be obtained not merely power, but manure, medicines, oils, spirits, colouring matters, photographic materials, and a host of other things. We, the possessors of some of the finest coal in the world, had neglected all these splendid trades, while Germany had prosecuted them. Thus, the fact that the war found us without high explosive not merely meant that we had neglected war industries: it is all-important to observe that it meant that we had neglected nearly all the coal industries. We had even neglected scientific coke-making.

Next let us turn to a different order of industry—the optical industries. We found ourselves short of optical glass, and therefore unable to make field glasses, periscopes, gun sights, and so forth. Then we set our scientific men to work as they had never been set to work before, and in the middle of a great war we did more for the British optical trades than had been done in the previous thirty years. This was not accomplished, however, until we had seriously paid for our neglect. In the early days of the war binoculars were at a premium, and I was charged twelve guineas for a pair of German glasses which

the German maker had probably exported to this country before the war for about three pounds. It was rather sad to find that, while we did not possess an optical industry worth the name, we did possess plenty of profiteers ready to overcharge officers for field glasses or revolvers.

#### GERMAN INDUSTRIAL SCIENTIFIC WORK.

It was just because scientific work had been so greatly neglected by our manufacturers that the Ministry of Munitions was so hard put to it to obtain supplies. We had suddenly to do what ought to have been done during many years of grave neglect. We had to build where already there should have been a properly furnished building. I am very anxious for it to be understood that this is not a matter which concerns war primarily. War industries and peace industries are nearly allied. Some people amuse themselves by the supposition that Germany solely devoted her energies to war and preparations for war, and that that was why we had so many difficulties. This is a very erroneous view of the situation. German scientific work was devoted just as thoroughly to peace matters as to war matters, and, as I have said, the two things run together. For example, the fact that Germany could produce zinc was a great help to her peace industries, and her brass trade was much better than ours, as was discovered by the Committee of Investigators who visited the Berlin brass works just before the war.

And if we turn to trades which have nothing whatever to do with war, as, for example, the making of pianofortes, or the breeding of canaries, we find that Germany was as far ahead of us as she was in war industries. What could be further removed from war than the making of a beautiful musical instrument, or the breeding of song birds? Yet, in both these trades, treated scientifically as they deserve to be, Germany had enormous exports and could sell her products in any market of the world against any competition whatsoever, and in spite of import duties, however high.

And so it was with colouring matters and with medicines. German dyes were supreme because German scientific investigation had made them so. Some people solace themselves with the reflection that the first crude aniline, magenta, was made by an English chemist; it is a poor consolation. The Germans did not content themselves with fugitive aniline dyes. They pursued the subject until they produced permanent colours of a thousand beautiful shades suitable for every purpose. They invented an artificial indigo prepared in handy form so that the dyer knew exactly the result he could get from it. And even to-day, in spite of all the war work which was done, we still do not know many of the German dye secrets. And so with medicines. When we use aspirin to relieve a headache, we employ a German invention.

## SCIENCE AND ARTISTRY.

In the old world of work there was plenty of room for what may be called crude, rough-and-ready, rule-of-thumb manufacturing. In the world that was you could sell unscientific products, badly shaped, without difficulty. In the world that is to come those nations will prosper who combine science with artistry in the production of refined and perfected articles of good design. In many shop windows I see too many evidences that there are a large number of British manufacturers who are not only content to go on in the old way, but who are actually taking advantage of the temporary absence of competition to produce even worse articles than before the war. I see exhibited crudely finished pianofortes which are a disgrace to those who make them. I have seen in a London dealer's window a cheap pianoforte got up with several different names on gilt transfers, which were evidently fabricated to meet the great demand which exists for musical instruments. It made me indignant to see such products offered to consumers. In poor and middling-poor neighbourhoods one sees earthenware of the most vulgar and gaudy type offered at high prices to an unfortunate public. In the time to come, when Europe gets properly to work again, such stuff cannot stand against the competition which will be experienced.

What is true of science is true of art. And in many respects the two things are most closely linked together. For example, a pianoforte is in one sense an artistic production; in another sense it is a highly scientific article, which only gains its artistry out of science. To make a pianoforte properly a man should be a scientific student of acoustics. Anyone can take iron and make some sort of a frame for a pianoforte; anyone can buy ready-made actions and fix them up to strike wires of some sort. It needs a thorough student of science to combine such a sounding board, and such perfection of action, and such a scientific sealing, and such quality of felt on the hammers, and such quality of steel for the wire, as shall, in sum, produce a perfect and lasting pianoforte.

I should be very sorry to suggest that merely the incentive of gain should move us to scientific industry. Things are surely worth doing well on their own account. Nevertheless, it is very seriously our business to consider the future of British export trade in this connection. Increasingly we shall find it true that the markets of the world will demand articles of a better class. As education advances, it will be increasingly realised that nothing is worth making unless it is the best that can be made: that anything short of the best is labour wasted and time thrown away. Therefore if nothing but the hope of gain moves us, let us remember that we shall find it impossible to gain unless we pursue work by scientific means.

## ECONOMY AS A SCIENCE.

Another aspect of the case is the scientific employment of power



and the scientific avoidance of waste. As to the former, we have not sufficiently practised large-scale production and scientific management. During the war State Departments introduced into many industrial establishments for the first time the principle of scientific costing, *i.e.*, of ascertaining the costs of each separate factor contributing to the production of a given article, so that waste could be detected and made good. And on the subject of waste, what a world of meaning is contained in the single illustration that, while we were content to waste the valuable tin with which we coated iron for a thousand common purposes, the Germans collected their old tins and removed the coating to use again.

#### THE WELFARE OF THE WORKERS.

And above all this lies the consideration that we have not regarded the welfare and the health of the workers from a scientific point of view. It is true that we have passed certain labour laws to remove some of the worst of the evils, but all over the country there still remain slum factories and slum workshops which only too closely resemble in their capacity for health destruction the houses which surround them. Here, again, the war brought its lessons. We were furnished by the medical officers attached to the recruiting stations, who were by no means too particular in rejecting men, with the most melancholy statistics showing what a very large proportion of our young men of military age had to be rejected on physical grounds. So far from taking note of the verdict of the scientific men, we are largely content to cherish the very conditions which produced the unfit and the physically deteriorated. Of what avail any quantity of industry which does not lead to the real welfare of the people? Health is the greatest product of them all. Better a poor production in health, than a great production in physical decrepitude. It happens, however, that if we produce goods scientifically, which means under the best conditions, we also conserve health. If we set up good, well-lit, healthy factories and beautiful, comfortable, healthy, easily-worked homes, we make the conditions of health. Fortunately, science has shown it to be true that, by taking thought, we can add to the stature of the nation. Science holds out to us an illimitable hope. It tells us that in every child that is born we can turn over, in very truth, a new leaf.

So the path to better and more beautiful production, and to a healthier and happier people, lies in knowledge. Ignorance far more than ill-will is the enemy. Let us then cherish all institutions for the spread of knowledge. The nation possesses a great heritage of knowledge, drawn from men of every race who have contributed to write a great book of science which is the common property of all mankind. Let us get rid of the reproach that we despise and condemn the means of making work fruitful and life better worth living.

L. C. M.

## HOUSING PROGRESS IN 1920.

BY L. G. C.

IT would very considerably surprise the writer if he could come across a single individual interested in the housing problem who is really satisfied with the progress made in the Government Housing Scheme during the past year. I make one reservation: it is quite likely that a number of self-interested persons are well pleased that little or no advance is being made. Progress, indeed, is in danger of becoming a misnomer when applied to housing; and retrogression more aptly describes the situation. Not only are we not overtaking the arrears in house-building caused by cessation of such building during the war, we are not even keeping pace with the requirements due to a normal increase of population; so that instead of the 300,000 to 500,000 houses that responsible Ministers of the Crown—including the present Minister of Health—have variously estimated were required a year ago, this figure has grown.

The total number of tenders *approved* up to the end of September, 1920, provided for about 148,000 houses. It is difficult to get at anything more than an approximate idea as to how many are being built. Dr. Addison, speaking in the House of Commons on October 20th, stated that up to October 1st about 7,500 houses had been completed by local authorities and public utility societies, and another 2,500 by private builders under the Subsidy Scheme. Allowing therefore a liberal margin, less than 15,000 houses had been completed up to the end of October, 1920. This is 60,000 less than the most moderate estimate of houses required annually to meet the needs of a normally increasing population; not to take into account the shortage of 300,000 to 500,000 which existed at the close of the war. These figures explain what I mean by saying retrogression and not progress more fitly describes the present situation.

What is the reason for this state of affairs? How is it we are making no headway? Several reasons are advanced. Chief amongst them being lack of finance, and labour difficulties. Into these, and one or two minor causes, it is my present purpose to inquire.

## FINANCIAL BREAKDOWN.

There is not the slightest doubt there has been a breakdown in the financing of housing schemes throughout the country. This is due in a measure to the rising costs of building; but much more to the fact that the Government declined to become responsible at the outset for the provision of the money for house-building schemes. Four years ago, when the Government began to take, as many housing reformers thought, a real interest in the question of housing, it was at once realised that pre-war standards of costs could not be maintained; and taking £200 as the cost of a house previous to 1914 it was variously

estimated that from £300 to £400 might be the after-war cost of a similar class of house. This estimate was very quickly found to be much below the actual tenders submitted for the various housing schemes local authorities had planned. In January, 1920, the cost had risen to £800 per house ; and at the time of writing, £950 per house more nearly represents the price at which house-building will be undertaken. Several schemes work out at £1,000 per house, and this apart from the cost of the sites.

In considering the financial part of the problem it has to be remembered that though the liability of the local authority is, by the provisions of the Housing Act of 1919, limited to a penny in the £ rate, the whole cost of housing schemes has to be borne at the outset by the local authorities. The Government has flatly declined to accept responsibility in the first instance for the provision of the money. At a Conference held at 10, Downing Street on February 13th, 1920, attended by 50 representatives of the leading municipalities and other local authorities in the country, and presided over by the Prime Minister, the Government was urged to issue a National Housing Loan of £1,000,000,000.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also present, said this was quite impossible ; and that unless local authorities co-operated with the Government in raising this money the Government Housing Scheme must be a failure.

#### LOCAL HOUSING BONDS.

Many local authorities, therefore, especially those who have adopted housing schemes and already incurred heavy obligations, have made an " appeal to local patriotism " (vide Mr. Lloyd George), and initiated campaigns for the raising of money by the issue of Local Housing Bonds. The terms of these bonds are in accordance with recommendations made by the Goschen Committee, and provided for in the Housing Act 1919, and are briefly as follows : Bonds are of a denomination of £5, £10, £20, £50, and £100, and multiples of £100 ; interest bearing at 6 per cent., payable half-yearly ; and are redeemable at par (full face value), at 5, 10, or 15 years at option of subscriber. Should a bond-holder desire to purchase a house built under the Housing Acts the bonds will be accepted at face value, together with any accrued interest, in part payment of purchase price. The low denomination of these bonds is, of course, to attract the small investor.

Up to the end of September last over 500 local authorities had received the consent of the Ministry of Health for the issue of Local Housing Bonds. For a long time the local bond issuing movement made little headway. But a publicity campaign was entered upon ; " Housing Bonds Weeks " were also inaugurated ; with the result that by the beginning of October a sum of about £12,000,000 had been raised throughout the country. This, however, represents but 10 per cent. of the £120,000,000 which Dr. Addison stated in a Parliamentary

paper, issued on May 8th, 1920, would be the sum required for housing purposes for the current year.

It is not easy to write with restraint on the Government's policy in connection with housing finance, and inevitably one is led to compare the prodigality which squanders hundreds of millions of pounds sterling on Mesopotamia campaigns, support of Poland, and other wasteful expenditure, with the niggardly financial policy in regard to housing.

#### SUBSIDY TO PRIVATE BUILDERS.

Before leaving the subject of finance, I must briefly refer to the position of the private builder in relation to the Government Housing Scheme. Finding municipalities hesitating the Government decided to enlist, if possible, the services of private builders of houses, and in December, 1919, a short Act—the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919—was passed which authorised the payment, by way of a subsidy to private persons erecting working-class houses within the next twelve months after the passing of the Act, of an aggregate sum of £15,000,000. Grants could be made on the following conditions, *inter alia* :—

£160 per house in respect of houses containing living-room, parlour, and three or four bedrooms, and comprising not less than 920 super-feet of floor space ;

£140 for houses of not less than 780 super-feet of floor space ; and

£130 for houses of not less than 700 super-feet of floor space.

No grant to be made for houses of more than 1,400 super-feet of floor space.

This was not a sufficient attraction to the house-builder, however, a very poor response being made. In May last, therefore, the subsidy was raised to £260, £240, and £230 per house respectively ; and on June 30th it was also decided to extend the time for earning the subsidy by another twelve months ; *i.e.*, houses built under the subsidy scheme will be eligible for the grant if completed before December 31st, 1921. Up to the end of September, 1920, plans for nearly 20,000 houses had been approved by the Ministry of Health under this scheme, the commitments of the Government in connection therewith totalling close on £5,000,000. This increased grant is still considered insufficient by private house-builders, who suggest the maximum should be increased to £320 per house ; and one Association of Master Builders asks that the grant be £550 per house.

Leaving the financial aspect of the question, I pass now to a consideration of the

#### LABOUR DIFFICULTIES IN THE PROBLEM.

During the past year building trades operatives have been subjected to a good deal of hostile criticism, both in the press and from the platform. It has seemed that the more apparent became the failure of the Government's housing programme, the more bitter became the attacks on labour in the building trades.

The fact is, of course, there is at the present time an undoubted shortage of skilled labour in the building trades ; and in a recent number of "Housing," the fortnightly publication issued by the Ministry of Health Housing Department, this was given as one of the

main causes for the delay in the Government housing schemes. In support of this statement the following *approximate* comparative figures for England and Wales were given :—

	1910.	1911.	1914.	1920.
Masons .....	73,012	52,188	34,381	19,310
Slaters .....	9,796	8,391	4,154	3,673
Plasterers .....	31,300	25,082	19,479	12,067
Joiners .....	265,000	208,995	126,345	108,199
Bricklayers .....	115,995	102,752	73,671	53,063
TOTALS .....	495,103	397,408	258,030	196,312

Accepting these figures, it will be seen that there had begun to be a very serious decline in the amount of building trade labour even before 1914; and, of course, the war accentuated the shortage. Apart from men killed or disabled in the war—and the building trades were amongst the largest contributors of men to the army in the country's hour of need—several thousands have for various reasons declined to return to their old occupations in the building trade, but have taken up other means of livelihood. The matter affects not only the housing problem, but the building trade as a whole; and for two or three years now this labour shortage has been under the consideration of the Building Re-settlement Committee of the Joint Industrial Council for the Building Trades.

The problem presents itself in this form: On the one hand is the acknowledged shortage of building trade operatives, particularly skilled labour. On the other hand, is the reluctance of the trade unions representing the building trades to have the industry flooded with a huge volume of unskilled or semi-skilled labour which would become a very serious and dangerous menace whenever the housing position became easier.

Proposals for dilution of labour, the training of ex-service men and the multiplication of apprentices—the latter from men long past the usual age for apprenticeship, were put forward by a Cabinet Committee appointed by the Government in July last. In return for such relaxation of the best trade union practice as is implied in these proposals, some guarantee against loss of wages, for time lost on housing schemes through stress of weather, was proffered. But this latter offer of the Government was very strongly opposed by the National Federation of Building Trades Employers at their half-yearly meeting held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on July 28th, and a strongly-worded and unanimously passed resolution of opposition to the scheme of guaranteed wages was forwarded to the Government, with the result that the proposal was dropped again in favour of a suggestion that voluntary arrangements might be made between employers and employed. This method failed, however, no satisfactory agreement being arrived at.

The result was that Dr. Addison re-called the Building Re-settlement Committee, met them at the Ministry of Health on Wednesday, October 6th last, and put before them an amended offer, as follows :—

In the case of a man employed, or standing by to work on a job when called upon, for a full week, the payment for lost time shall be 50 per cent. in respect of time lost through stress of weather up to 22 hours per week ; if the time lost be more than 22 hours, the hours lost over and above 22 hours shall be paid for at the rate of 75 per cent. of the time rate.

This is to apply on housing schemes in the case of any of the building trades employed on those schemes, and *which undertook to accept the whole of the Cabinet Committee's and Re-settlement Committee's original scheme*, which provided as follows :—

1. An increase in the number of skilled men in the trade by the grading up of unskilled men ; the training of ex-service men ; and the resumption of apprenticeship ;
2. A system of payment by results ;
3. A guarantee against loss of wages for time lost on housing schemes through loss of weather.

As I write, this latest offer of Dr. Addison has to be put before the rank and file amongst both operatives and employers by their respective representatives on the Re-settlement Committee.

The problem, as stated by Dr. Addison and his colleagues in the Government, is a perplexing one. Labour is frankly suspicious of the proposals regarding dilution, and payment by results. Past experience has impressed upon its memory that capital, in the building industry, as elsewhere, shows little consideration for labour when capital's return is threatened. The chiefs in the building trades unions suggest that before dilution is attempted the fullest use of the existing labour employed in the building industry should be made ; that labour should be transferred from luxury, and non-essential, building contracts, and turned on to house-building ; and that a check should be put upon building contractors who offer all sorts of extra inducements to operatives to the detriment of house building schemes. In this latter proposal the trade unions are supported by several local authorities whose schemes have been held up by a shortage of labour ; which labour has been drawn away from house-building by special terms of payment offered by contractors engaged on non-essential work.

#### BUILDING GUILDS.

Probably the most important feature of the year has been the inception and development of the Guild idea in the building trades. A tentative idea for a National Building Guild emerged first from the Joint Industrial Council for the Building Trades, and out of the deliberations of two committees of that Council, namely :—

- (1) The Building Re-settlement Committee ;
- (2) Committee on Scientific Management and Costs.

The first-named committee suggested a scheme for allocating house-building contracts, so prepared as to allow only the lowest possible margin of fair profit to the contractors, and to stabilise labour. It was

designed to prevent profiteering in house-building, and to provide a sufficiency of labour. The second committee submitted plans for the voluntary formation of a National Building Guild. In this scheme it was expected that nominal shares should be held by building trade unions in the incorporation of any existing businesses, where the owners were willing to transfer their business to the Guild. Working capital was to be provided by the issue of debentures, bearing a fixed rate of interest. And the original owners of the incorporated businesses were to continue in charge as salaried managers.

Little or no progress was made with regard to these proposals, however, but in January, 1920, a definite move was made in Manchester by the local branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, supported by the Manchester branch of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. One cannot go into details as to the initial difficulties facing the promoters of the Manchester Guild. They were legion. But eventually the Guild became established. Its constitution is composed of one representative from each local branch of the building trade unions.

To get over the difficulty that the Guild was not a legal entity the Manchester and the London Guilds—the latter following quickly—became registered as companies. The Articles of Association provide that no profits shall be distributed; that estimates for building, and the work shall be done, at net cost. It was proposed to charge a percentage of 10 per cent. on net cost to provide for payment of labour—wages to be guaranteed for time lost through stress of weather, illness, or other unavoidable causes; with an additional 6 per cent. to cover cost of plant and administration charges. These provisions were modified later by arrangement with the Ministry of Health—when that Department at last decided officially to recognise the Guilds. And at the time of writing the terms of payment are as follows:—

£40 per house to provide for maintenance of labour instead of the originally suggested 10 per cent. on net cost; and 6 per cent. for overhead charges (plant, and administration) on estimated, or *actual*, cost, if latter is below the estimate. If actual cost is higher than estimate, the £40 per house will still be paid, but 6 per cent. will not be payable for overhead charges on extra cost.

#### THE C.W.S. AND THE GUILDS.

As was, perhaps, to be expected, the Guild met with severely hostile criticism from self-interested quarters. Questions were at once raised as to how the building operations of the Guilds were to be financed.

The biggest stumbling block to a real recognition of the Guilds, on the part of both local authorities and the Ministry of Health—the only one that stood seriously in the way of such recognition and could be urged with any force—that is, the financing of the housing operations by the Guilds, was at last completely removed by an arrangement come to between the Guilds, the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., and the Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd.; which arrangement was endorsed by the Ministry of Health in June last. It was not until the C.W.S. came into the scheme that the Ministry of Health made an

agreement with the Guilds, whereby the latter were really acknowledged as competent bodies to undertake contracts for house-building under the Government Housing Scheme. The financial support of the C.W.S. did, as a matter of fact, break down the last barrier which stood in the way of recognition of the Guilds by the Government.

The essence of the agreement between the Ministry of Health, the Building Guilds, and the C.W.S. is, that the last named may be associated in any building contracts undertaken by the Guilds for the purchase of the materials; and will insure, with the C.I.S., the local authority placing a contract with a Guild against loss under the contract for an insurance premium of 2s. 6d. per £100.

#### GROWTH OF THE GUILD MOVEMENT.

As showing how the Guild idea has spread, it was reported at a conference held in Manchester on October 9th, that there were eighty Guilds Committees then in existence. The conference was attended by about fifty representatives of Guilds Committees in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Scotland, and South Wales; and one of the chief topics discussed was the establishment of a National Building Guild. It was stated also that the Guilds had contracts for which they had already received the sanction of the Ministry of Health for £666,000, and that further contracts estimated at £3,000,000 were simply waiting acceptance and approval; and that the Guilds had offered to build 75,000 houses for the Ministry of Health.

#### ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

But if there were a thousand guilds willing, and with the necessary labour ready, to build all the houses required, the ultimate responsibility for solving, effectively, the housing problem rests with the Government. To ensure success the department responsible will have to alter its methods, and that very drastically. Up to the present the chief occupation of the Ministry of Health Housing Department appears to have been the keeping of a printing press going. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets, handbooks, memoranda, manuals, instructions, counter-instructions, and the like have been issued in its name; and yet less than 10,000 houses have been completed two years after the Armistice was called. Not only Building Guilds, but private builders and contractors, and local authorities, have complained time after time of the dilatory methods of the Ministry of Health. Its procedure is clumsy and involved, and suggestions for improvement are more often than not ignored or turned down.

#### THE GOVERNMENT MUST FIND THE MONEY.

Apart from the clumsy procedure to go through before the point is reached at which tenders from any source are sanctioned; apart also from the labour difficulties, the outstanding necessity is finance. This is a matter which should not be left to voluntary and local effort, whether by housing bonds or local taxation. The local housing bond scheme is nothing but a shameless device for shifting the responsibility



from the Government's own shoulders. The small denomination of the bonds is designed to capture working class savings to finance a national undertaking. And it is doomed to failure to effect a solution of the problem. A sum of about £12,000,000 to £15,000,000 may have been raised by December 31st, 1920. This will not provide for 20,000 houses : and the bond-raising campaign has spent its force. Even the added financial support that the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. is prepared to extend to the building guilds only just touches the problem. Suppose the C.W.S. could put a sum of £20,000,000 into the business—and I do not anticipate they will do any such thing—it would not provide for more than another 20,000 houses.

Dr. Addison has referred from time to time to the rising cost of building. Does he not know that the Government which he serves has stood by and allowed this to take place without making the slightest effort to check it ; nay, has contributed to it. There has just been issued the report of the Sectional Committee on Timber of the Building Materials Sub-Committee on the Investigation of Prices under the Profiteering Act ; which Sectional Committee blamed the Timber Control Supplies Department for the high price at which this Department disposed of its timber at the end of the period of control.

Amongst the timber held by the Timber Controller, either in this country or in Canada and North Europe, there was a vast amount of timber suitable for building purposes. This need not have been sold at all to the trade, but could have been reserved for Government building schemes at cost price, which was many pounds per standard below what local authorities are now being charged. This is one instance, and can be multiplied in other building materials.

A problem so grave as the housing problem is one for national solution. But the problem would come nearer to a solution if the Government would at once declare its readiness to finance, under proper safeguards, all house-building schemes from their inception : stop, and prohibit, all building not of an urgent and necessary character until house-building arrears had been overtaken, transferring the labour employed on such non-essential work to the erection of houses. Under a proper costing system, and with the resources of the Government so far as obtaining materials are concerned, an improved, larger type of house could be produced at less than the present cost of house building.

Were these steps taken at once one would, I believe, be able to record at the end of 1921 that England was at last beginning to look like a country fit for heroes to live in : whereas at present there are thousands of men—whom politicians were constantly describing as heroes in the years 1914 to 1918—who have no decent dwelling place, and there is great unrest in the country, much of which can be traced to the bad housing conditions which at present prevail ; and to impatience with the Government handling of the situation, which grows steadily worse when 15,000 houses only are built where 150,000 should be.

## A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

### The Attainment of Women's Enfranchisement.

By ANNIE G. PORRITT.

**I**N every revolution, whether effected quietly or accompanied by violence and bloodshed, the essential thing is that the class or clique which has held the governing power is forced to make way for some other class or group, either to hold the power in its place or to share in that power. Many revolutions in the past have furnished to the mass of the people only a change of rulers, substituting perhaps a more tolerable group for a group that had become entirely intolerable. If the time ever comes when a true democracy is established—a rule of all the people, by all the people, for all the people, further revolution would be unnecessary, though the liberty once won would have to be guarded with eternal vigilance.



ANNIE G. PORRITT.

The Government of the United States, however corrupt it may be in spots, and however great may be the difficulties which attend its working, is based on the ideal of democracy. In many respects it is highly responsive to the will of the electors, and if

the interests of the many are subordinated to the interests of the few—as no doubt happens all the time—it is because the few have got possession of the machinery of politics, and have so hoodwinked and divided the many as to make common action in the common interest impracticable.

There has, however, in the past been no real democracy in the United States—even no real ideal of democracy—because liberty has been confined to men. With the entry of women into full citizenship rights, there will begin a new era in American politics. Such a momentous event as the enfranchisement of one-half of the adult population of a nation could not fail to make a new date-line in history, even if all the new electors had substantially the same interests as those who already had the vote. But when, as is the case with women, the main concern of life is different from the concern of those formerly enfranchised, when the view-point is entirely different, and when consequently the pre-occupations and the demands differ, the admission of so large a body of new electors may certainly be regarded as revolutionary.

American women were fully conscious of the revolutionary nature of the demand they were making when they asked for enfranchisement, and even before the process of enfranchisement was complete—before the Federal Suffrage Amendment had been ratified by the necessary number of State Legislatures, those of thirty-six States, three-fourths of the whole number of forty-eight—the Suffrage leaders were preparing by means of citizenship classes and through the organization of the National League of Women Voters, to fit the women to take an active and effective part in the government of their State and nation.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Far more effective than any such formal preparation, however, was the training in politics that the women had undergone in their long struggle for the vote. The organised movement for woman suffrage in the United States was started at the Seneca Falls Convention in New York State, in 1848. From that date to 1869, the movement was for equal rights, and included the demand for the abolition of slavery and later for negro suffrage, as well as the demand for equality of civil and political rights with men for women. After the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution—the amendment prohibiting disfranchisement on account of “race, colour, or previous condition of servitude”—there was a reorganization of the equal rights associations, and from 1869 the movement became definitely one for votes for women.

The United States, as the name implies, is one nation, composed of many sovereign states. The powers of the states are far greater than the powers of the individual colonies in any British Dominion. The United States Government enjoys only such powers as are definitely delegated to it in the original Constitution and its nineteen amendments. All other powers rest with states, and until the Fifteenth Amendment was passed, each state had complete control of its electoral franchises. Even after the passage of that amendment, this control was only conditioned by the prohibition of discrimination against the coloured people. Until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, it was therefore within the power of the states to admit or exclude women from the electorate, and in case a state enfranchised its women, the enfranchisement was complete, including the vote for president and for senators and representatives in Congress, as well as municipal and state suffrage. Enfranchisement in the United States also has always carried with it eligibility to office, as there can constitutionally be no discrimination against an elector who desires to be a candidate, so long as he or she fulfils the conditions—such as age, residence, and, in the case of the presidency, birth in the United States.

These conditions in the United States have made possible an experimentation with woman suffrage that was never possible in

Great Britain. They have also created anomalies such as the British have not experienced. In Great Britain it has been possible to grant the right to vote in certain local elections—for school boards, for boards of guardians, and for local councils. This is possible also in the United States, and up to the time that the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, there were states where women had no voting rights at all, states in which they had the right to vote only on school matters, and states where they had municipal suffrage and what was known as statutory suffrage. By statutory suffrage was meant all the suffrage rights that could be granted by legislative action alone, without amendment of either the state or the National Constitution. These rights included presidential suffrage, and the vote in municipal elections, but not the vote for state governor and legislature or the vote for members of either branch of Congress.

It has always been realised by suffragists that the granting of minor suffrage rights affords no criterion by which the value of full suffrage can be measured. But in addition to the opportunity of observing the working of school suffrage—which has usually been unsatisfactory—and of municipal suffrage, which has been much better than the working of school suffrage alone, it has been possible to watch the working out, in spots, of full enfranchisement for women over periods of time quite long enough to afford grounds for considered judgment.

#### THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

The first enfranchisement of women in the United States was in Wyoming in 1869. Wyoming was then a territory with limited powers of self-government and no voice in national government, and it was not until 1890, when it was admitted to statehood, that women in any part of the United States enjoyed full rights of citizenship. In 1893 the neighbouring state of Colorado adopted a state constitutional amendment enfranchising women, and about two years later, two other neighbouring states—Idaho and Utah—adopted similar amendments. There was thus from the early nineties a little block of states in the centre of the continent, in which women were on a political equality with men. They could vote in all elections, were eligible to all offices, and were competent to sit on juries.

It was fourteen years before any other state followed the example of the group of Rocky Mountain States which had enfranchised their women. In the meantime every possible test was applied to the working of the "peculiar institution." Colorado, as the largest state and as the only one of the four which had progressed beyond the pioneer stage, was the centre of the most bitter attacks by all the opponents of woman suffrage, and after 1908, when the woman suffrage movement received a new impetus, these attacks became so obnoxious to the people of Colorado that statements refuting them were issued by all the important members of the State Government and by men and women prominent in the life of the state.

These statements were to the effect that woman suffrage had been tested and had proved its value ; that the people of Colorado were satisfied with it and were irrevocably determined to preserve it ; that a higher standard of public morals had resulted from it ; that it had secured for Colorado "the most advanced laws of any state of the Union for the care and protection of the home and the care of the children," and that "interest in the old-fashioned womanly arts had increased instead of diminished."

The next victory for woman suffrage came in the State of Washington on the Pacific Coast in 1910. The adoption of equal suffrage in Washington marks the opening of a new series of successes. It was followed by similar action in California in 1911, in Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon in 1912 ; by the grant of full statutory suffrage in Illinois in 1913, and by the adoption of equal suffrage in Nevada and Montana in 1914. The adversaries of equal suffrage were stirred to much greater activity as a result of all these victories. They organised strongly, the organisations being frequently supported and financed by the liquor interests, and were able to inflict defeats on the suffragists in New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts in 1915. Two years later, however, the great State of New York conferred full political equality on women, by popular vote on an amendment to the State Constitution taken in November, 1917 ; and in 1918, South Dakota, Michigan, and Oklahoma adopted similar constitutional amendments. During the years 1917-1919, also, twelve states granted to women, by legislative action, the right to vote for president and two other states gave women the right to vote in the primary elections at which the candidates of the parties are nominated. As these two states—Arkansas and Texas—are what is known as "one-party states," states in which the Democratic party alone has any chance of success at the polls, the right to nominate the candidate is equivalent to full suffrage.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

In the meantime, the suffragists of the United States had again turned to Congress and had begun to demand with energy and persistence the submission to the State Legislatures of an amendment to the United States Constitution, designed to do for the women what the Fifteenth Amendment has accomplished for the negro. It is impossible here to tell the story of the struggle. It began on the initiative of two young women—Alice Paul and Lucy Burns—who had been trained in political methods by the Militants in England. At first there was great opposition even among the suffragists themselves ; for it had become a tradition that nothing could be obtained from Congress and that the best method to secure votes for women was state by state, and that only when a majority of the states had been won, could suffragists hope for the passage and ratification of an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

It was in the winter of 1912-13, after the election of Mr. Wilson to the Presidency but before his first inauguration, that work was begun at Washington. The new suffrage leaders adopted the policy of placing responsibility for the passage of the amendment squarely on the party in power, and of opposing all members of the party—regardless of their personal stand on suffrage—when that party failed to use party discipline to put the amendment through Congress. This policy was most distasteful to many of the older suffragists, who had been trained to consider suffrage as a non-party issue and to seek friends in both the great parties. Gradually, however, the successes won under the new policy convinced all the national leaders, and before the final ratification by the last of the thirty-six states necessary under the constitution, the policy of holding the whole of a party responsible, instead of trusting to individual members and their friendship, was being followed by all the suffrage organisations.

The winning of New York State to women suffrage in 1917 and the addition of Michigan, South Dakota, and Oklahoma, in 1918, also greatly strengthened the position of the suffragists. But in spite of these successes, the fight was hotly contested, and the suffragists lost out in the Sixty-fifth Congress—the Congress that came to an end in March, 1919—only by one single vote in the Senate. The Sixty-sixth Congress came into extraordinary session in May, 1919, and early in June the Amendment finally passed the Senate. It had already passed the House for the second time before the end of May.

The ratification of the amendment promised at first to be an easy process, although Miss Paul warned all her followers that there was still a hard fight ahead. Up to the end of January, 1920, the amendment had been ratified by twenty-seven states, and no great opposition had been encountered in any of these legislatures. From February onward the difficulties became more obvious. The liquor interests were making a strong fight against the Prohibition Amendment, which had been ratified, but had not yet had its position finally determined by the United States Supreme Court. The political machines in some of the eastern states were bitterly opposed to woman suffrage.

There were bitter fights over ratification in New Jersey, New Mexico, and West Virginia, but thirty-five states had been won by March 22nd. Then came the final and most difficult task—the winning of the thirty-sixth state. After a very bitter fight, ratification was defeated in Delaware, and it was not until August 18th that Tennessee came in and made the number complete. The Amendment was proclaimed by Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, at Washington, on August 26th. Even then there was some doubt of its validity, owing to certain irregularities in connection with the proceedings in Tennessee, and on September 14th ratification was carried in special session in Connecticut, thus assuring the stability of the Amendment in case there should be an adverse decision in the Supreme Court of Tennessee, to which the question had been carried. But the

time was not wasted, nor was the effort for nothing in regard to the women. During the months from May to November, political activities were going on in connection with the presidential, congressional and state elections. Primaries, caucuses, and conventions were being held, and the women—so near enfranchisement and yet not fully enfranchised—watched the working of the political machine with quickened intelligence and clear-sighted judgment. They learned more of the working of politics during these months than they had learned during the whole of the seventy years of the suffrage movement from 1848 to 1918. They prepared themselves both by study and observation to take a full part in the government of their country and their state when at last they should come into possession of the ballot. They also learned the necessity of defeating the political machines if good government was to be secured.

#### THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

It was in February, 1920, that the National League of Women Voters was organised. Possibly the organisation was a little premature, for the fight at that time was by no means ended. But the women were eager to begin work, and in the states which had already ratified, there seemed to be no more that they could do to forward the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In any case there can be no doubt that the studies in citizenship and legislative methods which were inaugurated as soon as the League began work were of great benefit to the women, and the drawing up of programmes for political action served to keep alive their interest and to direct it into useful channels.

Almost all reform movements of the past have centred around some political leader and have had as their aim first of all to change the complexion and personnel of the government. The women's movement differs from all these past efforts in that no attempt is being made to build up a new party or to elect any particular men. The women are acting on the theory that men elected to the legislatures, to Congress or to executive office will give the service that is demanded of them by their constituents, if it is demanded with sufficient insistence and if there is support in sight for the men who render it. The plan was, therefore, to prepare a programme of legislation and law enforcement, including the policy to be followed by the executive departments, and to call upon both the dominant political parties to accept this programme.

The League of Women Voters has its head-quarters at Washington. Under the Chairman, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, there are seven regional directors, each presiding over a section of the United States, consisting of several states. Each state has its own state organisation—an organisation which has been inherited in most cases from former suffrage associations. The most important part of the league, as far as its programme and policy are concerned, is, however, the committees,

each with a national chairman, and each composed of one representative from each of the states.

There are seven of these committees—American Citizenship ; Women in Industry ; Child Welfare ; Election Laws and Methods ; Social Hygiene ; Unification of Laws concerning Women and Children ; and Food Supply and Demand. It will be seen that these committees cover the chief interests of women, and also some interests which, while common to men and women, are especially dear to the hearts of the suffragists. Each of these committees carefully prepared a programme of work which was submitted to the whole league, assembled in Convention at Chicago in April, 1920. After discussion and amendment, these programmes were adopted and were made the groundwork of the demands that are being put forward on behalf of the women of America.

#### THE DEMANDS OF THE LEAGUE.

Six planks were then carefully prepared by the League and were presented at each of the national political conventions for incorporation as part of the National Platform. None of the subjects was controversial or a party question. The women's interests in the past had suffered not from open opposition but from neglect and the covert opposition of interests that might be adversely affected. It was the intention of the League of Women Voters to eliminate this neglect and to hold the party that succeeded in securing a majority at the elections responsible for carrying into effect the demands of the women voters.

The six demands thus put forward were as follows :—

(1) *Child Welfare*.—Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau (a division of the State Labour department, presided over by Miss Julia Lathrop and chiefly concerned with research and educational work); prohibition of child labour throughout the United States ; protection of infant life through a federal programme for maternity and infant care.

(2) *Education*.—Establishment of a Federal Department of Education ; federal aid where necessary for the removal of illiteracy and for the increase of teachers' salaries ; instruction in duties and ideals of citizenship for the young and the immigrant.

(3) *The Home and High Prices*.—Increased federal support for instruction in home economics ; such federal supervision and regulation of the marketing and distribution of food as will tend to equalise and lower prices, and the enactment and enforcement of such other measures as will freely open the channel of trade, prevent excess profits, and eliminate unfair competition and the control of the necessities of life.

(4) *Women in Gainful Occupations*.—The establishment of a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labour for the purpose of investigating conditions and determining standards and policies which



will improve working conditions and increase efficiency ; appointment of women in the mediation and conciliation service of the Department of Labour, and on all industrial commissions and tribunals ; federal and state employment services with women's departments ; and reclassification of civil service, free from sex discrimination.

(5) *Public Health and Morals.*—Appropriations for the continuance of active campaigns for prevention of venereal disease and for public education in sex hygiene.

(6) *Independent Citizenship for Married Women.*

With more or less modification the planks were adopted by the various political parties—only partially and grudgingly by the Republican Party, which felt itself so secure of success that it did not deem it necessary to make a special bid for the favour of the League of Women Voters, and more fully and generously by the Democrats. The minor parties—the parties of protest and opposition—made every effort to attract the women and embodied the planks in their entirety in their platforms.

The aim of the women leaders is to effect a reform in the government of both state and nation by changing the point of view, by laying emphasis on vital needs, on the home, on the children, on social morals, and national education and welfare, instead of allowing the attention of government to be confined to such questions as trade, tariffs, and special privileges. The women believe that if the men who are elected to office know that they will be sustained by the voters in their efforts, it will be easy to secure men who will be glad to devote themselves to the true welfare of the country. The difficulty in the past has been with the voters rather than with the men elected. The mass of voters have been indifferent, and have allowed power to be concentrated in the hands of the privileged interests. It is undoubtedly a tremendous task that lies ahead of the women, for it is nothing less than the reform of the political machines as they now exist. This reform is to be attempted, not by opposing individual men, but by depriving the machine of its power through the substitution of interests which will appeal to the man and woman in the home, and will thus create a body of alert and interested voters who will no longer be content to be manipulated by the machine politicians.

#### WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURES.

As yet it is hardly possible to estimate how far women will take advantage of their new eligibility to office. In Colorado and the other older equal suffrage states, there are a few offices, such as that of county or state superintendent of education, which have been tacitly conceded to women. Up to the 1920 election, only one woman, Jeanette Rankin of Montana, had been elected to the House of Representatives at Washington, and no woman to the Senate, only one woman ever having put forward her candidature. To the state legislatures not more than fifty women had been elected, but several

of these had served more than one term. In Colorado seventeen women had been elected and had served about twenty-five terms. In the state legislatures of the fifteen equal suffrage states in 1920 there were twenty-four women members, distributed as follows: Arizona two in Lower House; California, four in House (these are the first women elected in California which enfranchised her women in 1911); Colorado, one in Senate, two in House; Idaho, two in House; Kansas, one in House; Montana, two in House; Nevada, one in House; New York, two in House; Oregon, one in House; Utah, one in Senate, four in House; Washington, one in House. It is noteworthy that of the twenty-four only two are members of the Upper Houses. No woman up to November, 1920, had been elected to a judgeship, although several were serving in appointive positions. Neither had any woman been elected to any high executive position. The ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, however, changed the number of equal suffrage states from fifteen to forty-eight—embracing the whole of the Union—and with the greater national importance of women, and with the freeing of women leaders from the arduous work of fighting for enfranchisement, great advances in women's political power and position are now expected—advances which were foreshadowed by the important part taken by women in the national political conventions at which Republicans and Democrats nominated their presidential candidates.

The coming revolution in American politics will not be solely the work of the women voters. Already it is on its way, as the strong movement towards a break up of the older parties, visible in the presidential campaign has shown. These movements were largely the work of men, but in every case success was predicated on the aid that would be given by the women, and without this new element in the electorate the efforts would hardly have been worth making. It may be long before the United States rids itself of the reproach of corrupt and boss-ridden government, but reform is coming, and it is coming because the women, trained and intelligent, have set themselves to the task of cleaning the national house and home.

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## WOMEN M.P.s IN MANY LANDS.

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The tidal advance of the Women's Movement is shown by the following details supplied by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

### AUSTRIA.

Women have votes on the same terms as men. Ten women M.P.'s were elected at the elections of 1919 and eight at the elections of 1920.\*

### BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

Women got votes and eligibility in 1919, on equal terms for white men and white women. They were enfranchised together.

### CANADA.

Women have votes on equal terms, but the Federal Amendment is not yet ratified. They have not yet voted in Federal Elections, but only in State Elections, where three women members of State Parliaments have been elected. (Continued, next page).

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\* Another woman has since been elected, bringing the total to nine.

**CRIMEA** (the first Mohammedan country to give votes to women).

Women got votes on equal terms in December, 1917. Eighty-three per cent. voted, and five women were elected, one of whom is Vice-President of the Diet.

**CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.**

Women have votes on same terms as men, and there are ten women M.P.'s.†

**DENMARK.**

Municipal vote in 1908 and Parliamentary vote on equal terms in 1915. Women voted in 1918 and 1920, and they have now eleven women M.P.'s, three in one Chamber and eight in the other. They have passed a law for equal pay, equal admission to all posts, and equal status in marriage.

**ESTHONIA.**

Women have votes on same terms as men, and there are five women Members of Parliament.

**GERMANY.**

Women got votes on equal terms in 1918, eight weeks before the elections. Twenty million women are enfranchised, and 70 to 90 per cent. voted. They had thirty-nine M.P.'s in last National Assembly, 155 in State Parliaments, and 4,000 city and municipal councillors. In the new elections thirty women have been elected to the Reichstag.

**GREAT BRITAIN.**

Women got votes on different terms and at a different age in 1918. They voted in 1918, and have one woman M.P., and many city and municipal councillors.

**HUNGARY.**

Women got votes in November, 1918. All men have it at twenty-one; women, if they can read and write, have it at twenty-four. One woman was elected at a by-election. They have not yet got the municipal suffrage, as no municipal government at present exists, for men or women.

**ICELAND.**

Women have votes on equal terms, and it is part of the new Constitution. They have had city councillors for a long time, but have no woman member.

**LETTONIA.**

Men and women both got votes on equal terms in 1918. Five women have been elected to Parliament, and many to city councils.

**LITHUANIA.**

Men and women both got votes on equal terms in 1920. Five women have been elected to Parliament.

**LUXEMBOURG.**

Women got votes on equal terms with men (at the age of twenty). They have voted twice, first in the Referendum, and then in the Elections. One woman is a Member of Parliament.

**NETHERLANDS.**

Bill giving women votes on same terms (at twenty-five) passed in May, 1919, and received Royal Assent in September, 1919. One and a half million women are enfranchised. They have not voted yet, but will in 1922. They have, however, been eligible for some years, and both in 1916 and 1918 two women M.P.'s were elected, one in each Chamber. They have eighty-eight women on city councils and some aldermen (elected by men only).

**POLAND.**

Women have votes on equal terms with men, and eligibility.

**RHODESIA.**

Women got votes on equal terms in 1919, and one woman M.P. has been elected.

**RUSSIA.**

Women got votes on equal terms during the first revolution, and several women served in Parliament and in the Cabinet.

**SWEDEN.**

Women got votes on same terms in 1918, but it will not be ratified till after the Autumn elections. It will be through by February, 1921, and they will vote in the following Autumn. There will be about 1,600,000 women voters. At present there are about 400 city and municipal councillors.

**UKRAINA.**

Women and men got votes on equal terms in 1917. They voted in 1919, and nine women were elected to Parliament. Civil Service opened to both, and equal pay given.

**UNITED STATES.**

Federal Amendment giving votes in all States on equal terms has been passed in 1920. One woman has been a member of Congress and about fifty women have been members of State legislatures.

**OTHER SUFFRAGE VICTORIES.**

*Serbia* has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

*Belgium* has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

*Roumania* has granted Municipal Suffrage to women.

*Zionists of Palestine* have full equal suffrage and eligibility.

*The Commune of Fiume* has granted full equal suffrage and eligibility.

† The Bohemian Parliament now contains 16 women M.P.'s; 13 in the Chamber of Deputies and 3 in the Senate.

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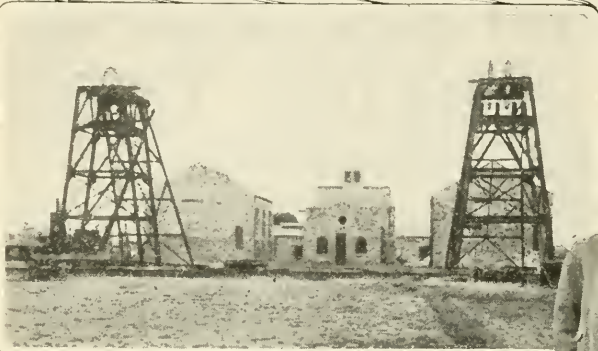
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# SHILBOTTLE COLLIERY SCENES



THE  
POWER  
HOUSE  
AND  
OVERHEAD  
GEAR



SHILBOTTLE  
"OVERMAN."



SHILBOTTLE WORKERS  
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(KNOCKING-OFF TIME)



ARMY HUTS CONVERTED INTO SHILBOTTLE  
EMPLOYEES' DWELLINGS.

Shilbottle  
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was acquired by  
the C.W.S.  
in 1917.

## TRADES UNION PROGRESS.

BY FRED BRAMLEY,

ASSISTANT SECRETARY, PARLIAMENTARY  
COMMITTEE OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

**T**AKING the affiliated membership of the Trades Union Congress as a reliable index of the growth in trade union membership, the progress made during 1920 may be described as very satisfactory. The following table will show the increase as from 1913 to 1919 and during the past year:—



FRED BRAMLEY.

Year.	Place of Meeting.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Societies.	Membership Represented.
1913	Manchester	560	207	2,232,446
1919	Glasgow	848	221	5,265,426
1920	Portsmouth	950	264	6,505,482

There has also been a substantial improvement in the financial position of the unions. From the latest obtainable returns, which unfortunately leave out of account some of the wealthiest unions whose funds are distributed throughout the districts, we are able to make the following statement, which reflects the growth in trade union funds during the period of the war:—

Total funds, 1914 .....	£3,913,253
Total funds 1920 or nearest available date ..	8,713,767

In many respects the above facts demonstrate that the trade union movement of Great Britain is the most powerful combination of wage earners in the world, which gives rise at once to the question as to whether this tremendous power is being used to push the selfish interests of a class, or to secure for humanity generally a complete emancipation from the evils of a wrong social system. Fortunately we can place on record the fact that the trade union movement, during the past year, has been responsible for inaugurating three remarkable national efforts in which its vast resources and representative power has been utilised to protect the interests of the community. These efforts are as follows:—

- (1) The "Mines for the Nation" Campaign.
- (2) The Cost of Living Inquiry.
- (3) The Council of Action to Promote Peace.

### THE "MINES FOR THE NATION" CAMPAIGN.

The "Mines for the Nation" campaign was inaugurated in order to compel the Government to give effect to the findings of the Coal

Commission and the recommendations of its Chairman, known as the "Sankey Award." The Commission, which was a statutory body appointed by the Government to consider the proposal that the mines should be owned and controlled in the interests of the people, issued a Majority Report in favour of the principle of nationalisation. Justice Sankey, as Chairman, issued an award endorsing the policy of the Miners' Federation and the trade union movement. The Government refused to abide by the verdict of their own Commission. The anger of the miners was aroused and the universal condemnation of the Government by the trade union movement, followed.

The Miners' Federation approached the representative national bodies and a huge national campaign was promoted by a joint committee representing the trade union, political and co-operative movements. During this campaign a great educational work was done. Close on 100 great demonstrations were held in various parts of the country; many of these were attended by from 3,000 to 5,000 people. Labour Members of Parliament threw themselves heartily into the task of educating public opinion. Fifteen million leaflets were distributed and also many thousand pamphlets. Special articles appeared in the prominent newspapers of the country, written by experts, and there is no doubt that this special effort will eventually bring forth good results in the direction of securing for the people the ownership and control of the coal mines of the country.

#### THE COST OF LIVING INQUIRY.

The trade union movement has also inaugurated, and is financially responsible for an elaborate inquiry into the cost of living, and for this purpose the assistance of the political and co-operative forces has been secured. A complete and scientific investigation into the following questions is intended:—

#### FOOD, CLOTHING, COAL, TRANSPORT, HOUSING, RAW MATERIALS.

In relation to these subjects it has been agreed to investigate the effect on prices of the following factors:—

- (1) Taxation.
- (2) Scarcity; natural and artificial.
- (3) Transport Disorganisation.
- (4) Wages and Industrial Unrest.
- (5) Financial Operations other than Currency.
- (6) Standard and Rates of Exchange: Currency, Floating Debt, &c.
- (7) Government Control and Its Effects.

The Interim Report on items 5 and 6 of the above has already been published and has secured the hearty recommendation and approval of some of the leading experts on questions of finance in the country. Many reviews of the Report appearing in the press clearly indicate that in some quarters there is surprise that within the ranks of organised Labour there are persons working for the cause

eminently qualified to deal with the most complicated and difficult subjects in connection with our social system.

When this investigation is completed and the full report published, the British public will have at their disposal conclusive proof that the organised labour movement of the country is capable of making constructive proposals for the establishment of a better social order.

#### COUNCIL OF ACTION TO PROMOTE PEACE.

During the latter part of August, as a result of close contact with the inside development of affairs, the leaders of the trade union and political movements became seriously alarmed about the prospects of a declaration of war by the British Government against Russia. It was recognised that if this was allowed to take place, we could very easily be involved in another huge catastrophe. The militarist tendencies of France, the reactionary forces inside our own Government, and the commercial interests dominating affairs in the United States of America, were pushing us with all possible speed towards another war.

Notwithstanding assurances from the Prime Minister, we recognised a real danger. Following a representative Conference of the Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party, a great national Conference was called. This Conference, attended by 1,044 delegates, representing over 6,500,000 organised workers, was the most remarkable manifestation of working-class solidarity which has ever been witnessed in our own, or any other country. Without dissent the following resolution was carried :—

This Conference of Trade Union and Labour representatives hails with satisfaction the Russian Government's declaration in favour of the complete independence of Poland as set forth in their Peace Terms to Poland, and realising the gravity of the international situation pledges itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia.

It accordingly instructs the Council of Action to remain in being until they have secured :—

(1) An absolute guarantee that the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet Government.

(2) The withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia.

(3) The recognition of the Russian Soviet Government and the establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia.

The Conference also endorsed the action of the national bodies in calling into existence a Council of Action for Peace. A resolution was carried giving the Council of Action full powers to declare a general strike if the Government declared war, or should other circumstance deem such a step necessary.

It is worth noting that this was the first time organised Labour in this country had declared in favour of a general strike. The Conference went further and gave a representative body created



for a special purpose, the right to issue an instruction to cease work in the interests of peace. Therefore organised Labour's first declaration in favour of using nationally all its power and resources was made in support of a principle which was conceived to be essential to the best interests of the country.

#### THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

In connection with the special efforts already referred to, it was necessary to call into existence temporary bodies charged with the special responsibility of carrying out effectively the decisions of a general conference. This was due to the fact that no properly equipped central co-ordinating body exists for work of this kind. Recognition of this fact has been responsible for an important move in the direction of setting up efficient machinery to work out the details of, and give effect to, the collective decisions registered by organised Labour.

Proposals were submitted to the Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth of a far-reaching character to re-constitute, first, the composition of the national body to represent the trade union side, and also to establish departments under the joint control of the trade union, co-operative and political movements.

The composite resolution submitted to the Congress made provision for the abolition of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, an institution which has existed for fifty-two years, and the setting up in its place of a General Council of thirty-two members representing eighteen industrial groups, into which the various unions would be allocated in accordance with their special industrial interests. It is further proposed that the General Council, at its first meeting after election, shall sub-divide into six groups, again representing the special industrial interests of each group. Full time officials will be appointed to work with the General Council Sub-divisions, functioning as Sub-committees of the Council, and each group will have its own chairman. They are to cultivate the closest possible contact with federations or other bodies representing the same industrial interests outside the General Council, and the officials will be responsible for the collecting and filing of special information regarding the activities of the unions represented by the group. The main object of the scheme is to secure specialisation of function by each sub-group of the General Council and also to develop a special department behind each one of these groups in order to secure the greatest possible efficiency, and a knowledge as complete as possible of each particular industrial interest.

The definite instructions to the General Council are as follows :—

(a) The General Council shall keep a watch on all industrial movements, and shall attempt, where possible, to co-ordinate industrial action.

(b) It shall promote common action by the Trade Union movement on general questions, such as wages and hours of labour, and any matter of general concern that may arise between trade unions and employers or between the trade union

movement and the Government, and shall have power to assist any union which is attacked on any vital question of trade union principle.

(c) Where disputes arise, or threaten to arise, between trade unions, it shall use its influence to promote a settlement.

(d) It shall assist trade unions in the work of organisation, and shall carry on propaganda with a view to strengthening the industrial side of the movement, and for the attainment of any or all of the above objects.

(e) It shall also enter into relations with the Trade Union and Labour movements in other countries with a view to promoting common action and international solidarity.

The Report and composite resolution submitted to the Trades Union Congress also make provision for a further development, which is fully explained by the following extract taken from the Report :—

It will be noted that the resolution divides the work of the Co-ordination Committee into two distinct sections, one dealing with the reconstruction of the Trade Union section by the substitution of a General Council for the Parliamentary Committee and the other dealing with departments, jointly controlled, for special work concerning the working-class organisations generally. It will, therefore, be necessary to report on the two sections separately. Regarding the purpose of the second section, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Co-operative Union Limited, have appointed representatives to consult with the Co-ordination Committee, and a report of the result of our joint deliberations will be submitted to the Parliamentary Committee at a later date."

It will thus be seen that the scheme is intended to cover a very wide field of activity. Prior to the Congress it was supposed that a scheme that meant the abolition of the Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress, and drastic alterations in the character of the trade union centre, would create a good deal of criticism and opposition. The trade union movement is, however, striving for efficiency, and as the result of the voting will show, a very large majority recognised what was known as the Co-ordination Scheme as the most effective means of increasing the power and influence of the trade union movement.

The resolution was carried by the following vote :—

For the Resolution .....	4,858,000
Against the Resolution.....	1,767,000

Majority in favour .....

---

3,091,000

In view of the passing of this resolution and the possibility that the political and co-operative sections of the movement will be able to assist in working out a scheme for the development of departments under joint control, we may expect that this next year will see remarkable developments in the direction of co-ordinating and making more efficient, working-class action in many directions.

#### INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

The international developments have also been interesting. The process of re-building the International Trade Union movement has not been quite as slow as was generally expected. Already the first International Trade Union Conference has been held, and in July there assembled at Amsterdam ninety-two trade union delegates, representing fourteen countries and 17,740,000 trade union members.

The countries representing the greatest number at this International were as follows :—

Germany .....	5,400,000
Great Britain .....	4,750,000
United States of America .....	3,600,000
France .....	1,500,000

Total .....	15,250,000
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The other ten countries represented the remainder to make up the total affiliated membership of the present International Federation of trade unions.

The objects of the International movement are as follows :—

(1) The promotion of the interests and endeavours of the organisations affiliated on a national and international basis.

(2) The promotion of the trade union movement, both national and international, in the countries not affiliated.

(3) The promotion of combined action on all questions of mutual trade union interest.

(4) The prevention of international blacklegging.

(5) The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other trade union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules.

These, however, represent the official objects embodied in the constitution. There is no doubt that the question of international peace and many other international questions will be dealt with by a properly constituted and efficient international centre. The International is still suffering from the effects of the war. Racial antagonism has not yet been quite exterminated. The united international Labour movement can, and will, exercise a great influence on the policies of the Governments of the countries represented.

#### THE POLITICAL INTERNATIONAL.

The trade union movement of Britain is also affiliated to the Socialist and Labour International formed primarily for political purposes, and at the International Conference at Geneva, held during the month of August, 1920, the trade union section of the British delegation took a prominent part in the proceedings. It is not within the legitimate scope of this article to deal with political questions, but it must be placed on record that at the Geneva Conference, an agreement was reached as between the Belgian and German delegates which will have a wonderful effect in removing the antagonisms created by the war.

During the Geneva Conference a unanimous desire was expressed by the representatives of other nations that Great Britain should become the centre for international action. A resolution was passed calling upon Great Britain to accept the International Bureau and to make themselves responsible for the special duty of bringing the countries now divided together, and to promote a special effort to secure international agreement.

## THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

THE subjoined Trade Unions' statistics covering the present century to the latest year for which official figures are available is indicative of the milestones passed on the way and the abnormal progress of recent years. It will be noted that the trade unions first topped their two million membership in 1906, the year in which the Labour Party made its advent in the House of Commons; that the three million and four million figure was passed in the years of industrial ferment, 1911 and 1913; and that the increase of membership to over 5½ millions in 1917 and to over 6½ millions in 1918 constituted a striking expression of the great surge of labour unrest which arose during the last two years of the war period and which has continued down to this day.

## 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.\* 1899-1918.

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	4,192,000
1904.....	1,229	1,911,099	1914 ....	—	4,199,000
1905.....	1,228	1,934,211	1915 ....	1,106	4,417,000
1906.....	1,250	2,128,635	1916 ....	1,115	4,677,000
1907.....	1,243	2,425,153	1917 ....	1,133	5,547,000
1908.....	1,218	2,388,727	1918 ....	1,220	6,624,000

\* 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.

In the following official Table comparative figures of total membership (to the nearest thousand in each case) are given for the period 1913-1918. In comparing the total membership shown for 1914 onwards with that for pre-war years, it should be noted that most Unions included men serving with H.M. Forces in their returns of membership during the war, though there were many exceptions to this general practice, especially in the case of Unions of less skilled workers.

Groups of Trades.	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
	Thou- sands.	Thou- sands.	Thou- sands.	Thou- sands.	Thou- sands.	Thou- sands.
Building .....	248	236	233	229	257	321
Mining and Quarrying .....	916	867	856	887	947	996
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding .....	544	563	641	699	848	951
Textile .....	520	500	513	531	630	694
Clothing .....	107	103	114	123	159	211
Railway Service .....	327	337	385	425	499	530
Other Transport (Land and Water) .....	356	350	340	363	391	456
Other Trades and Occupations .....	591	618	624	652	782	1,019
General Labour .....	353	385	472	524	732	1,102
Employees of Public Authorities .....	230	240	239	244	301	344
Total .....	4,192	4,199	4,417	4,677	5,546	6,624

During the five years 1914-1918 there was an increase of over 2,400,000 in the total membership, most of which took effect in 1917 and 1918. The membership of the general labour group more than trebled in the period. In mining and quarrying there was only a slight increase (less than 9 per cent.). In the other groups the increases ranged from 28 per cent. ("other transport"), 30 per cent. (building), and 33 per cent. (textile), to 75 per cent. (metal, engineering, and shipbuilding) and 98 per cent. (clothing trades).

#### FEMALE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS.

The growth of trade unionism amongst employed females is shown by the increase of membership from 472,000 in 1914 to 1,224,000 in 1918; the figures showing an increase of over 159 per cent. in the five years. The growth in the main categories is shown in the following table:—

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands
Textile Trades .....	253	272	289	364	418
Clothing Trades (including Boot and Shoe) .....	26	28	40	71	117
Transport Services .....	1	4	35	72	68
Shop Assistants, Clerks, &c. ....	20	22	33	46	73
Miscellaneous (including Teachers) .....	109	110	112	127	161
General Labour .....	24	38	79	113	216
Employees of Public Authorities ..	23	24	30	54	76
Others (mining, &c.; metal and engineering; paper and printing; woodworking and furnishing; pottery and chemical; food, drink and tobacco) .....	16	23	32	56	95
	472	521	650	903	1,224

#### THE TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS (1920).

The 52nd annual Trade Unions Congress of the United Kingdom was held at Portsmouth on September 6th and the five following days. The Congress was presided over by the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P.

The analysis into groups of trades given below shows the composition of the Congress compared with the corresponding figures for the Congress of 1919:—

Groups of Trades.	1919*			1920*		
	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.
Building .....	13	36	296,950	13	39	372,469
Mining and Quarrying .....	14	184	715,543	9	219	946,415
Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding .....	49	136	898,729	42	140	973,601
Textile .....	23†	131	474,204	25†	142	588,821
Clothing .....	7	34	216,586	8	32	259,493
Railway Service .....	3	22	545,531	3	23	625,000
Other Transport .....	17	55	243,298	17	59	336,563
Agriculture and Fishing .....	2	3	101,000	2	12	131,000
Printing, Paper, &c. ....	12	32	137,570	13	36	179,482
Woodworking and Furnishing .....	10	14	90,733	10	17	105,781
Shop Assistants and Clerks .....	3	11	66,000	3	18	101,000
Miscellaneous... ..	34	64	1,225,957	33	67	276,990
General Labour .....	8	112	122,657	8	122	1,412,134
Employees of Public Authorities .....	8	16	127,792	9	23	185,958
Total .....	203	850	5,262,550	195	949	6,494,707

\* The figures for 1919 have been revised since their publication in the *Labour Gazette* for September, 1919. Those for 1920 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 membership represented showed an increase of nearly a million and a quarter (or over 23 per cent.) on the membership represented at the previous Congress. Only a small part of this increase was due to the inclusion this year of Unions not represented at the 1919 Congress, there being a general increase in the membership of those Unions which were represented at both Congresses.

## THE COURSE OF WAGES.

The course of wages since 1914 is indicated by the total net annual increases (based on weekly rates) for the collective trades figuring in the Board of Trade list:—

Year.	Net Increase.	Average increase per week per worker.		
		£	s.	d.
1915 .....	677,000	0	3	9½
1916 .....	637,000	0	3	6½
1917 .....	2,307,000	0	9	2
1918 .....	2,988,000	0	9	11½
1919 .....	2,111,000	0	7	5½
Total increase for the five years .....	8,720,000	1	13	11

The above figures of increase have, of course, to be considered in connection with the increase of prices, food prices having at the end of December, 1919, reached 136 per cent. above pre-war rates, whilst clothing had quadrupled in cost, and fuel and lighting had increased in price by about 85 per cent. the total increase since July 1914 figuring, according to the official computation, at about 126 per cent. The increase of wages thus represents a continuous and not always successful effort to maintain the pre-war standard of living and to raise the level of income to that of necessary expenditure.

## CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES.\*

## I. TRADES IN WHICH THE NUMBERS OF WORKPEOPLE AFFECTED ARE REPORTED.†

The following table shows for 1918 and 1919 the numbers of workpeople affected by the changes reported, and the total amount of increase in weekly wages, in each of the principal groups of trades.

Groups of Trades.	Number of workpeople whose rates of wages were reported as changed in		Total net increase in the weekly wages of those affected, as compared with the preceding year.	
	1918	1919	1918	1919
			£	£
Building .....	389,000	290,000	254,000	197,000
Coal Mining .....	921,000	1,110,000	421,000	597,000
Other Mining and Quarrying ....	58,000	59,000	24,000	31,000
Pig Iron, and Iron and Steel Manufacture .....	184,000	184,000	95,000	118,000
Engineering, Shipbuilding, and other Metal .....	1,747,000	1,715,000	765,000	500,000
Textile .....	826,000	521,000	475,000	153,000
Clothing .....	355,000	390,000	115,000	104,000
Transport .....	292,000	267,000	196,000	59,000
Paper, Printing, &c. ....	102,000	157,000	68,000	61,000
Glass, Brick, Pottery, and Chemical..	281,000	208,000	127,000	59,000
Other Trades .....	647,000	561,000	339,000	182,000
Local Authority Services .....	196,000	185,000	109,000	50,000
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>5,998,000</b>	<b>5,647,000</b>	<b>2,988,000</b>	<b>2,111,000</b>

\* The figures given throughout are preliminary and subject to revision. Those for 1918 have been revised in accordance with the latest information available.

† These statistics are exclusive of changes affecting seamen, railway servants, agricultural labourers, police, Government employees, domestic servants, shop assistants and clerks.

With reference to trades not included in the above list, it is officially stated that the "agricultural labourers in England and Wales had their minimum rates increased by the Agricultural Wages Board, generally by 6s. 6d. per week, in the case of adult males; and the hours of labour in respect of which the minimum rates are payable were also reduced, usually to fifty per week in summer and forty-eight in winter. For certain classes of railway servants, viz., drivers, firemen and cleaners, standard rates were fixed, the rates for other classes being still under consideration at the end of the year. The war bonus of permanent Government employees whose ordinary wages did not exceed 60s. per week was increased by two stages to 24s. per week plus 30 per cent. of their ordinary remuneration for men of 21 and over, to 15s. per week plus 30 per cent. for women of 18 and over, and to smaller amounts for youths and girls. Those whose wages or salary exceeded 60s. per week received different amounts.

"For police sergeants and constables revised scales of pay, with a minimum of 100s. per week for sergeants and of 70s. per week for constables, were adopted in the great majority of Forces. Increases in minimum rates were also arranged during the year in all but one of the trades covered by the Trade Boards Acts, and a number of additional trades were brought within the scope of the Acts and had minimum rates of wages established."

TRADE DISPUTES.

Groups of Trades.	1918.			1919.		
	No. of disputes beginning in 1918.	Number of workpeople involved in all disputes† in progress.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.	No. of disputes beginning in 1919.	Number of Workpeople involved in all disputes † in progress.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.
Building .....	134	56,000	458,000	150	25,000	578,000
Coal Mining .....	147	368,000	1,165,000	212	906,000	7,441,000
Other Mining and Quarrying .....	18	13,000	109,000	32	5,000	138,000
Engineering and Shipbuilding .....	300	169,000	840,000	188	304,000	9,592,000
Other Metal .....	86	85,000	575,000	126	83,000	1,813,000
Textile .....	67	264,000	1,701,000	61	490,000	8,167,000
Clothing .....	70	24,000	321,000	77	29,000	245,000
Transport .....	67	59,000	265,000	129	574,000	3,883,000
Woodworking and Furnishing .....	82	43,000	273,000	62	25,000	988,000
Other Trades .....	188	38,000	413,000	277	119,000	1,381,000
Local Authority Services .....	93	13,000	117,000	99	21,000	257,000
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>1,252</b>	<b>1,132,000</b>	<b>6,237,000</b>	<b>1,413</b>	<b>2,581,000</b>	<b>34,483,000</b>

The principal disputes of the year occurred in the coalmining, engineering, and shipbuilding, textile and transport industries.

The table above summarises by trades the number of disputes reported, the number of workpeople involved and the aggregate duration of disputes in working days for 1918 and 1919 respectively\*

\* These figures are preliminary and subject to correction.

† Inclusive of workpeople involved in disputes which began in the previous year and were still in progress at the beginning of the year.

DISPUTES.

Year.	Number of disputes beginning in year.	Number of workpeople involved in disputes beginning* in year.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress during year.
1905.....	358	94,000	2,470,000
1906.....	486	218,000	3,029,000
1907.....	601	147,000	2,162,000
1908.....	399	296,000	10,834,000
1909.....	436	301,000	2,774,000
1910.....	531	515,000	9,895,000
1911.....	903	962,000	10,320,000
1912.....	857	1,463,000	40,915,000
1913.....	1,497	689,000	11,631,000
1914.....	999	449,000	10,111,000
1915.....	706	453,000	3,038,000
1916.....	581	284,000	2,600,000
1917.....	688	861,000	5,964,000
1918.....	1,252	1,097,000	6,237,000
1919.....	1,413	2,570,000	34,483,000



The table at foot of previous page shows the total number of disputes reported to the Department as causing a stoppage of work in each of the years 1905-1919, together with the total number of workpeople directly or indirectly involved and the aggregate number of working days lost in the establishments where disputes occurred.

It will be seen that the number of workpeople involved in disputes beginning in 1919 was greater than that for any previous year included in the Table, and that the total number of disputes and the resulting loss of working days were only once exceeded in this period. In this connection it may be observed that the large number of days lost in 1912 was mainly the result of one dispute in the coal-mining industry, which accounted for a loss of nearly 31,000,000 working days.

### CHANGES IN HOURS OF LABOUR.\*

Perhaps the most marked feature of the industrial situation in 1919 was the reduction which was effected in weekly working hours in the principal industries. At the end of 1918 the hours usually worked in these industries ranged generally from 48 to 60 per week, whereas by the end of 1919 the most usual range was from 44 to 48 per week; the average reduction per head being about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours per week. The following table shows the numbers of workpeople affected by such reductions in different groups of trades, and the average amount of reduction per head:—

Groups 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 .....	201,000	916,000	4.5
Coal Mining .....	1,060,000	5,217,000	4.9
Mining and Quarrying .....	33,000	139,000	4.3
Pig Iron and Iron and Steel Manufacture .....	132,000	1,811,000	13.7
Engineering, Shipbuilding and other Metal .....	1,860,000	11,655,000	6.3
Textile .....	990,000	6,957,000	7.0
Clothing .....	213,000	1,046,000	4.9
Transport .....	900,000	7,797,000	8.7
Paper, Printing, &c. ....	193,000	783,000	4.0
Glass, Brick, Pottery, and Chemical ....	264,000	1,668,000	6.3
Other Trades .....	445,000	2,644,000	5.9
Public Utility Services .....	109,000	828,000	7.6
TOTAL .....	6,400,000	41,461,000	6.5

\* Exclusive of seamen, agricultural labourers, police, domestic servants, shop assistants, and clerks. Estimates for railway servants and workpeople employed by Government Departments have been included in these figures.

If the number of agricultural labourers, shop assistants and police whose hours have been reduced could be included the total number would be substantially increased.

## UNEMPLOYMENT.

The average percentage of unemployment among members of Trades Unions paying unemployed benefit is shown in the following table which gives comparative figures for a period of 15 years :—

1905 .....	5·0	1910 .....	4·7	1915 .....	1·1
1906 .....	3·6	1911 .....	3·0	1916 .....	0·4
1907 .....	3·7	1912 .....	2·4*	1917 .....	0·7
1908 .....	7·8	1913 .....	2·1	1918 .....	0·8
1909 .....	7·8	1914 .....	3·1	1919 .....	2·4

\* Average for 10 months, omitting months affected by the general strikes.

The contrast between the unemployment figures in peace time and war, and the immediate increase of unemployment at the beginning of the peace era is very striking—an increase which (as the *Labour Gazette* says) the figures may not fully indicate inasmuch as the Trade Unions embrace a relative large proportion of skilled men in permanent employment whereas “the unemployment in the early part of 1919 was largely unemployment of semi-skilled and unskilled workers who were discharged from industries which they had only entered for the purposes of the war.”

The range of unemployment in 1919 is indicated more fully by the number of unemployed persons whose Out-of-work Donation policies remained lodged at the end of each month of 1919. And the figures reveal a total of 678,703 in January, a maximum of 1,093,400 on the 2nd of May, and a minimum of 383,095 on the 2nd of January, 1920.

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES.

The official industrial casualty list reveals (though by no means adequately) the perils to life and health which constitute a never-ending feature of industrialism under the capitalist regime. Though every day, week, month, and year bring their tale of afflictions and casualties no adequate effort is ever made to reduce them to the lowest possible minimum.

For 1918 the official figures record 3,375 fatal industrial accidents, and for 1919, 2,901. The figures are those for workpeople killed in the course of their employment and are exclusive of seamen.

Then there are the casualties due to industrial poisoning. In 1918, the number of cases of poisoning and anthrax amounted to 265, including 30 deaths. In 1919 the cases numbered 234, including 35 deaths. In addition thereto were the cases of lead poisoning of which 35 were reported in 1918, including 20 deaths, and 36 in 1919, including 18 deaths. And despite the manifest evil of lead poisoning the notification of cases to the Home Office has not yet been made obligatory.

PRIDE OF POWER.



**This magnificent figure of a herculean Smith in an attitude that suggests Labour's pride of power is one of the four colossal bronzes for the pedestals which flank Sir Thomas Brock's Queen Victoria Memorial in front of Buckingham Palace.**

# THE WORLD OF LABOUR.

## The Outstanding Events of the Year.

### Introduction.

ALTHOUGH the year 1920, like 1919, was characterised by constant industrial troubles there was a noticeable difference of temper and spirit in the two years. At the beginning of 1919 the general unrest caused by the change from war to peace conditions was exploited to a certain extent by those who sought to develop revolutionary aims among the British workers, and this inevitably coloured the strikes in the early part of that year. Long before 1920 was born, however, the extremist effort had failed completely, and as the country gradually settled down to the new conditions industrial movements, with certain exceptions to be noted in a moment, took on the normal pre-war form. They were concerned primarily with questions of wages and hours, although the effect of constantly rising prices operated almost more potently during the year than in any similar period during the war. For the most part the claims for higher wages were settled either by compromise agreements or arbitration awards, or by sliding scales agreed upon in early disputes concerning war-wage increases.

The exceptions to this general experience, referred to above, were the movement of the Miners' Federation to secure a reduction in the price of coal as well as an increase in wages (a movement which led to a serious national strike in October), and the great spontaneous uprising of the whole of organised labour, both industrial and political, to prevent the continuance of military assistance to Poland and a renewal of the interventionist war against Russia. Both these important movements will be described in some detail in the following classified record of the outstanding events of the year in the world of Labour.

Among the general wages movements the most interesting and significant was the claim of the dockers for a minimum wage of 16s. a day—a revolutionary change from the "dockers' tanner" days. This claim was referred by mutual

consent to the first public court of inquiry established under the Industrial Courts Act. Lord Shaw presided, and Mr. Ernest Bevin not only came into great public prominence, but gained the title of "The Dockers' K.C." by his brilliant presentation of the men's case. The result was a recommendation of the full 16s., the establishment of the principle of a national settlement of dock workers' conditions, and a notable contribution by Lord Shaw, in his report, on the subject of the dock worker's right to a substantial improvement in social status.

Government returns for the year 1919 showed that 34 million days were lost by disputes, which numbered 1,413, the highest in any year except 1913. Over 2½ million workers were involved. The increased wages secured by 5,647,000 workers in 1919 amounted to £2,111,000 weekly.

### LABOUR'S UPRISING AGAINST WAR.

The "Council of Action" movement arose suddenly and unexpectedly at the end of July, when a critical international situation was created by the rapid advance of the Red Army against Poland.

A few weeks earlier a special Trade Union Congress had been called to consider the questions of Russia and Ireland, and a resolution submitted by the Miners' Federation urging direct action on these questions, was carried by a decisive majority. No further action was taken by the Parliamentary Committee, however, on the particular issue then raised, in which Ireland predominated.

The advance of the Red Army was made the occasion for interviews between the Prime Minister and M. Millerand. Army chiefs were called into consultation; the Soviet Government was warned that if the Red Army advanced beyond the frontier defined by the Versailles Treaty the Allies would go to the aid

of Poland to safeguard her independence. The trade negotiations with Krassin were stopped; the *Times* announced that the situation was as grave as that which existed in August, 1914, and there were, in fact, all the signs of a deliberate movement to intervene against Russia.

Following the return of the Labour delegation from Russia at the end of June a document was published giving details of an interview between General Golovin, an agent of the "White" Russians, and Mr. Churchill concerning intervention measures in 1919, and it was alleged that Mr. Churchill had agreed to send reinforcements to Archangel on the "pretext" that they were necessary to cover the evacuation of the troops already there. This document aroused strong feeling in the ranks of Labour, and this largely accounted for the suspicious attitude with which the events at the end of July were regarded.

On August 7th and 8th meetings to protest against any intervention were held all over the country. On August 9th the Executive of the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party met and decided to appoint a Council of Action, and they issued a call to the whole trade union movement to be prepared to strike against war if this action should prove to be necessary.

The Council represented all three bodies, and included Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and others, who had denounced direct action on questions regarding which parliamentary action was possible. On August 13th a national conference, convened by the Council, was attended by a thousand delegates, and resolutions approving of the action taken, giving the Council authority to call a sudden strike with that reference to union rules, and requesting the Council to remain in session until full peace was secured with Russia, were carried unanimously. Mr. Clynes and Mr. J. H. Thomas associated themselves wholeheartedly with the action taken. The conference was the most remarkable and united gathering in the history of British Labour.

When the Government and their supporters recovered from the shock induced by this spontaneous outburst

of Labour feeling they protested that nobody had desired war, and declared that the conference had pushed at an open door. The Prime Minister said that the conference had struck an open door with a sledge hammer—an unconscious tribute to the powerful manifestation of opinion. Mr. Clynes warmly defended the conference action, and contended that the change of attitude in the Government and especially on the part of many newspapers was directly due to Labour's swift declaration of policy. The somersault performed by the *Times* and its associated papers was noteworthy.

Local councils were formed all over the kingdom to co-operate with the central body, and during the next few weeks, in which the French recognised General Wrangel, and the deadlock in the peace negotiations occurred owing to the Polish military successes, the Council maintained a close watch on events.

The international effect of the action of British Labour was marked, and an enthusiastic response was received from the workers of many countries. It was claimed that a precedent had been established which would have a profound effect on any future situation threatening war in Europe.

#### THE MINERS' DISPUTES.

The first miners' dispute of the year arose out of a wages demand, but it was a sequel to the campaign for nationalisation of the mines, and also of an effort to bring about a general movement of the trade unions to try to reduce the cost of living.

At the Trade Union Congress in Glasgow in September, 1919, a resolution was passed pledging support to the Miners' Federation campaign to "compel" the Government to nationalise the mines. Following on this a special Congress was held in London on December 9th, when it was decided to postpone any question of taking "direct action" until an intensive propaganda effort, in which the Labour Party would join with the industrial organisations. Whatever influence this campaign may have had in the country, it failed to influence the policy of the Government in the slightest degree.

Meanwhile it was obvious that with a temporary lull in the manifestation of industrial unrest in the country the feeling in favour of industrial action for political purposes had definitely weakened.

When, therefore, the adjourned special Congress was held on March 11th, the delegates declared emphatically against direct action. Two votes were taken, as follows:—

For Political Action to enforce Nationalisation ..	3,732,000
Against .....	1,015,000

Majority for Political Action .....	2,717,000
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For Direct Action .....	1,050,000
Against .....	3,870,000

Majority against Direct Action .....	2,820,000
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the "vicious circle" could thus begin. The Prime Minister rejected this suggestion.

The other trade unions had not taken up the reduction of prices idea very enthusiastically. Many of them, indeed, were engaged in higher wages movements, and consequently the miners reversed for a time their policy in this direction. A national conference of the Federation had been called for the day following the Congress, March 12th, and after some discussion the delegates decided by a large majority to demand an increase of 3s. per day for adults, and 1s. 6d. for boys under 16. The conference was adjourned until March 24th, in order that negotiations might take place with the Government. It was estimated that the demand would cost £45,000,000 a year. Critics described the policy as one of loot and plunder. When the Federation Executive met Mr. Lloyd George on March 18th, he described the demand as alarming.

The Prime Minister took the first step towards ending the coal negotiations at Downing Street by suggesting that the proper course was to submit the claim to the Coal Controller and the mine owners. Discussions thereupon took place with the Coal Controller, but no agreement was reached by March 24th, when the conference re-assembled. Negotiations were resumed, however, and the question of reverting to the percentage increase basis was discussed. Finally, after varying proposals had been considered, the Government offered an increase of 20 per cent. on gross earnings, exclusive of the war wage and Sankey wage with a guarantee of a flat rate increase of 2s. per shift for adults, 1s. for those between 16 and 18 years of age, and 9d. for those under 16.

This meant that men paid at fixed day wages would receive a definite increase of 2s., while piece workers would receive 20 per cent. on their earnings, usually a larger amount than 2s. The idea was to encourage increased output. There was a strong feeling against acceptance, and the conference decided to take a ballot. Mr. Frank Hodges made a strong appeal for acceptance, but some South Wales leaders advocated rejection. The ballot showed a large

Mr. Robert Smillie, the President of the Miners' Federation, was at this time out of action, owing to indisposition, and Mr. Frank Hodges, the Secretary of the Federation, put the case for direct action chiefly on the ground that faith in political institutions had been shattered by the Government's treatment of the Sankey Commission Report and its general handling of the coal question. He admitted, nevertheless, that the weight of argument against him in the Congress would carry the day. The chief speakers against direct action were Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (Chairman of the Congress).

In the months preceding this Congress the miners, chiefly through Mr. Smillie and Mr. Hodges, had urged strongly that the race between wages and prices was futile so far as the workers were concerned. They therefore suggested concerted action to bring down prices, and they made specific proposals regarding coal to the Prime Minister, contending that the pooled profits of the industry, owing to the high price of export coal, were sufficient to meet a substantial reduction in the price of industrial and domestic coal. They argued that in this way costs of manufacture could be reduced, and that a reverse movement from that of

strike majority in South Wales, but for the whole kingdom the figures were :—

For acceptance .....	442,704
For a strike .....	377,569

Majority for acceptance .. 65,135

In view of these figures it was not surprising that the seeds of future unrest remained, and in fact before many weeks a second, and more strenuously contested, dispute arose indirectly out of the first. It was generally assumed that the compromise wages increase would be met out of the surplus profits of the industry, but some weeks after the settlement the country was startled by an intimation that the price of domestic coal would be raised by 14s. 2d. a ton, and that 4s. 2d. would be added to the price of industrial coal. Thus the 10s. decrease in domestic coal in 1919 was abolished, and an extra 4s. 2d. was put on all inland coal. No adequate explanation was given by the Government, who justified the increase on the ground that all collieries producing for inland consumption must be placed on an economic basis, so that the "subsidy" from the profits of the export trade collieries could cease. It was assumed by critics of the Government that two purposes were intended to be served :—

1. To prepare the way for decontrol of the coal industry by making the various coalfields self-supporting.
2. The absorption by the Exchequer of a much larger surplus than had been anticipated, with the object of avoiding an increase in direct taxation.

However that may be, the increase not only reinforced the arguments for new wages movements in other industries, but it greatly angered the miners and led to an agitation for a further wages campaign. There was some preliminary discussion, but the matter was not settled until July 8th, when the annual conference of the Miners' Federation was held at Leamington. In the meantime Mr. Smillie had returned to his post, and the influence of both President and Secretary were thrown into the scale in favour of a renewal of the "reduction of price" effort. On the other hand strong sections of the miners and their leaders objected

to this, and urged that a drastic claim for increased wages should be formulated.

The outcome was a compromise, under which the demands were combined. The executive recommended a claim for a reduction of the price of domestic coal by 14s. 2d. a ton, and for an increase in wages of 2s. per shift for adults, 1s. for members of the Federation between 16 and 18 years of age, and 9d. for those under 16. This proposal was keenly debated at Leamington, and a strong minority opposed it on the ground that the demand should be limited to wages. In the end it was adopted. Later the bona fides of the miners in submitting a claim of this unique character was questioned. Probably tactical considerations outweighed others in the minds of some of the leaders, but there seemed to be no reason to doubt the sincerity of others, and possibly if one or two of the most prominent men in the Federation could have had their way the demand for reduction would have stood alone. As it was the claim for higher wages undoubtedly helped the Government immensely in the subsequent propaganda campaign against the miners.

It was claimed by the miners that during the financial year there would be a surplus of £66,000,000, after double the pre-war profit (£26,000,000) had been allocated to the mine owners. The Government did not seriously dispute these figures, although it was suggested that the surplus available for taxation would probably not exceed £60,000,000, because under the new financial arrangement one-tenth of any surplus, after providing for the £26,000,000 profits, was to go to the coal owners. The wages claim was expected to take £27,000,000, and the reduction in price £36,000,000, so that nearly the whole of the surplus would have been absorbed.

On this occasion no question of interviewing the Prime Minister arose. The executive of the Miners' Federation met Sir Robert Home (President of the Board of Trade) on August 11th, and received from him, on behalf of the Government, a blank refusal to concede anything at all. He told the executive that their proposals would mean a reversion to the policy of subsidies, that

the high export profits could not be relied upon as permanent, that the surplus must be regarded as "a bit of luck," and that the Government claimed that they were entitled to take the whole of it, just as they took the excess profits from other industries, in relief of taxation. He intimated that the decision of the Government was final, and that it had been reached only after very anxious consideration, with full realisation of the crisis which might follow.

He pointed out that the miners' wages were 155 per cent. above the pre-war level, whereas the engineers had only advanced by 132 per cent. To this the miners replied that the Sankey award had been given to raise their economic status, which was admittedly low before the war. The miners contended generally that the pooling of profits and control ought to be continued, that the increase of 14s. 2d. was unnecessary and that it had been imposed to prepare the way for decontrol, and that the mine workers were entitled to share the surplus with the consumers. Critics of the Federation suggested that the financial demand was made in order to bankrupt the industry and force nationalisation.

After the interview with Sir Robert Horne the miners' officials attended their international conference at Geneva. On their return the executive met (on August 11th) and decided to leave the national conference on the following day free to decide the future course of action. It was believed in some quarters that the reduction of price policy would be dropped, but, on the contrary, the conference decided by 168 votes to three to take a strike ballot on the Leamington dual demand, regarding which Mr. Smillie had told the Coal Controller that the two claims, for increased wages and reduction in price, must stand or fall together. The date for the ballot was August 25th and 26th, and a meeting of the executives of the Triple Alliance was summoned for August 31st, in order that the dispute might be discussed in the light of the ballot result. Meanwhile a great anti-strike propaganda by the combined forces of the Government and the Coal Association (a body formed by the mine-owners during the Commission inquiry

for publicity purposes) was foreshadowed by a chorus of inspired articles in the newspapers. This campaign was initiated by Sir Robert Horne himself, in a press interview in which he pictured the disastrous effects of a strike and made the significant statement that "such a demand cannot fairly be conceded, and a strike to attempt to enforce it is an injustice to the whole body of our citizens." On August 17th, in the House of Commons, he said that he would much regret if the view was taken that a ballot result in favour of a strike would help to secure concessions.

At the meeting of the Triple Alliance a resolution was passed unanimously declaring that the claim of the miners was reasonable and just and should be conceded forthwith. The ballot figures, communicated to the meeting were as follows:—

For a strike .....	606,782
Against .....	238,865
	367,917
Majority for .....	367,917

This was more than the two-thirds majority necessary for a strike, but in Yorkshire (with its memories of the costly and futile strike in 1919) and in Notts only very narrow majorities for a strike were obtained.

The Triple Alliance and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, which was in session at Portsmouth, held their hand until after the miners' national conference, on September 2nd, when the delegates, without discussion, decided to hand in the notices at once, after hearing from Mr. Smillie a statement regarding the position and the attitude of the Triple Alliance. The date of termination of the notices was fixed for September 25th, obviously in order to allow ample time for resumed negotiations after the Trade Union Congress, which opened on the following Monday.

After this stage the dispute developed into one of the keenest negotiation contests in the history of British Labour. The Government, which had made extensive preparation to meet a strike, held firmly to its refusals to grant either of the two demands of the miners as presented. The miners were themselves divided on policy, and leaders in the



other two sections of the Triple Alliance held varying views. Hence it was a comparatively easy matter for the Government, by maintaining a firm and united front, to force the miners gradually from one compromise position to another.

Before this point was reached a fruitless effort was made to present to the country a spectacle of Labour solidarity which did not exist. At the Trade Union Congress at Portsmouth it was decided as a matter of tactics not to have any discussion which would reveal differences of opinion. After a passionate appeal for support by Mr. Frank Hodges the Congress, without further discussion, passed a resolution in the same terms as that of the Triple Alliance, expressing the opinion that the dual demand was justified and should be conceded at once. This followed upon a visit of the miners' executive from Portsmouth to the Board of Trade, on the invitation of Sir Robert Horne, who desired to clear up certain possible misunderstandings. The interview brought a settlement no nearer. At the close of the Trade Union Congress, the president, Mr. J. H. Thomas, spoke vaguely of the dangers of the moment and of the need for Labour to be united.

The next important step was a suggestion of the miners' executive to refer the question of prices to an inquiry. The Government immediately assumed that this meant the dropping of the demand for a reduction in prices, and in fact little more was heard of this matter. The Government showed no disposition to compromise on the wages demand, however. Two alternative proposals were made, that the question should be referred to a court of inquiry or that the miners should meet the owners and try to formulate a scheme of increased wages in relation to output. On September 22nd a delegate conference discussed these alternatives, and Mr. Smillie strongly advocated reference to a court of inquiry. This was defeated by a vote of 200,000. Meanwhile an interview between representatives of the Alliance and the Prime Minister had taken place, and the Alliance leaders had supported the claim of the miners for an immediate increase of 2s. a day. On September 23rd a full

delegate conference of the three sections of the Alliance sat for many hours in a fruitless effort to agree on policy. Wide differences of opinion were revealed. It became clear that no united strike movement could be looked for. On the following day the miners' executive asked that the Prime Minister should meet them, and the result of this interview was an agreement by the miners to meet representatives of the owners the following day to discuss the possibility of an increase in connection with output.

After several meetings, and further discussions at Downing Street, it was decided by a further delegate conference to submit to a second ballot vote a "datum line" offer by the owners which would give specified advances in wages for specified increases in output. The strike notices had been suspended for a week pending the negotiations with the employers, and a further suspension for a fortnight was now agreed to.

The coalowners made the following offer, with proportionate increases for youths and boys:—

For output at the annual rate of	An advance of
240,000,000 tons ..	1s. per shift.
244,000,000 ,, ..	1/6 ,,
248,000,000 ,, ..	2/- ,,
252,000,000 ,, ..	2/6 ,,
256,000,000 ,, ..	3/- ,,

Mr. Smillie advised acceptance of this as a purely temporary measure to give time for a complete revision of the wages system. The feeling against regulation of wages being bound up with output, however, was tremendously strong among the miners, who contended that the owners controlled most of the factors on which output depends. The ballot vote was overwhelmingly against acceptance, the figures being:—

For the offer	181,428
Against . . . .	635,098

Majority 453,670

The delegate conference on October 14th decided that in view of this vote the strike notices must take effect on the 16th, and this was communicated to the Prime Minister. He replied by letter, regretting the decision, and reviewing the offers made by the Govern-

ment. It seemed that each side expected overtures from the other, but no step was taken, and the strike began on the date named. Every man came out, and the whole of the coalfields were idle. The Government had accumulated large stocks of coal, and had prepared elaborate machinery for ensuring the supply of foodstuffs and other necessaries, but no spectacular measures were taken at the outset, and the most significant feature of the situation was a complete cessation of the anti-miner propaganda which had marked the opening stages of the dispute. The press was almost unanimous in its appeal for mediation and settlement, and it was obvious that the Government greatly feared the possible effects of an extension and prolongation of the strike.

It is not surprising that in these circumstances informal pourparlers were set on foot by individuals with the object of bringing about a renewal of negotiations, and the Government announced that on the re-assembling of Parliament on October 19th a debate would be initiated by Sir Robert Horne or the Prime Minister. In this debate conciliatory speeches were made by the miners' members, and Mr. W. Brace put forward definite proposals that if the increase of 2s. were conceded immediately, joint output committees to increase production should be set up, that a national wages board should be established and charged with the task of producing before the end of the year a complete revision of the wages basis for the whole of the coalfields, and that the proportion of the surplus profits from the mining pool to be received by the Government, the owners, and the miners, should also be determined.

These proposals seemed to be favourably regarded by the House. They were supported unanimously by the Labour members, and hopes of a settlement ran high until the Prime Minister spoke. He was courteous and conciliatory in tone, but he insisted firmly that an increase in wages could not be given without an absolute guarantee of increased output. He was urged by Mr. Adamson and Mr. A. Henderson to call a joint conference of Government representatives, miners, and mineowners, but replied that he must

consult his colleagues, and expressed the opinion that it would be futile to have such a conference unless there was a good prospect of the acceptance of a settlement on the lines he had indicated.

It became clear on the following day that the public generally felt that the Prime Minister had made a serious mistake in not suggesting an immediate conference. Instead of this, informal conversations were initiated between the Government and some of the miners' members to try to discover if an acceptable basis for the reopening of negotiations could be worked out. This meant that the proposals of Mr. Brace were still "turned down" by the Government. No progress was made up to the evening of October 22nd, and earlier on this day the national conference of the N.U.R. decided to call out all railwaymen in sympathy at Sunday midnight, October 24th, if negotiations had not been resumed by the Saturday. Ominous hints of action by the transport workers were also given, and the country seemed to be on the brink of the gravest industrial struggle in its history. The Prime Minister stated that the threats from the other two sections of the Triple Alliance had increased the difficulty of reaching a settlement, but the press generally rallied to the view that these considerations must not be allowed to stand in the way of any possible settlement.

On Saturday, October 23rd, the dispute took a dramatic turn. The miners' executive met, accepted an invitation from the Prime Minister to resume official discussions, and advised the N.U.R. conference to postpone its threatened strike. This advice was accepted. The discussions at Downing Street were resumed on the Sunday by the office bearers of the Federation, and on the following Tuesday the full executive met the Government. On Thursday a provisional settlement was announced, and the executive undertook to recommend the men to accept it in a ballot vote. The terms were intricate and technical, but their effect was as follows:—

The advance of 2s., 1s., and 9d. for men, youths, and boys to be conceded forthwith.

Owners and men solemnly pledged themselves to do everything to increase output.

A national wages board to be appointed to work out a permanent wages scheme by March 31st, 1921.

The period between to be experimental. The 2s. advance to remain in operation until January 3rd, 1921, and then to be subject, until the permanent scheme was prepared, to increase or decrease on a sliding scale determined by the profit proceeds of export coal, as calculated on a standard fixed according to the comparatively low output of the September, 1920, quarter.

This temporary arrangement was a compromise, designed to meet the demand for the immediate concession of the 2s., and also the claim by the Government that the country should get value for the concession in the shape of increased output.

An important point in the agreement was the remission to the national wages board of the question of the disposal of surplus profits. In the early stage of the dispute the Government held firmly to the contention that this was a matter for the Government and Parliament to decide.

Arrangements were made to take the ballot within five days. On November 3rd the result of the ballot was announced at the National Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation as follows: Total votes cast, 684,549. For acceptance, 338,045; against, 346,504. Majority against, 8,459.

The conference thereon declared the strike at an end, and advised the men to resume work as soon as possible, and this for the reason that the ballot showed only a small majority against, instead of the two-thirds majority required by the rules to prevent a return to work. In accordance with instructions the miners generally resumed work forthwith.

#### RAILWAY DISPUTES.

After the railway strike settlement in the autumn of 1919 negotiations on the standard rates were resumed in accordance with the terms of the settlement. At the beginning of January the Government offer resulting from these discussions was made known to the men.

It included a comprehensive scheme of regrading, which greatly reduced the number of categories of men in the service. The offer in regard to wages was an addition of 38s. a week to the average pre-war weekly rate for each grade. This meant, in effect, an increase of 5s. per week to each man, as compared with the offer before the strike. The cost of living sliding scale was to remain—the wages to rise or fall at the rate of 1s. a week for each increase or decrease of five points in the cost of living.

Although the offer fell considerably below the original demand, which was that the war wage of 33s. a week should be added to the *highest* wage in each grade, and not to the *average*, the men were strongly advised by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., to accept it. Some of the districts voted against acceptance, however, and a national delegate conference on January 7th rejected the terms. Negotiations were renewed, and Sir Eric Geddes and Sir Robert Horne went to Paris to consult with the Prime Minister. On their return it was announced that the Government held firmly to the main terms, and after further discussion the men's delegates decided to accept.

Discontent continued to be manifested in the railway centres, and a few of the "Vigilance Committees," which are the rallying points of the more aggressive opinions in the railway service, set on foot a "work to rule" strike. This is a form of sabotage practised on various occasions in France. It is operated by working rigidly to the railway rules—a procedure which in certain circumstances causes serious congestion of traffic. The movement was taken up half-heartedly, and only in two or three centres. The greatest inconvenience was caused in the Manchester area. The executive of the National Union of Railwaymen ignored the movement, and at the end of a month it died of its own ineffectiveness.

On March 17th the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen approached the Government with a new wages demand, the nature of which was not divulged to the public. After preliminary negotiations the claim was referred to the Central Wages Board. This Board was part of the new Conciliation machinery set up after the 1919 strike. On it sat representatives of the

companies and the railway workers, and provision was made, in case of disagreement, for reference of disputes to a National Board on which representatives of the public sit with the nominees of the companies and the unions.

Shortly afterwards, in April, the N.U.R. suddenly appeared in the field with a new demand for an increase of £1 per week, and this was also dealt with by the Central Wages Board.

During the inquiry strong opposition to any further increase was urged by representatives of commercial interests. At the beginning of June, however, the Wages Board met the N.U.R. demand by awarding increases ranging from 4s. to 7s. 6d. per week in London and industrial areas, and from 2s. to 3s. in rural areas. The enginemens' demand was met by an award of 2s. per week for cleaners, 4s. for firemen, and 7s. for drivers. The Board expressed a hope that, apart from increases under the cost of living sliding scale, the railwaymen would allow wages to be stabilised for such a period as would facilitate a return to a sound basis for trade and commerce.

There was little further serious trouble on the railways until the question of sympathetic strike action in connection with the coal dispute (*see* Miners' section) arose in October.

#### THE DOCKERS' MINIMUM.

The claim by the Transport Workers' Federation on behalf of the dockers for a minimum of 16s. a day was submitted in November, 1919. Negotiations took place jointly between the parties and also in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour. Towards the end of the year the employers offered to refer the claim to a court of inquiry under the Industrial Disputes Act. The Federation agreed on condition that the inquiry was public and the employers accepted this condition. The inquiry attracted special public interest because it was the first of its kind under the new conciliation machinery introduced by Sir Robert Horne. Lord Shaw was appointed chairman and the other members of the Court were :—

Nominated by the Ministry of Labour :  
Mr. John Smethurst (Master Cotton Spinners) and Mr. A. Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation).

Dock Employers' representatives : Sir Joseph G. Broodbank, Sir Lionel Fletcher, and Mr. Frederic Scrutton.

Transport Workers' Federation representatives : Mr. Harry Gosling, Mr. Ben Tillet, M.P., and Mr. Robert Williams.

Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. J. Sexton, M.P., were entrusted with the task of presenting the case for the dockers, and Sir Lynden Macassey, K.C., argued the case for the employers.

The inquiry began on February 3rd. Mr. Bevin occupied many hours in delivering with great force and eloquence his opening speech, which won the warm praise of all who heard it. He dwelt on the wretched conditions of work at the docks in past years, and claimed generally that these workers were entitled to a much higher standard of life than they had ever experienced. He argued cogently the case for a national, as opposed to district settlements of wages, and for a system of registration and maintenance of the necessary reserve of labour so as to eliminate from the occupation the admittedly great evils of casual labour.

Much was heard as the inquiry proceeded about the cost of living, and the wage required to maintain a decent standard of life. Figures submitted by the employers were caustically criticised by the men's representatives. Mr. Bevin rejected emphatically what he called "the fodder basis" of settling wages by a sliding scale arrangement like that adopted in the railway settlement of 1919, and in many other industries. He calculated that a wage of £6 a week was necessary for a dock worker with a wife and three children, and in support of this he submitted the following weekly budget :—

	£	s.	d.
Docker, 4 meals a day at 9d. ea.	1	1	0
Wife, 4 meals at 6d. . . . .	0	14	0
Three children, 3 meals each at 6d. . . . .	1	11	6
Rent . . . . .	0	10	0
Clothing . . . . .	1	5	0
Insurance, trade union fees, &c.	0	4	0
Gas, coal, &c. . . . .	0	5	0
Limited luxury, tobacco, literature, and recreation . . . . .	0	10	0
Total . . . . .	£6	0	6

The employers argued firstly that the industry could not bear the increase in wages, and that the cost would have to fall on the consumers, and secondly that a national standard would be unfair owing to the varying conditions at the ports.

In the later stages of the inquiry the question of output was prominent. Evidence was given to show that "ca' canny" widely prevailed, and the men's leaders did not seriously attempt to refute the allegations. They admitted that restriction of output was bad policy, and undertook to do all in their power to bring about a better state of affairs if the claim were conceded.

The Court issued two reports on March 31st. The majority report recommended the award of the 16s. minimum, as a national standard, on the basis of the 44-hour week which had already been negotiated—certain small ports to be subject to a special rate. The system of registration of dock labour, with its corollary of a scheme to maintain men during forced unemployment, was approved. The introduction of a system of weekly wages was recommended.

Lord Shaw and his fellow signatories made some notable statements in this report. They agreed that a better standard of living meant something substantially above a mere subsistence allowance, and that it must include provision for "comforts and decencies." They added: "In the opinion of the Court the time has gone past for assessing the value of human labour at the poverty line."

Regarding casual labour they pointed out that it might be convenient to employers to have a reservoir of unemployment for emergencies but, they wrote, "if men were merely parts of an industrial machine this callous reckoning might be proper; but society will not tolerate much longer the continuance of the employment of human beings on these lines."

There was a weighty passage on output. The Court found that a deliberate policy of ca' canny had been adopted by a large number of men, and added: "The Court is impressed with the fact that the responsible leaders of the men do not sanction it, and treat it not only as a wrong but as a mistake."

This report was signed by Lord Shaw,

Sir Lionel Fletcher, Mr. Gosling, Mr. Pugh, Mr. Tillett, and Mr. Williams.

Mr. Smethurst signed with the reservation that he did not agree with the establishment of the minimum wage, but favoured a substantial percentage increase.

Sir Joseph Broodbank and Mr. Scruton signed a minority report, in which they agreed broadly with the principle of registration and allowances during unemployment. They objected both to the principle of the minimum wage and to the amount suggested.

After conferring together the representatives of employers and employed signed an agreement on May 8th providing for the establishment of a minimum wage of 8s. per half-day in 43 large ports, and of 7s. 6d. in the smaller ports. The agreement was made on the assumption that the employers would have the benefit of a full eight hours work per day. It also provided for the creation of local joint committees to consider complaints, and it was agreed that no sectional stoppage should take place before a grievance had been considered by the local committee.

The other matters dealt with in the report, including registration, were left over for further discussion.

After some weeks the Transport Workers' Federation adopted a scheme of maintenance drawn up by Mr. Bevin, and this was pressed on the employers and the Government for acceptance. The attitude taken up by the Government was that the matter was one for the employers and the Federation to try to settle in the first place, and that the Ministry of Labour should intervene only if the two parties failed to come to an agreement.

The scheme provided that the burden of unemployment among the dockers should be transferred to the port industry by the registration of all workers in specified classes, that all men should be guaranteed a minimum payment of £4 per week, and that the cost should be met by a levy of fourpence per ton on all goods handled. Provision was made for checking the unavoidable employment, and for the exclusion of men who refused appropriate work from the maintenance. The scheme



50,000 members of the Ironfounders, Core Makers, and Iron and Steel Dressers Unions were directly involved, started on September 20th, 1919. It arose out of a wages claim for an advance of 15s. a week, after the unions named had broken away from a general agreement in conjunction with the other engineering societies. Many efforts were made to secure a settlement, but the men doggedly refused to give in. At the beginning of January a ballot vote (the third during the dispute) showed a majority of 7,087 against accepting an increase of 5s. which had been awarded by the Arbitration Court to, and accepted by, other engineering workers. A fortnight later, however, the executives of the unions recommended acceptance. A fourth ballot gave a majority of 6,404 for ending the strike, and the men who were still unemployed thereupon returned to work.

Many of the moulders had, however, obtained employment in better paid occupations, and for a long time some sections of the industry were affected by a shortage of moulders. During the strike some thousands of other engineering workers were idle, and serious loss was incurred by many firms, especially in the motor car branch of the industry.

#### STEEL WORKERS.

The steel industry has remained comparatively immune from the industrial unrest since the armistice, partly because of the excellent conciliation machinery in the trade, and partly because the conditions favour payment by results, which policy has long been accepted by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. As a matter of fact, the wages earned by many steel smelters are probably the highest obtained by manual workers in the kingdom. A wage of £15 to £20 a week is common, and many exceptionally skilled men can earn as much as £25 to £30, and even more.

In March a dispute arose in South Wales owing to the refusal of the employers to give an advance of 40 per cent. which had just been conceded to the tinplate workers. It was claimed to be customary that increases should be common to the two trades, and the workers struck without notice. The executive of the Federation acted

promptly and firmly. The strikers were informed that the officials would not attempt to re-open negotiations with the employers until there was a resumption of work, notwithstanding the fact that the Union fully supported the claim of the men. After a few days the strikers returned to work, negotiations were resumed, and under a settlement which was quickly reached the 40 per cent. increase was paid from the beginning of January, while it was decided to introduce a sliding scale with a minimum of £5 a week.

In July further wages movements were initiated in the industry, and the following increases were conceded:— 25 per cent. to all workers in the steel smelting works throughout Great Britain; 35 per cent. to workers in the rolling mills and puddling forges of the Midlands; 35½ per cent. to the pig-iron workers in Northamptonshire; and 55½ per cent. to the pig-iron workers in Lancashire.

#### THE BUILDING TRADES.

Events of great interest occurred in the building trades during the year, and public attention was attracted to the affairs of the unions because of the continued breakdown of the Government's housing plans and the efforts made by the Ministry of Health to induce the unions to accept dilution and payment by results. The "Building Guild" scheme, started in Manchester, made considerable headway in other districts, and reached the stage of actual contracts for erecting houses.

After trying various expedients to secure the co-operation of the unions the Government offered to guarantee maintenance during forced unemployment for a period of five years, but the acceptance of payment by results was made an essential condition of the scheme. Several conferences took place, but the workers held firm to their opposition, and the employers also objected to certain of the Government's proposals. The dilution scheme included a suggestion that adult apprentices should be taken up to the age of 26, with the object of absorbing unemployed ex-Service men.

After various futile conferences the Government formulated a scheme under

which up to 75 per cent. of weekly wages was guaranteed to the building operatives, on condition that dilution was accepted. The Government also announced that in view of the growing unemployment they were determined that ex-service men should be employed in the building and other trades where a shortage of labour existed.

The Guild scheme was initiated by Mr. S. G. Hobson, with the co-operation of the Manchester officials of the unions, and in the course of a few months several guilds were organised, including one in London. The governing ideas were that bodies of operatives in the various building trades should organise and accept contracts on a basis of cost of construction plus an agreed percentage, and that the local authorities should provide the materials. It was hoped that in time the guilds would be able to undertake the whole enterprise. From the workers' point of view the advantages offered were that the guilds would be self-governing, thus realising workers' control effectively, and that a full week's wages would be guaranteed throughout the year. It was believed that under these conditions restriction of output would disappear, and that in good weather the men would make up for loss of time in bad weather.

The project was regarded variously at first. Some people thought it impracticable, but at last one or two authorities agreed to enter into contracts. The Ministry of Health did not show any great anxiety to welcome the new method, and the guild leaders declared in the summer that considerable opposition to their schemes was being fostered in the trade. Some contracts were definitely approved at last, and the development of the scheme is being watched with great interest.

A great step forward was made in October when the London Guild, backed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society (which had arranged to participate in the "Building Guild" scheme as the contractor for and supplier of materials), signed a contract for a £400,000 housing scheme for Walthamstow.

In August the harmony of the Joint Industrial Council for the Building Trades, which had been regarded as the model Whitley Council, was disturbed

by a report presented by some of the members of a joint committee which had been appointed to consider questions of the management of the industry. They urged that the industry should be organised as a public service, with employers and workers co-operating on a basis of capital hired at a definite rate of interest. As a practical beginning it was suggested that the industry should assume responsibility for its own reserve of labour, by providing a fund out of which the workers would be maintained during unemployment caused by stress of weather.

Many of the employers strongly attacked the report as socialistic and impracticable and at one point they refused to nominate their representatives to serve on the Joint Council.

There were various wages movements and some strikes in the industry during the year. In East Kent 5,000 workers struck in May for an increase of 5d. an hour (to make 1s. 11d.) and a 44-hour week. In the same month 11,000 joiners in Scotland ceased work to enforce a demand for 2s. 6d. an hour. This strike lasted nine weeks and was settled by the concession of 2s. 4d. for skilled men and 1s. 11½d. for labourers. Through the agency of the National Conciliation Board various district rates were established, and in London mechanics received 2s. 4d., painters 2s. 3d., and labourers 2s. 1d. an hour. The close approach of the labourers' wage to that of the skilled operative was symptomatic. It had its parallel in the engineering trade, where the advances of the labourers since 1914 were greater proportionately than those of the artisans.

In August a strike took place in the South-Western district on a claim for 2s. 4d. an hour, and at the same time the London and Southern Counties Building Trades Operatives' Federation gave four months' notice of termination of agreement, and tabled a new claim for 3s. an hour.

#### MISCELLANEOUS TRANSPORT DISPUTES.

In March, the Transport Workers' Federation tabled a demand for an increase of 10s. a week on behalf of fourteen unions of men engaged in commercial road transport. After a

*(Continued on page 289).*



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breakdown in the negotiations and the threat of a strike the matter was referred to the Industrial Court, which took the usual course of splitting the difference and, on March 31st, awarded an increase of 5s. a week.

About the same time a demand for a 10s. increase was made on behalf of the tramway employees and busmen, who threatened to strike at Easter. On March 30th, after a long meeting of the Joint Industrial Council, a settlement was reached on the basis of an increase of 5s. forthwith, and a further increase of 1s. in June. The settlement was accepted by the majority of the workers concerned, but within a few days there were sudden strikes at Manchester, Salford, Oldham, Huddersfield, Cardiff, and Swansea, in defiance of the advice of the union leaders. The position was complicated by the fact that some of the municipal authorities were willing to concede a larger increase, and the Bradford Tramways Committee averted a strike by promising the full 10s. It therefore became necessary to re-open the negotiations. The Joint Industrial Council again met after a truce had been called in the unauthorised strike centres. After another deadlock and strike threat a settlement was reached which gave the men increases varying from 9s. in London and some of the larger provincial cities to 7s. in the smaller centres.

In October a claim by 150,000 road transport workers for a minimum wage of £4. 7s. per week was rejected, and on October 18th, the day on which the coal strike began, it was decided to cease work on the 23rd unless the demand were conceded. Later, however, a stipulation by the employers that an effort should be made to negotiate local settlements was agreed to.

#### MUNICIPAL STRIKES.

Apart from the gas and tramways disputes noted elsewhere there was a certain amount of miscellaneous unrest in the municipal services. A few strikes of minor importance occurred, but a stoppage of work at Cardiff had a character all its own. The casual workers employed by the tramways department obtained an adjustment of wages which gave them 1s. 9d. an hour, but owing to some mistake, which the Lord Mayor

described as "a piece of stupidity on the part of somebody" the new rates were not paid, and in August the men struck work in protest. Many of the other Corporation workers showed their sympathy by ceasing work also, and among them were the drivers and conductors of the trams, the men at the electric car station, the scavengers, the school caretakers, the gravediggers, and others. Altogether between three and four thousand were out. When the error in regard to the new wages rate was recognised a complication was introduced by a fresh demand for 2s. 1d. an hour on the ground that in the interval that rate had been awarded to bricklayers' labourers in the town. The dispute attracted wide public attention because it coincided with the meeting of the British Association, whose members had to find their way about a tramless city.

#### THE TEXTILE TRADES.

Trouble was threatened during the year both in the cotton and woollen textile trades, but strikes were averted by compromise wages settlements in both industries.

In the cotton trade the end of an agreement was the signal for a declaration by the operatives that they intended to have a larger share of the enormous profits which were admittedly being made owing to the high prices obtainable abroad. The claim submitted on behalf of the chief classes of operatives were:—  
 Spinners: 60 per cent. on current wages.  
 Cardroom: 65 " " "  
 Weavers: 60 " " "

To these the employers replied that the spinners' claim was excessive and could not be considered, that they were willing to submit the cardroom demand to arbitration, and that they were willing to offer the weavers 55 per cent. on standard wages, or an equivalent of 22½ per cent. on current wages.

The operatives declined these offers. In April the Textile Trades Federation decided to hand in notices to enforce the weavers' claim, and the spinners and cardroom operatives agreed to take a ballot with a view to acting simultaneously. There were overwhelming majorities for a strike. The Minister of Labour intervened, however, and as a result of continued negotiations a settlement was reached on May 6th with the

spinners and cardroom workers. An offer equivalent to 28½ per cent. on current earnings, with modifications to meet special cases, was accepted. This was conditional upon a settlement being reached with the weavers, and on the following day the weavers also agreed to the same increase.

It was stated that the concession meant for the average spinner an increase from £5. 6s. to £6. 16s. per week, and that it would enable the highest paid spinners to earn £12. 10s. and £13 a week. Women cardroom workers before the settlement received from 30s. to 59s. These rates were increased to 38s. 6d. and 76s. The agreement was to last for twelve months.

In the woollen industry the same distinction has to be drawn between the standard or base wages and the present earnings, which are partly made up of war wages. In July a dispute arose in Yorkshire following a demand for an increase of 40 per cent. on current earnings. The employers offered 10 per cent., or the equivalent of 26 per cent. on the standard wage. The operatives rejected this, and a ballot vote which followed gave authority for a strike. Sir David Shackleton intervened on behalf of the Ministry of Labour, and it was agreed to discuss the matter again at a meeting of the Joint Industrial Council for the woollen textile industry. This was done in August, and after several adjournments and protracted discussions the operatives' representatives decided to recommend acceptance of an offer which differed very little from the first—26¼ per cent. on current earnings, plus a 10 per cent. increase, under a sliding scale arrangement already in existence, to meet the higher cost of living.

The position of the operatives was weakened by the fact that owing to a slump in orders, the trade had entered upon an unstable period, and also by the fact that the General Textile Workers' Union (chiefly weavers), which had greatly extended its membership during the war on a comparatively low contribution, was not in the strongest position to take part in a fight. These considerations acted as a brake on the more aggressive woolcombers, and they also influenced the employers, who were

obviously determined to resist a strike strenuously.

#### THE GAS STRIKES.

An outbreak of local insurgence against a national wages settlement occurred in connection with a gas workers' dispute. In April, the National Federation of General Workers presented to the Joint Industrial Council for the gas industry a demand which included a claim for an increase of 10s. a week, a 44-hour week, double pay for Sunday work, and fourteen days' holiday per year with pay.

The Federation of Gas Employers rejected the claims on the ground that the industry could not bear the cost. Thereupon a strike ballot was instituted, and 96 per cent. of the workers concerned voted for drastic action. This led to a re-opening of negotiations, which were rendered difficult because of the number and variety of the interests involved—the claim affecting 154 corporations, 110 urban councils, and 961 private companies, the whole employing about 100,000 workers. They had already received (on January 12th) an increase of 5s., 4s., and 3s., according to the capacity of the undertakings.

After the strike ballot negotiations were resumed, but they broke down again, and a national stoppage of the gas supply seemed imminent. Efforts to settle differences were continued, however, and on July 7th an agreement was reached on the basis of an increase of 1s. per shift with time and a half for Sunday work. This was at once rejected by the Manchester men, who struck without notice on July 9th. Their example was quickly followed by a number of other towns in Lancashire, and by Bristol and some of the men in the Potteries. This action was denounced by the union leaders, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., as president of the General Workers' Union, vigorously urged the strikers to return. On July 14th the majority of the strikers agreed to resume work on the understanding that a scheme of grading and zoning, which would have regard to special circumstances, would be promoted. At a conference of the Union it was reported that dissatisfaction with the settlement was widespread. It was therefore decided to ask the employers for another advance of 1s. per shift. The Employers' Federation stood firm, however. They

offered to resume negotiations on the grading and zoning proposals, but emphatically declined to concede another general increase. After several meetings and discussions the union accepted this way out of the difficulty.

#### "BLACK-COATED" WORKERS.

The growing strength of the organisation of "black-coated" workers, and the success in wages and conditions movements following from that organisation was again demonstrated in 1920.

The Shop Assistants' Union continued its 1919 campaign. During the early months of the year its membership increased at the rate of 8,000 a month, and by Easter, when the annual conference was held, it was able to point to a total membership of over 100,000, and to wages gains in the past year of the aggregate value of £2,500,000. This pleasant announcement was made by the union's woman president, Miss Talbot.

During the year wages negotiations were continued in all parts of the country. A national programme for £1 a week increase was launched, and although it was not fully realised the wages of large numbers of members of the union in London were raised from 65s. for porters (40s. for women) to 80s. for salesmen (47s. for women). In the provinces corresponding success was achieved.

The question of "living-in" conditions was seriously tackled. Investigations showed that these conditions in many establishments were still open to strong criticism. An agreement was arrived at with many firms under which living-in became optional. The recognised wage was paid, and £1 a week was deducted if an assistant lived in and received full board.

In the ranks of the railway clerks there was much discontent at the delay in settling the new scales which were to be drafted after the settlement of the 1919 dispute.

At last the agreement was published in February, and it showed that substantial gains had been secured. Beginning at £35 a year at 15, it now became possible for a clerk to rise by various stages to £350, with £10 extra for London. Stationmasters were graded from £150 to £350.

The clerks were placed in three classifications, each carrying its own minimum and maximum salary, and many complaints were made to the effect that clerks were placed in a lower class than their position warranted in order that the companies might avoid paying the advances obtained. These grievances were the subject of continued negotiations by the Railway Clerks' Association.

In December, 1919, the first strike of insurance collectors was started by employees of the Pearl Company. They claimed a minimum of £3 a week. The company refused this, and also declined to recognise the men's union. A long struggle was ended by the capitulation of the Company, which agreed to pay the £3 and to recognise the union. This result was not reached until after the intervention of the Workers' Union and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. Strenuous newspaper support of the strikers was a feature of the campaign.

The Union of Post Office Workers presented a demand that their wages should be brought up to the equivalent of the pre-war standard, and that then a further 10s. a week should be added. After negotiations and talk about a strike ballot, the Postmaster-General made an offer which the union accepted. The five existing classifications in the provinces were reduced to three, and increases were given which raised the London indoor workers to a maximum of £3. 7s. 6d. and provincial workers to maxima ranging from £2 9s. to £3. 1s.

Postmen were to get £2. 6s. maximum in London, and from £1. 14s. to £2 in the provinces. In all cases the war bonus, varying from 31s. to 35s. a week, was to be added.

The Union decided at its annual conference at Morecambe in May to institute a national programme on broad lines, to include—

Joint management of the Post Office in conjunction with the State.

Full civil rights for postal servants.

Equal pay for equal work.

A 38½ hour week, in five days, including meal times.

Longer holidays and increased pensions.

The Union also adopted a proposal to organise strike machinery.

## A NEWSPAPER STRIKE.

An unauthorised strike of a unique character, which involved a prolonged stoppage of the *Manchester Guardian* and other important Lancashire newspapers, took place at the end of August. Some time previously the Manchester and Liverpool branches of the Typographical Association objected strongly to the terms of a wages settlement reached by their Association and the master printers. These branches demanded 3s. above the wages in other large provincial towns. First they put an embargo on overtime. This created difficulty in producing week-end newspapers, and the proprietors threatened a lock-out. The embargo was thereupon withdrawn, and it was agreed to discuss the general wages question anew on September 14th. On August 30th, however, the printers in Manchester and Liverpool struck work against the instructions of their executive. All the newspapers in the two towns ceased publication, but small typewritten duplicated sheets containing brief summaries of the news were circulated.

The executive of the Typographical Association, and the committee of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation declared against the unauthorised strike, and various conferences were held with the object of persuading the men to return to work. The newspaper proprietors again threatened a lockout throughout the provinces, but they held their hand for a time, and after the strike had lasted for four weeks the men agreed to resume work on the understanding that the whole wages question affecting the printers would be re-opened by the Master Printers' Federation. The newspapers renewed publication without incident.

## MISCELLANEOUS DISPUTES.

Among the numerous industrial movements of the year which passed unnoticed by the public, or which attracted comparatively little attention, may be mentioned the following:—

The bakers continued their efforts, begun in 1919, to improve their conditions. They resisted the restoration of the system of night baking which had been stopped during the war, and secured important modifications. In

February, they presented a national demand for an advance of 15s. a week, and in response they received an offer of 7s. for town and 4s. for country workers, making 72s. a week for the former and 64s. for the latter. By means of sectional efforts, however, they obtained a minimum of £4 in several districts.

In the late summer the Seafarers' Unions and Associations presented demands to the shipowners for increases for all grades, from captains downwards. The engineers asked for an advance of 50 per cent., and officers asked for 40 per cent., and seamen and firemen claimed 30 to 40 per cent. The claims were referred to the Maritime Board, and shipowners declared that it was impossible to concede the demands.

During the year unsuccessful efforts were made to advance the movement for a 48-hour week for seamen.

The question of the 48-hour week also greatly concerned farmers and agricultural labourers. After numerous conferences it was agreed that agricultural workers could be included in the general 48-hour Bill, with certain provisions to give the necessary elasticity to meet the special conditions of farm work. Nothing more was heard of the Bill during the session, however. In June, the Agricultural Wages Board proposed that a further increase of 4s. a week should be given. During harvest some of the Yorkshire labourers demanded £6 a week and in West Lancashire £5 was actually paid—the highest farm wage on record.

## LABOUR'S "GENERAL STAFF."

After the railway strike in the autumn of 1919 a movement developed which promised to influence deeply the future of the British trade union movement. Mr. Harry Gosling who, as president of the Transport Workers' Federation, had played a powerful part in settling that strike, pointed out the weakness of the movement owing to the fact that it possessed no central body with adequate authority to act promptly and effectively in disputes when the interests of trade unionists apart from the combatants were seriously affected.

The outcome of a discussion which followed was the appointment of a committee to consider the problem and draft

a scheme. It was pointed out at the time that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress was originally appointed chiefly for the purpose of watching the interests of trade unions in Parliament, that this function was now largely assumed by the Parliamentary Labour Party, and that either the industrial powers of the Parliamentary Committee should be strengthened and clearly defined, or that a new body, with definite authority and functions, should be created.

After a number of meetings the Drafting Committee decided in favour of the creation of a new body, and they presented a report, containing specific recommendations, which was adopted by the Parliamentary Committee and referred to the September Congress at Portsmouth.

It was recommended that instead of the present Parliamentary Committee there should be elected a Trade Union Congress General Council with administrative departments, with branches for research, legal advice, and publicity—these to be under the joint control of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Movement.

It was proposed that the Council should consist of thirty members, representing seventeen trade groups (every union to have the right to nominate to the Council for its own group, but the election to be by the Congress) and that the Council should be sub-divided into the following groups:—

1. Mining, railways, and transport.
2. Shipbuilding, engineering, iron and steel, and building.
3. Cotton, other textiles, clothing, and leather.
4. Glass and pottery, distribution, &c., agriculture, and general workers.
5. Printing, public employees, and non-manual workers.

The functions of the Council were to be defined in the following standing orders: The General Council shall keep a watch on all industrial movements, and shall attempt where possible to co-ordinate industrial action.

It shall promote common action by the trade union movement on general questions, such as wages and hours of labour, and any matter of general concern that may arise between trade unions and

employers, or between the trade union movement and the Government, and shall have power to assist any union which is attacked on any vital question of trade union principle.

Where disputes arise or threaten to arise between trade unions it shall use its influence to promote a settlement.

It shall assist trade unions in the work of organisation and shall carry on propaganda with a view to strengthening the industrial side of the movement and for the attainment of any or all of the above objects.

It shall also enter into relations with the trade union and labour movement in other countries with a view to promoting common action and international solidarity.

It was suggested that full time officials should be appointed to carry on the work of the research, publicity, and other special departments.

The opinion was expressed that an affiliation fee of one penny per member would yield from six million members an annual income of £25,000 for the expenses of the Council.

At the Portsmouth Congress the scheme was opposed by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., on the ground that the new body would have no more real powers of control than the old Parliamentary Committee. The scheme was adopted, however, by 4,858,000 votes to 1,767,000, and it will take effect at the Congress of 1921.

#### EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES ON TRIAL.

In June, following upon much criticism of the cost and administration of the Employment Exchanges a strongly representative committee, with Mr. Geo. Barnes, M.P., as chairman, was appointed to inquire into the subject. The Exchanges were established in 1910, and it was stated in the House of Commons by the Minister of Labour that since their foundation the number of applications for appointments was 24,377,383, while the number of vacancies filled was 8,656,854.

In the estimates for the year a sum of £2,000,000 was asked for to provide sites and buildings for new exchanges. This brought the criticism to a head. Allegations were made that the exchanges did not meet the requirements either of employers or workers, and it was said

that the administration was costly and bureaucratic.

In the course of the evidence before the Committee it was stated that the number of exchanges was 394. At the time of the armistice the staff numbered 4,234. Under the abnormal conditions created by demobilisation this rose to 17,595, but by June, 1920, a reduction to 8,500 had taken place. This number included 4,627 ex-service men, of whom 1,916 were partially disabled. Much evidence was given by employers, representatives of trade unions, and officials. Some witnesses advocated complete abolition. Others contended that the exchanges were efficient and necessary, and still others suggested various modifications in the system.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

As the autumn approached there were signs of a slump in certain industries and growing unemployment and under-employment was threatened. Dock workers were seriously affected both by the limitation of the export of coal and by a falling off in general freights. In Liverpool it was said that about one-quarter of the dockers had not worked more than two days a week for three months, and in London the old scenes of crowds of men struggling at the dock gates for the limited number of jobs going were renewed in August.

In sections of the woollen industry short time was worked, and in a number of motor car works men were discharged. On the other hand employment in the metal trades generally and in shipbuilding continued good.

In the autumn unemployment developed rapidly, and nearly half a million persons were out of work by October. On October 19th, after a series of meetings in the London boroughs, a combined demonstration and procession to Whitehall was arranged, and the Prime Minister agreed to receive a deputation of fifteen Labour mayors. The procession consisted of nearly twenty thousand men and women. It had been arranged that it should wait on the embankment while the mayors saw the Prime Minister, but owing to some defect in the police organisation the crowds were moved off the embankment. Great numbers of people surged into

Whitehall, and when an attempt to get through into Downing Street was resisted by strong forces of police, some stones were thrown. Police charges and riotous scenes followed, and a number of people, including several policemen, were injured in the baton charges, in which mounted police took part, or by stones which were freely thrown from the crowd.

The Prime Minister announced to the mayors that the policy of the Government was to anticipate four years' programme of the Road Board, and to spend something like £8,000,000, to meet half the expense of relief schemes, in the shape of productive works, undertaken by the London public authorities, and to insist upon dilution with unemployed ex-service men in the building and other trades where a shortage of labour existed.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

In the summer an important report on Workmen's Compensation was issued by a Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the subject. The chairman was Mr. Holman Gregory, K.C., M.P., and several Labour members were included.

The report gave the following, among other interesting facts:—

The present compensation system imposes on employers a burden of £8,000,000 a year.

The total number of workers within the scope of the Act is calculated to be about 15,000,000.

Sixty-five joint stock insurance companies do workmen's compensation business with employers having a wage roll exceeding £600,000,000 a year, and the annual premium is well over £5,000,000.

There are also fifty mutual Indemnity Associations who pay about £2,000,000 a year in compensation, and the majority of employers in several of the most important industries in the country cover their risk by this means.

Attention was called to the fact that although the idea of workmen's compensation was regarded as novel, and even revolutionary in 1906, it has now been accepted all over the world.

On the question of State versus private management of the compensation scheme

the Committee was satisfied that "employers generally have a preference for private enterprise rather than State management," and that a State system would not only become rigid and mechanical but that it might "easily become inefficient and expensive."

"The workmen's representatives, while strongly in favour of a State scheme were emphatic in their opposition to any proposal that they should be called upon to contribute to any State Fund, even for the purpose of providing additional benefits."

After surveying in great detail the existing methods of carrying out the provisions of the Act, and particularly the insurance systems, the question of industrial disease, qualification for benefit, and amount of benefit, the Committee made the following, among other recommendations:—

The present insurance system to continue subject to State supervision of premiums with a view to restriction of profits on compensation business. Thirty per cent. of the premium income was suggested as adequate for profits, management expenses, and commission.

Every employer other than the Crown, public authorities, and householders in respect of servants not employed for business or trade purposes, to be required to insure against workmen's compensation risk. Employers with a wage roll averaging more than £20,000 to have the right of exemption from insurance.

Compensation to be claimable by persons other than those employed in manual labour whose remuneration is at a rate not exceeding £350 a year.

A revision of benefits was suggested as follows:—

Where a widow is left, £250. An extra allowance of 10s. a week for the first child under 15 years of age, 7s. 6d. for the second, and 6s. for each other child. The employer to pay £500 into a central fund in every case of a workman dying and leaving children.

Where total dependants are left, not including widow or children, the sum of £250. Provision also recommended for partial dependants, with a maximum of £250.

Burial and medical expenses, increased to £15.

Total incapacity, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. of the average weekly earnings. Maximum, £3.

Partial incapacity, two-thirds of the difference between average weekly earnings before the accident and amount the person is able to earn afterwards.

Lump sum settlements to be permissible upon approval of the agreement by the County Court Registrar.

The three Labour members, Messrs. Tom Shaw, Fred. Hall, and Alfred Smith, signed the report with certain reservations. They considered that full wages should be paid so long as total incapacity lasts, that in cases of partial incapacity the compensation should be the difference between the earnings before and after the accident, with reasonable precautions against abuse. "We hold strongly," they say, "that workmen should not be financially worse off when suffering from the effects of an accident." They suggested that the payment to a widow should be £300 instead of £250, with corresponding higher benefits than those proposed for dependants other than widows and children.

### The Trades Union Congress.

Apart from the subjects of the coal dispute and the new General Council scheme (which are dealt with elsewhere in this record) there was not much of outstanding interest at the Trade Union Congress held at Portsmouth in the first week in September. Mr. J. H. Thomas presided, and the dominating note of his speeches was the need for unity throughout the whole trade union movement. On the motion of Miss Margaret Bondfield a resolution was passed expressing regret at the delay in giving legislative effect to the draft conventions of the Washington Conference of the League of Nations Labour Department. The opinion was expressed that Great Britain should lead the way in this matter.

An acrimonious debate took place on the question of representation in the Trade Union International, and a resolution was passed that henceforth only the Congress should be represented. This involves the withdrawal of the nominees of the General Federation of Trade Unions. The debate was much taken up with personal references to Mr. Appleton, the Secretary of the



Federation and the President of the International. Speakers declared that Mr. Appleton could not be held in any way to represent the Congress, whose policy he was constantly attacking. Mr. Appleton was elected at Amsterdam in July, 1919, for a period of two years, and the decision that Congress representatives should not co-operate raised a difficult question in connection with the conference of the International to be held in London towards the end of the year.

The Congress decided to put an end to the ancient formality of a procession by the Parliamentary Committee to the various Government departments to lay before them resolutions of Congress. In future action will be taken in conjunction with the Labour Party and the unions concerned with any particular resolution, and interviews with Ministers will take place only in regard to special matters.

A protest against the bartering of votes in the election of the Parliamentary Committee was made by Mr. Smillie, and a small committee was appointed to investigate the matter. In view of the acceptance of the General Council scheme the method of election will be completely altered next year.

An interim report of the trade union committee on high prices was presented by Mr. A. Greenwood. The opinion was expressed that essential measures to reduce the cost of living were the establishment of complete peace in Europe, the reopening of trade with Russia, the abolition of the floating debt, and the reduction of the issue of paper money. There was a general agreement that a mere wages policy would never solve the problem of high prices.

The new Parliamentary Committee was elected as follows, the names being given in the order of priority of votes:—

J. H. Thomas, M.P. (N.U.R.), J.

Hill (Boilermakers and Shipbuilders), H. Gosling (Watermen), Miss M. Bondfield (Federation of Women workers), R. Smillie (Miners' Federation), R. B. Walker (Agricultural Labourers), A. B. Swales (Engineers), A. A. Purcell (Furnishing Trades), W. Thorne (General Workers), J. Sexton (Dockers), A. Smith (Vehicle Workers), A. Pugh (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation), H. Boothman (Operative Cotton Spinners), E. L. Poulton (Boot and Shoe Operatives), J. Beard (Workers' Union).

### **The Labour Party Conference.**

The Labour Party Conference, which was held at Scarborough in June, was not remarkable for any new developments of policy, and it was not torn by controversy like that relating to direct action at the previous year's conference. An account of the conditions in Russia was given by Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., and Mr. Ben Turner, who had left the remainder of the British delegation in Moscow in order to be present at Scarborough. Resolutions were passed demanding recognition of Russia, a revision of the Peace Treaty, and the world organisation of food and raw materials to save Central Europe.

An Irish resolution asked for "complete and prompt relegation of the issue to the Irish people themselves" as the only solution of the problem, and demanded withdrawal of the Army and the Dublin Castle officials, and an Irish election by proportional representation.

The new Executive of the Party is: Messrs. A. G. Cameron (chairman), J. R. Clynes, C. T. Cramp, Chas. Duncan, F. Hodges, W. H. Hutchinson, F. W. Jowett, Tom Shaw, Ben Turner, Sidney Webb, Jas. Wignall, Robert Williams, Geo. Lansbury, Neil Maclean, H. Morrison, Ben C. Spoor, W. Tyson Wilson, Mrs. J. N. Bell, Miss Susan Lawrence, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Mrs. Snowden.

## **EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN BELGIUM.**

ON July 20th, 1920, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies passed, by 141 votes to 13, the Bill for establishing an eight-hour day and 48-hour week for workers employed in industry.

## DOMESTIC LEGISLATION.

### THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT, 1920.

The object of the Act is to institute the compulsory insurance against unemployment of all workers in industry, with the exception of certain specified trades and occupations. The Act establishes a contribution fund, to which the Government, employers and employees contribute. Broadly, the methods familiarised by the Health Insurance Scheme, and the limited Unemployment Insurance Scheme formerly in operation, are followed.

The Act has involved the appointment of many new officials—inspectors, umpires, deputy umpires—and of courts of referees, to deal with the numerous disputed points which must inevitably arise. Arrangements are made with societies having certain qualifications to pay out the unemployed benefit, and to be recouped in bulk from the contribution fund. These societies, of course, include trade unions, and it is possible for friendly societies to take part in the scheme. This question aroused a keen controversy. The Labour Party opposed the extension of the scheme to societies other than trade unions, and there was some talk of refusing to work the Act.

An important clause in the Act provides that if an industry prefers a scheme of its own it may, with the approval

of the Minister, contract out of the Act. This was a concession to the idea which has been increasingly advocated of late, that an industry should carry its own unemployment responsibility and maintain its own reserve of labour from a fund contributed to by employers and workers.

Employments excepted from the provisions of the Act include agriculture, horticulture, and forestry, domestic service, municipal, police, and other public services, casual employment, and "employment otherwise than by way of manual labour and at a rate of remuneration exceeding £250 a year."

Unemployment benefit is payable at the rate of 15s. a week for men and 12s. for women, after the first three days of unemployment. Half benefit is payable to persons under the age of 18. The maximum period of benefit is fifteen weeks within any one insurance year.

The contributions are 4d. per week for men employees and 3d. for women. The employer pays 4d. for men and 3½d. for women. The rates paid by employed persons under 18 are 2d. for boys and 1½d. for girls, while the employer pays 2d. for each. The contributions by the Treasury are 2d. for men, 1¾d. for women, 1½d. for boys, and 1d. for girls.

### THE MINING INDUSTRY ACT, 1920.

After the failure of the Government's attempt to legislate on a permanent basis for the Coal Industry in 1919, an emergency Act was passed to continue a modified system of control, and to fix prices (with the exception of export), regulate profits, and to limit the export tonnage. In 1920 a new general Bill was introduced and passed under the above title.

The Act provides for the establishment of a Mines Department of the Board of Trade, to be under the supervision of a

Parliamentary Secretary of the Board, with the title of Secretary for Mines. The general powers conferred on the department are rather indeterminate, but for a period of one year from August 31st, 1920, certain precise matters may be dealt with. The Act provides that "it shall be lawful" for the Board to give directions regulating the export of coal, and also the pithead prices for inland consumption and for coastwise bunkers. Directions may also be given as to wages, while the other regulations

are operative, and profits and distribution may also be regulated.

All these things must be done by an order, subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament. If no order is made the Coal Mines Emergency Act, 1920, will remain in force until August 31st, 1921, but it is within the power of the Secretary for Mines, subject to Parliamentary approval, to issue regulations which would supersede that Act.

The Act authorises the appointment of a national advisory committee, to consist of a chairman, four representatives of mineowners, four of mine workers, three of employers in other industries, three of workers in other industries, one mining engineer, two mine officials possessing a first-class manager's certificate, one coal exporter, one coal merchant, one commercial man, one possessing experience in co-operative trading, and three with expert knowledge of medical or other science.

The Act lays on the Board of Trade the duty of issuing regulations for the constitution of pit and district committees, and area boards. The pit committees to consist of ten members, half representing the owners and management and half the workers. The district committee is on the same basis, and the area boards are to be drawn from the members of the district committees. The various committees are intended for discussion and advisory purposes on safety, health, disputes, and so on.

One clause, which arises out of the Sankey Commission Inquiry, provides for the constitution of a fund for such purposes connected with the social well-being, recreation, and conditions of living of workers in or about coal mines, and with mining education and research, as the Board of Trade, after consultation with any Government department concerned, may approve. This fund is to be derived from a contribution by the mineowners equal to a penny per ton of the output per year.

An extraordinary situation arose in connection with this Act, which pleased neither the mineowners nor the miners—although for very different reasons. At the Leamington conference of the

Miners' Federation in July, while the measure was still under discussion in the House of Commons, a resolution was passed pledging the Federation to take no part in the working of the Act. This meant that no miners' representatives would be appointed to the various committees and boards, which, therefore, would be unable to function as intended in the Act. The main reason for this decision was the fact that the Act would have the effect of restoring the old system of bargaining separately on wages in the different districts. The Federation had succeeded, after long effort, in establishing national wages agreements, which tended towards the equalisation of conditions in the various coalfields. The conference firmly declared that this new method would not be abandoned, otherwise in the poorer colliery districts—such as the West of England—wages would be kept low.

As a result of this decision the Government proposed, and Parliament passed, the following extraordinary new clause:—

“If at the expiration of one year from the passing of this Act it appears to the Board of Trade that the scheme of this part of the Act has been rendered abortive by reason of the failure on the part of those entitled to appoint representatives as members of the pit and district committees, area boards, and the National Board to avail themselves of such right, the Board of Trade shall issue a report of the circumstances, and that report shall be laid before Parliament, and at the expiration of thirty days during the session of Parliament from the date when it is so laid all the provisions of this part of this Act shall cease to have effect unless in the meantime a resolution to the contrary is passed by both Houses of Parliament.”

Meanwhile opposition had developed to a proposal, originally included in the measure, to create a separate Ministry of Mines. The clause was rejected in the House of Lords, and the Commons accepted the decision of the Lords. Consequently, the arrangement was made for the appointment of a Secretary for Mines in connection with the Board of Trade.

## THE EMERGENCY POWERS ACT.

The Government took advantage of the coal strike in October to introduce and pass rapidly through Parliament a measure which they said had been prepared for some months, and which was intended to be permanent. As first drafted it was the most extraordinary Bill ever introduced into the House of Commons, and even as amended it left the Government with virtually unlimited powers of suppression in case of a strike which in any way might affect the supplies of food and other necessities.

Its effect is to give the Government power to make all kinds of orders, which may be in operation without the authority of Parliament, and penalties of imprisonment and fine may be imposed for offences against these orders. The powers are admittedly wider than those conferred by the Dora Acts. The Labour party attacked the Bill vigorously and secured one or two concessions which, however, did not meet their

essential objections. These amendments provided that the right to strike is not interfered with, but this may be rendered nugatory by the unlimited power to proclaim any particular strike, to arrest leaders, to expropriate funds, and so on. It is also provided that the Government shall have no power to impose industrial conscription.

Government spokesmen made a great deal of the point that if occasion arose to apply the Act the Government were not likely to use their powers unreasonably, but with the example of Ireland before them the Labour members naturally listened to these articles sceptically. They made it clear that Labour would take the first opportunity to remove from the Statute Book a measure which they regard as abrogating virtually the whole of the liberties which trade unions have won for themselves in their long struggle for growth and development.

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## LABOUR IN IRELAND, EGYPT, AND INDIA.

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### IRELAND.

In Ireland there was some industrial trouble due solely to general economic conditions, but this was overshadowed by the political events which, for the first time, seriously involved organised labour in the industrial sphere. A large number of railwaymen refused to operate trains carrying soldiers, and suspensions were followed by a threat of a national strike. The intervention of the executive of the N.U.R. prevented this, but the sporadic trouble continued throughout the summer, and it was found impossible to run the normal train services, while many workers remained suspended during this period.

This trouble was not accompanied by violence, but in Belfast a decision of the Orange workers in the shipyards not to work with Sinn Feiners led to scenes of riot and bloodshed. Altogether about five thousand men were ejected from the various works, and apart from the loss of

life and material damage in the street fighting which followed this action, much privation was suffered by the families of the ejected men. In September Lord Pirrie, of Messrs. Harland & Wolff, endeavoured to settle the dispute, and as a result of a meeting to consider the matter the Orange workmen decided that they would work amicably with Catholics but not with men who were associated with Sinn Fein. This, naturally, did not end the trouble, but the action of the authorities prevented a renewal of the riots for some time.

In October strikes in various trades took place in Dublin, and cross channel traffic was seriously affected by a stoppage at the docks.

### EGYPT.

In Egypt, as in Ireland and India, the political situation reacted to some extent on industrial conditions. In Cairo in December, 1919, an attempt was made to organise a general strike, but it signally

failed. Only sections of the various classes of workers came out and the strike quickly collapsed. The substitution of cotton crops for corn because they were more profitable to the growers had its effect in reducing the food supplies and thus sending up prices, and this probably accounted for a dispute in the cigarette factories. This was countered by a threat of the employers to close the factories altogether.

An interesting development in the Spring was the founding of a co-operative enterprise by a young lawyer named Effendi Yusef. The undertaking, which was supported by Lord Allenby, had for its object the breaking of market prices, and much success was achieved in this direction. It was financed and run entirely by Egyptians.

#### INDIA.

There was much industrial unrest in India during the year, especially in the cotton trade, but this, while being due mainly to economic causes, was accentuated by the political feeling of the time. Nearly all the manufacturing centres were affected. In Bombay in January 40,000 operatives in twenty-five cotton mills struck for a bonus. This speedily developed into a dispute involving 200,000 workers, who demanded a ten-hour day, and a fifty per cent. increase in wages. The unrest arose from the fact that speculation in mill shares had sent values bounding up. This was concurrent with general rising

prices, and the *Times* correspondent was constrained to write of profiteering and a spirit of sordid materialism. He declared that with the removal of control prices had risen to wicked levels. An epidemic of other strikes followed. Ten thousand dockers and about 30,000 ship workers came out. The mill strike collapsed suddenly and inexplicably. The operatives held out for a month, without any organisation or funds. Then some drifted back to work, and the rest speedily followed. The manufacturers had declared their readiness to make modified concessions, but no reliable information has reached this country as to the present conditions.

In Calcutta in January 35,000 jute workers went on strike for increased wages. Strikes of railway workers took place in various centres, notably in the north-west district, where a stoppage of 15,000 men was ascribed partly to political causes. In the Bombay district a strike of railway workers was accompanied by destructive sabotage, and in several other disputes there were riots, the military being called upon to intervene on one or two occasions.

In Madras in July a suggestion was made at a meeting of employers and workers that the Government should appoint a joint committee to inquire into the prevailing causes of unrest. Another strike wave rose in September, when postmen, oil employees, and others ceased work, and a recrudescence of trouble on the railways was recorded.

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## LABOUR ON THE CONTINENT.

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As in 1919, Labour troubles were frequent in the majority of European countries throughout 1920. From time to time these troubles threatened to develop into something approaching revolution in Italy, but the Government succeeded in avoiding serious national conflict, although it was unable to check the epidemic of strikes. In France the industrial event of the year was a futile attempt to promote a general strike to bring about Nationalisation, and the threat of the Government to dissolve

the General Confederation of Labour. A summary of the outstanding events in the principal countries is appended.

#### FRANCE.

The trouble in France arose in May from the efforts of the extreme section of the movement, who had lost much ground in the struggle between the extreme and moderate policies, to foment a general strike. There was a partial railway strike, and the General Confederation, against the will of its

secretary, Jouhaux, and other leaders was stampeded into giving an order for a general stoppage. The result was chaotic. Various industries and occupations were more or less disorganised for a few days, but the response of the workers never approached anywhere near a general strike.

Millerand, the Prime Minister, knowing the weakness of the movement, struck hard and swiftly. He gave instructions that legal proceedings were to be instituted with a view to the dissolution of the C.G.T., as the General Confederation is known in France. He justified this action on the ground that the Federation was "a power which pretends to set itself up against the public powers and to obtain the triumph of its claims by stopping the life of the country and disturbing deeply the customs, needs, and interests of the Republic." He declared that the Government had no intention of attacking the ordinary rights of trade unions or confederations.

Many leaders of the unions who had taken a foremost part in fomenting the strikes were arrested and imprisoned. Intense feeling was aroused among the middle, professional and peasant proprietor classes against the strikers. In some districts doctors and tradesmen refused to serve them. Under the auspices of a Civic League and other bodies volunteers were organised to carry on the public services which were interrupted.

Alarmed by the situation the Moderate majority in the French movement re-asserted itself. After a three-days' conference of the Council of the General Federation the strike was called off, and probably the Government was relieved when it became unnecessary to continue the proceedings against the Federation, about which a question of legality had been raised.

The Council of the Federation decided upon an amendment of the Statutes governing that body, with the object of making impossible a strike affecting either a group or the whole Federation until the policy had been approved by the Governing committee.

In October a new strike spirit was manifested, and the French miners threatened a stoppage unless higher wages were conceded.

#### ITALY.

The situation in Italy was an extraordinary one. Throughout the year there was a constant succession either of local strikes or efforts to produce general strikes. Almost every industry was affected, and the public services were frequently interrupted. Often the turmoil took on a revolutionary aspect, and there were occasional conflicts with police or military. Some of the strikes were accompanied by demonstrations and "Red Flag" raising ceremonies. From time to time factories were seized and workmen's committees installed. It was reported in August, for instance, that following a strike in the metal trades over 300 factories were seized in this way. Usually these attempts at "control" were shortlived. Some of the workers instituted various forms of "stay in" strikes—that is, they went to the factories in routine fashion but obstructed output in every possible way.

In the autumn, however, a seizure of 300 metal factories, following a wages dispute, brought this matter to a climax. The Government insisted that the employees must reach a settlement, and accept the principle of joint control of employers and workers. This was done, and the Government took immediate steps to initiate legislation giving effect to the principle. This far-reaching decision aroused great interest in other industrial countries.

All these troubles were the aftermath of the really serious industrial and economic crisis which faced Italy in the previous year. The Government treated them as symptoms of a social disease, used troops only when it was absolutely necessary, cut food prices rigorously, and at times requisitioned factories and tried experiments by giving the workers a share in the control. A novelty in disputes was provided by the bank clerks who struck to secure control as well as better conditions!

During all this time, however, according to Government statements, the financial condition of the country steadily improved, and especially the taxation from industry. A close observer of the conditions expressed the opinion in the late autumn that Italy was experiencing a great spiritual fer-

ment which normally would make for revolution, but which in this particular case was operating against a violent upheaval. He suggested that all classes realised that the capitalistic class would have to be superseded and that the Government and professional classes were co-operating to prepare the way for the new era by peaceful means. It was obvious that the solution of Italy's social problem would be full of interest for other countries in Europe.

#### GERMANY.

In Germany the Labour troubles arose largely from a combination of political and industrial circumstances. On the purely industrial side various strikes took place for higher wages. The most notable were stoppages by miners in Westphalia and Saxony. In August a brief general strike was attempted without much success at Stuttgart. The introduction of an Industrial Councils Bill, which the extremists regarded as a "capitalist trick" to kill a movement for workmen's control councils, led to grave disturbances outside the Reichstag buildings. These were initiated by the Independent Socialists and Communists. Noske took drastic action. Troops fired on the crowds, and people were killed or wounded. By this means the disorders were quelled. A futile attempt was also made to bring about a general strike against the measure, and rioting took place in the Ruhr district, where some of the miners struck work.

In October new strikes of a miscellaneous character occurred. Among the German miners a strong movement to establish a six-hour day developed. On the other hand employers talked of measures for the conscription of labour. A committee of inquiry into the coal industry reported in favour of nationalisation with joint control by Government managers, workers, and representatives of the community.

#### BELGIUM.

Belgium was perhaps the least troubled with industrial disputes of any country in Europe, and the workers, as a whole, co-operated strenuously in the task of reconstruction—so much so that when the Belgian chamber passed a 48-hours Act there was a general understanding

that many of the workmen would voluntarily decline to be bound by it while the most urgent tasks of reconstruction remained to be accomplished. The few strikes which occurred were due chiefly to the price of bread. At the beginning of the year the miners won an increase, bringing them up to 2s. an hour. The bakers also secured an advance, and this led to movements by railwaymen, public servants, and others. In Brussels the postal workers struck. A miners' strike was settled on the understanding that an inquiry into profits would be instituted, but in the autumn another mining dispute arose out of a claim for an advance of five francs a day. The employers threatened a lockout if the claim was not withdrawn.

#### HOLLAND.

The principal event of the year in Holland was an unsuccessful dock strike, which lasted from February to April. It arose on a demand for a wage of 13s. 4d. a day. The Wages Council offered 11s. 8d., which was rejected. Nearly all classes of dock workers joined in the strike, but the employers combated it vigorously, and brought in strike breakers from the country. British dock workers declined to load goods for Dutch ships, and the International Transport Workers' Federation intervened—Messrs. Gosling and Williams going to Holland with Edo Fiminen, the secretary of the Federation, and interviewing the employers. Complete unity among the Dutch dockers was lacking, however, and in April they decided by ballot to resume work on the old terms, pending renewed negotiations on the February offer.

The union was left heavily burdened with debt, and the Dutch brickmakers' union was left in similar plight after an unsuccessful strike. The Dutch employers were credited with the strategy of provoking strikes with the object of crippling the unions one by one.

The Dutch miners attempted in vain to get a 7-hour day, but they secured a wage of 12s. 2d. a day, with a war bonus in addition of 8s. 4d. a month for each worker and dependent. Committees of two representatives of employers and workers were instituted at each pit to discuss conditions.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

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Notwithstanding the attacks on the Second Labour International by supporters of the Moscow Third International Movement, a full and interesting conference of the Second was held at Geneva in August. The British Labour Party (with the exception of the I.L.P., which had decided to withdraw from the Second, without committing itself to adhesion to the Third), France, Germany, and Belgium were solid against the Third. A discussion on Bolshevism brought into the arena Vandervelde, Troelstra, Scheidemann, J. H. Thomas, M.P., and Tom Shaw, M.P., against the methods of the Russian Communists. Neil Maclean, M.P., spoke against a resolution condemning Bolshevism, but it was carried by all the delegates with the exception of Maclean and one other British colleague.

A resolution on Nationalisation was passed, after some criticism to the effect that it was too mild, and a resolution was also carried approving of the establishment of the International Labour Office under the Peace Treaty.

It was decided, subject to the approval of the British movement, to remove the headquarters of the Second International to London.

The International Labour Office was formally constituted at Washington in 1919, and its governing Body met in London in March to map out a general programme of work and arrange for the staffing of the office. The meeting was attended by German representatives. The Governing Body includes among the workers' representatives Messrs. Stuart Bunning (Great Britain), Jouhoux (France), Ondegeest (Holland), and Legien (Germany), and among the employers' representatives, Sir Allan Smith, M.P. (Britain), M. Guerin (France), and Signor Pirelli (Italy).

The meeting decided to hold a special conference at Genoa in June to consider the question of applying to seamen

the 48-hour Convention approved at Washington. The British Government had decided that it could not include seamen in its own 48-hour Bill—a measure which was quietly dropped during the year.

The Genoa Conference was attended by many well-known representatives of seamen and shipping companies, and by Government representatives of most European countries. A resolution to apply the 48 hours to seamen was lost by a narrow majority through a combination of some of the Government representatives with employers.

In June the International Labour Office was moved to its permanent home at Geneva.

On the industrial side the international movement was further consolidated by the transport workers, and a conference at Geneva in August marked the full re-establishment of the Miners' International Federation. The delegates, among whom the British predominated in numbers, decided not to spend any time in discussing war responsibility. Resolutions were passed regarding the use of the strike weapon by miners to stop future wars, and pledging the Federation to promote common action with a view to bringing about general nationalisation of mines and an international arrangement for the allocation of supplies of coal. Mr. Frank Hodges, the secretary of the British Federation, was appointed secretary of the International body in succession to Mr. Thomas Ashton.

The International Agricultural Labourers' Federation was formed during the year, and a Congress was held at Amsterdam in August, when a general eight-hour day and socialisation of the industry were discussed. This conference gave a further indication of the extent to which ideas on Labour questions are approaching conformity in all industrial and agricultural countries.



# OUR NEW FISHING INDUSTRY



TYNE  
ENTRANCE.

The  
C.W.S. has  
Fish  
Depôts  
both on  
the East  
and West  
Coasts.



HERRING BOATS AT QUAYSIDE.



SPLITTING  
HERRINGS  
AT  
NORTH  
SHIELDS.

TYNE  
ENTRANCE

FISHING FLEET PUTTING OUT TO SEA

## WORLD-WIDE LABOUR UNREST, 1920.

(The paragraphs refer to Great Britain except when otherwise stated.)

### JANUARY.

1. Dublin strike in progress. Strike of motor-car drivers against the motor permits order; also strike of chemists' assistants.
1. Denmark. General telephone strike throughout the country.
2. India: Great strike of millhands in Bombay; over a score of mills affected; strikers demand an increase in wages, a 10-hour day, and a yearly bonus.
2. Provisional agreement reached in moulders' strike.
4. Government offers new terms to railwaymen.
5. India: Two hundred thousand factory employees on strike in Bombay.
5. France: General strike of dockworkers in Bordeaux against handling munitions and foodstuffs destined to the anti-Soviet forces in Russia.
7. United States Convention of U.S. miners ratifies strike settlement.
7. Agricultural Workers' Conference demands 50s. minimum wage.
8. Moulders' strike ballot results in a majority of 7,087 against acceptance of proposed terms.
9. N.U.R. Delegate Conference rejects Government's wages proposals.
10. South Africa: Strike of municipal employees at Durban settled.
12. Germany: Many strikes in progress: Workers' demonstration in Berlin fired on by the military, 42 persons killed and 100 wounded: Martial law reimposed throughout a great part of the country.
13. France: Strike of bargemen on the Seine in progress; torpedo boat destroyers on the river to keep order.
14. Cabinet's concessions *re* railwaymen's rejection of Government proposals.
15. Railwaymen's delegate meeting decides by narrow majority to accept Government's modified terms.
16. India: Strike of several thousand dockyard employees in Bombay for additional pay.
16. Germany: Strike riots in the neutral zone; several killed and wounded by the military; many arrests.
17. Strike of employees of the Glasgow underground train service.
18. Conference of A.U.C.E. and Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and General Workers on amalgamation.
19. Labour deputation to Ireland to study labour conditions.
20. Italy: Failure of railwaymen's and postal, telegraphic and telephonic employees' strikes announced.
20. India: Riot of Bombay mill strikers; one man killed and several wounded by the military.
23. Moulders' ballot strike results show a majority of 6,404 in favour of a return to work after strike had lasted 13 weeks.

23. Strike of Pearl Assurance Company's agents settled.
28. Strike of London waiters.
28. Manifesto by moderate Labour leaders on behalf of a policy of an immediate peace with the Russian Government.
28. Labour application for passports to Russia refused.
31. United States: Thirty-seven members of the I.W.W. indicted in Chicago.

### FEBRUARY.

3. Opening of dockers' enquiry.
5. National Conference of Colliery Firemen's and Deputies' Federation.
7. Professional conference held in London—a national federation of professional, technical, administrative and supervisory workers formed.
10. Austria: Bakers' strike in Vienna.
11. Premier rejects nationalisation of mines.
12. Coal Mines (Emergency) Bill introduced.
16. India: Strikers at Sholapur fired on by troops in reprisal for stone throwing; six killed and three wounded.
18. Fiji: Strike of Indian coolies for higher wages; disturbances; 15 Indians wounded.
19. South Africa: Fifty thousand blacks on strike on the Witwatersrand.
20. Italy: Unrest in Liguria announced; factories seized; employees at Ansaldo take possession of works.
24. Egypt: Strike of tramwaymen in Cairo.
25. France: Strike of French railwaymen in progress.
26. France: French Government decides to call to the colours railwaymen on the Army Reserve.
27. Labour Party Bill to enfranchise all women receives Second Reading.
28. France: General strike order issued by National Federation of Railway Workers.
28. Strike of Welsh steelworkers for increase of wages.
29. Italy: General strike declared in Milan.

### MARCH.

1. France: Railway strike declared at an end; arrest of railwaymen's leaders.
1. Portugal: Strike of railway workers.
1. Skilled workmen at Port Talbot, Llanelly, and Briton Ferry on strike.
2. Belgium coal miners on strike at Mons resume work.
2. Italy: General strike at Milan at an end.
5. National Union of Vehicle Workers Delegate Conference.
10. Miners' Federation Conference decides by majority of 178,000 for a general trade union strike to secure nationalisation of the coal mines.

11. Special Trade Unions' Congress rejects miners' general strike to enforce nationalisation of mines, by a majority of 2,820,000.
12. Miners' conference demands wage increase.
13. South Wales steelworkers obtain wage increase.
21. Lancashire and Yorkshire railwaymen at Wakefield strike work as a protest against the control system.
23. Miners' Federation Executive rejects Controller's wage offer.
25. Lancashire and Yorkshire railwaymen's strike at Wakefield settled.
25. Resumption of negotiations between Premier and miners.
29. Government makes a new wages offer to the miners.
29. Operative cotton spinners demand an advance of 60 per cent.
30. France: General strike spreading in the north-western industrial area.
31. Court of Inquiry report on Dock Labour issued. Dock labourers conceded 16s. per day.
31. Strike of clerks, bargemen and warehousemen, on the Bridgewater section of the Manchester Ship Canal, in progress.

**APRIL.**

3. India: Strike of factory workers in India at Ahmedabad, for 10 hours a day and 30 rupees a month.
3. Easter Annual Conferences: I.L.P. (Glasgow). B.S.P. (London). Shop Assistants (Glasgow). A.U.C.E. (Manchester). N.U.J. (Cardiff). N.U.T. (Margate). National Union of Enginemen (Southport), &c.
3. Tramworkers' strike in the provinces.
- 4-13 (inclusive). Unofficial strike of tramwaymen in Manchester and other places.
7. National Federation of General Workers decide to oppose the Government's Amended Insurance Bill.
8. N.F.G.W. declares in favour of Whitley Councils.
8. Chemical workers awarded an advance of 6s. per week, plus 12½ per cent.
8. Annual Conference of Printing Trades Federation.
- 8-11. Italy: Unofficial general strike in various towns in North-west Italy.
- 9-11. Printing Trades Federation Annual Conference.
9. Tramwaymen's Delegate Conference reaffirm demand for 10s. increase.
10. Manchester Ship Canal strike ends.
13. Central Wages Board awards advance to locomotivemen.
13. Strike of steelworkers in progress at Middlesbrough.
13. United States: Railway strike extending.
14. Miners' ballot shows a majority in favour of acceptance of Government's offer of 20 per cent. advance.
16. Cotton deadlock on the wages question.
20. Labour M.P.s march out of the House of Commons in protest against Unemployment Insurance Bill.
- 21-22. National Conference of Labour Women in the Memorial Hall, London.
26. Five thousand dockers at Hull strike to enforce the immediate application of the 16s. per day award.
29. Scottish Trades Unions' Conference (in Dunfermline).

**MAY.**

1. Labour Day demonstrations at home and abroad. Disturbances in Paris.
  3. United States: Twenty thousand factory employees on strike in Massachusetts.
  3. India: Thirteen thousand railwaymen still on strike.
  3. Spain: Strike of workers in Valencia: conflicts with police and several people killed and injured.
  5. Slow-gear movement amongst railwaymen extended.
  5. Engineers reject payment by results.
  6. France: Arrest of several trade unionist leaders announced.
  6. France: Another strike of dock and warehousemen at Marseilles.
  6. Triple Alliance Conference discusses high prices.
  7. Cotton operatives gain an advance of 70 per cent. on standard list rates.
  - 8-9. National Guilds League Annual Meeting (London).
  11. Railway Shopmen's Conference (London). Annual Conference of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (Leeds).
  11. France: Government decides to smash confederation of Labour.
  - 11-15. First Annual Conference of Union of Post Office Workers (Morecambe).
  12. British Labour delegates in Petrograd.
  12. London East India Dockers refused to load cargo of arms for Poland.
  14. Several thousand doublers, winders and gassers in Stockport on strike.
  14. Agricultural Labourers' Union Biennial Conference (Leicester).
  14. Failure of general strike announced.
  17. Railway Clerks' Association Annual Conference (Scarborough).
  18. Dockers' Union Triennial Conference (Plymouth).
- WHIT WEEK END.**
- Annual Conferences: Bank Officers' Guild, National Association of Local Government Officers, National Union Corporation Workers, National Federation of Women Teachers, National Union of Clerks, National Union of Printing and Paperworkers, National Amalgamated Union of Labour, and Biennial Conference of National Union of General Workers.
  20. N.W. Building operatives gain advance of 4d. per hour.
  21. France: National Federal Committee of the General Confederation of Labour declares in favour of a resumption of work.
  25. Recognition of United Catering Trade Union by Messrs. Lyons.
  26. India: Railway strike riot in Bombay; 12,000 men out on strike.

- 25-26. National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union, annual delegate meeting.
- 27. India: Railway sabotage by strikers near Bombay.
- 28. France: Railwaymen's Federation decide on the resumption of work.
- 28. United States: Cotton operatives' month's strike in Massachusetts terminates.
- 31. Strike of 1,000 clerks at Port Sunlight for higher wages.

**JUNE.**

- 1-4. Annual General Council Meeting at Southampton of the National Transport Workers' Federation.
- 1. Steelworkers on strike in Sheffield.
- 3. Gasworkers' ballot in favour of strike.
- 3-1. Transport Workers' Federation Conference. National Railway Wages Board's Award.
- 4. Settlement of tramworkers' claim for increase of 10s. per week.
- 7. Convention of American Federation of Labour assemble in Montreal, Canada. The Convention by a majority of 29,059 to 8,349 endorses the principle of Government ownership of railways, despite the opposition of the platform.
- 10. International Seamen's Conference (Genoa).
- 11. Strike of North Shields herring fishermen.
- 12. British Labour delegation to Russia issues its interim report.
- 14. International Labour Conference (Genoa).
- 17-18. N.U.R. special Irish Conference at Bristol.
- 17. Joint Labour committee opens enquiry into the causes of the high cost of living.
- 18. Early Closing Bill talked out.
- 21. Coal Mines Bill introduced.
- 21. Strike at Port Sunlight ends.
- 23-26. Labour Party Conference (Scarborough).
- 23. Strike of seagoing wireless operators settled.
- 25. Spanish Socialists vote for conditional affiliation to the Third International.
- 24. Sir Eric Geddes announces Government's policy to be no nationalisation of railways.
- 28. Civil Service Annual Conference (London).

**JULY.**

- 2. Printers' one-day strike in Dublin.
- 3. Strike of farm workers in Cheshire on behalf of minimum wage of £3 a week and etceteras.
- 4. Irish Trade Union Delegate Conference in Dublin decides to organise a federation of Irish trade unions separate, having no connection with the British.
- 5-10. N. U. R. Annual Conference assembles (Belfast).
- 5-9. Miners' Federation Conference at Leamington resolves to oppose the Government's Mines Bill to the utmost.

- 6. Official acceptance of proposed new terms to gasworkers.
- 8. Lightening unauthorised strike of gasworks' employees in Lancashire and elsewhere.
- 12. Gas, Municipal, and General Workers' Annual Meeting (Cheltenham).
- 13. Special Trade Union Congress in London declares in favour of strike ballot if troops not withdrawn from Ireland.
- 14. United States: Farmer Labour Party inaugurated in Chicago.
- 14. Gasworkers' strike in Lancashire and other towns settled.
- 16. A.U.C.E. decides by ballot for amalgamation with warehouse workers.
- 16. Trade unions accept programme of the Third International.
- 19. Communist International Conference opens at Petrograd.
- 23-24. Annual Conference of National Federation of Women Workers (Sheffield).
- 26. Government rejects miners' demands.
- 26. United Textile Workers' Annual Conference.
- 29. Mines Bill passed.
- 31. Communist Party of Great Britain established.

**AUGUST.**

- 2. Miners' International Congress.
- 2. International Socialist Congress (Geneva).
- 5. Labour Party's pronouncement against Polish-Russian War.
- 6. France: Strike of railway, postal, telegraph and telephone workers in Saar district.
- 6. International trade union boycott of Hungary discontinued.
- 9. Joint meeting of Trades Union Congress, Labour Party, and Parliamentary Labour Party declare for direct action in Case of Polish war.
- 9. International Sailors' Conference at Brussels.
- 12. First National Conference of Amalgamated Engineering Union.
- 13. National Labour Conference declares unanimously in favour of general strike to enforce peace.
- 16. Operative Bakers' Annual Conference.
- 18. International Agricultural Workers' Conference (Amsterdam).
- 19. National Federation of General Workers' Conference.
- 22. Labour demonstrations on behalf of peace.
- 23. One-day rent strike in Scotland.
- 25. Municipal workers on strike in Cardiff.
- 28. Unofficial strike of printers in Manchester and Liverpool: stoppage of newspapers.
- 30. Three thousand agricultural labourers on strike in the Holderness area of Yorkshire.
- 31. Miners' ballot results in a majority of 367,917 in favour of a strike. Triple Alliance supports miners' demands. National Federation of Building Trades Operatives' Annual Conference rejects Government's scheme.

**SEPTEMBER.**

2. Miners' National Conference declares for a strike on September 25th.
2. Swiss Socialist Executive revokes resolution to join the Third International.
4. Russian trade union delegation refused passports.
4. National lockout of members of Electrical trade union.
- 6-10. Trade Unions Congress assembles at Portsmouth; over 6,000,000 workers represented. Congress supports the miners in their dispute with the Government, instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take steps to secure the admission of the Russian trade union delegates, and also instructs it to formulate a policy to bring down prices. Congress also adopts the scheme for a general council to supersede the Parliamentary Committee. Congress also decides to affiliate with Trade Union International.
8. Complete national lockout of members of the Electrical trade union.
9. Triple Alliance Sub-committee endorses the attitude of the Miners' Executive at a conference with Sir Robert Horne.
12. Italy: National Congress of the Italian Confederation of Labour in Milan decides to take the leadership of the metal workers' movement in its policy of seizure and control of the workshops.
13. Municipal Employees' Association Annual Conference.
16. Miners' leaders place before Sir Robert Horne revised proposals for settlement in coal dispute.
16. Electrical dispute settled.
18. Settlement of Manchester and Liverpool printers' three-weeks' strike.
19. Government rejects miners' revised terms.
20. Futile conference of the Miners' Executive with the President of the Board of Trade.
20. Unauthorised strike of minders and piecers.
21. Strike of shipwrights on Merseyside still in progress.
22. Triple Alliance interview with the Premier with regard to the miners: Premier makes new proposals.
- 24-25. Miners' strike notices suspended for a week: miners confer with coal owners.
27. Metal workers' referendum shows a huge majority in favour of the provisional agreement in providing for the increase of wages and participation in control.
29. Joint conference of coal owners and miners' representatives fail to agree on a settlement.
6. Transport Workers' Federation Conference on unemployment and maintenance scheme.
6. Strike of seamen and firemen in Dublin for an increase of £1 per week. Cattle export stopped.
9. Lockout of 3,000 transport workers.
9. Germany: Lockout of newspaper employees in Berlin.
11. Miners by ballot declare for a strike by a majority of over 450,000 votes.
15. International Commercial and Clerical Employees' Congress (Amsterdam).
16. National coal strike begins.
16. German Independent Socialists join the Third International.
18. March of unemployed to Downing Street and disturbances: Labour Mayors' deputation to Premier.
23. Rumania: General strike.
24. National Union of Railwaymen decide to suspend strike notices in view of events.
28. Coal strike settled. Government concedes the immediate advance of 2s. a shift, to rise or fall in accordance with output, after January 3rd, 1921.

**NOVEMBER.**

3. Coal strike ballot shows a majority of 8,459 against the proposed settlement. For lack of necessary two-thirds majority, strike declared "off."
8. Wm. Brace, M.P., South Wales miners' president, accepts post of Adviser to the Ministry of Mines, at £2,000 a year.
8. Tram strike in progress in Potteries. Carters' strike in progress at Bradford (Yorks.).
8. Germany: Berlin electrical workers on strike.
12. France: Miners' strike notices issued.
15. India: Serious strike riots in Bombay; number of police injured and a large number of arrests made.
15. Bradford carters return to work on the 7s. per week increase.
15. Mill strike in progress in Bombay.
25. International Trades Unionist Congress in London.
26. On the consideration of the Women, Young Persons' and Children Employment Bill, in the House of Commons, the Government supports the proposal of the two-shift system.
29. Motion carried in the House of Commons sanctioning the two-shift system.
30. Union of Post Office Workers' strike ballot shows the following result as regards a strike policy: in favour 48,157, against 35,411, majority in favour 12,746.
30. Seizure of public halls at Edmonton and Tottenham by unemployed men. Seizures organised by the local joint unemployed council.

**DECEMBER.**

1. Miners' Federation Special Delegate Conference to remit the question of strike to a second ballot.
6. National Sailors' and Firemen's Union Annual Conference.
1. Transport Workers Federation Delegate Conference endorses the scheme to amalgamate 19 affiliated Unions into one big Transport and General Workers' Union.
2. English Labour deputation in Ireland on its mission of peace.

**OCTOBER.**

# C.W.S. AS POULTRY FARMERS

FATTENING  
PENS.



Scenes  
from the  
C.W.S.  
Poultry Farm,  
Chaigeley,  
nr. Clitheroe.



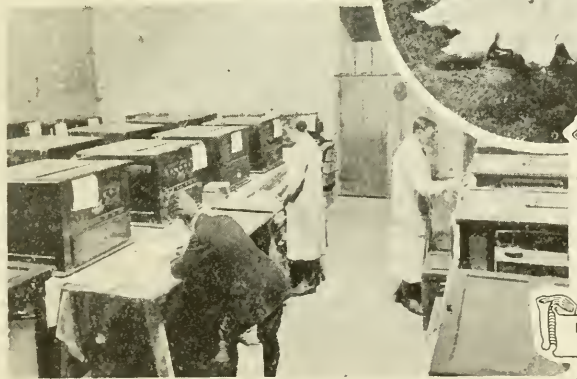
DRESSING AND  
PACKING CHICKENS  
FOR THE TABLE



YOUNG  
GOSLINGS



INCUBATOR  
HOUSE.



## EMPIRE PROBLEMS.

ONCE again the problem of the subject peoples of the empire has been a source of anxiety, particularly in India and Ireland. The conditions in these two countries are dealt with more fully in separate articles, and it is only necessary to mention here the salient events of the year.

In Ireland the process of degeneration which was noted last year went forward with increasing rapidity. Outrages by Sinn Fein were followed by more drastic counter measures. Force continued to react on force, and Sinn Fein outrages and murders grew in number. The most drastic coercion act known in Irish history was rushed through parliament. This was followed by all kinds of repressive orders, and a special auxiliary police force was recruited. This force, largely consisting of adventurous ex-service men, who came to be known as "black and tans," because they wore black police caps and khaki uniforms, quickly got out of hand, and an orgy of indiscriminating reprisals was indulged in. Villages and small towns were wrecked or burnt out, people were shot out of hand, and numerous other acts of violence were committed. The Government professed to censure this conduct, but took no effective steps to end it, and Sinn Fein believed that it was directly encouraged by the authorities. While the authority of Government thus fell completely into dissolution the passing of the Home Rule Bill, which pleased nobody, was delayed, and the Government drifted on without any policy for reconciliation or a settlement.

### INDIA.

In India a hopeful regime was introduced by the Montagu Act which provided for a modified and progressive scheme of self-government, but the good effect which this measure would otherwise have had was to some extent marred by the Amritsar disclosures and the investigation which led to the repudiation of Dyerism. Much mischief had been done before the Government frankly disavowed the men responsible for this policy, and something akin to a Sinn Fein movement made rapid headway in certain districts. It took the form of a widespread boycott of Great Britain, and a number of Indian officials resigned their posts.

### EGYPT.

In Egypt, after an unpromising beginning of the year a new and brighter chapter was opened, owing largely to the influence of Lord Allenby, who, as High Commissioner, exerted a powerful conciliatory influence, and Lord Milner, whose mission to Egypt, after being boycotted and cold-shouldered, finally reached agreement with Zaghul Pasha and other nationalist leaders on a scheme of self-government.

The situation which faced the Mission and the British Government was made clear in a dramatic dialogue between Lord Milner and the Grand Mufti, who said: "After the declarations of great Allied statesmen proclaiming principles of liberty for all peoples Egypt as the exception finds her hopes frustrated and a Protectorate declared when she was expecting independence." He declared that no peace was possible until the Protectorate was withdrawn.

The barriers opposed to the Mission were broken down gradually, notwithstanding the efforts of extreme nationalists to prevent this. The Mission left Egypt in the Spring but pourparlers continued, and in June Zaghul Pasha sent three colleagues to London. Zaghul himself followed from Paris a little later, and conferences with Lord Milner were resumed. Meanwhile the national movement for independence continued impressively in Egypt, without much violence or disturbance. Great interest was aroused, however, by a conspiracy trial in which twenty-nine prisoners were involved in charges of sedition. Two English counsel were briefed for the defence, and a dramatic episode was the flight of these two men, Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C., and Mr. W. Hedley, from London to Marseilles, in order to be present at the beginning of the trial. The proceedings lasted some months.

While this case was being followed keenly in Cairo, Zaghul and Lord Milner were

eliminating difficulty after difficulty in London, and at last, in August, a tentative agreement was reached. The main points were as follows:—

Recognition of Egyptian independence by Great Britain who guarantees Egyptian integrity against outside aggression. Great Britain to have access to Egyptian territory in the event of war.

Great Britain to maintain a garrison in the Canal zone.

Egypt to control her own foreign policy, but no treaties to be made at variance with British policy.

Veto on legislation affecting foreigners to be vested in the High Commissioner.

Rights of British officials to be safeguarded, and compensation to be given to those who resign.

All British officials retained in the public service to be responsible to the Egyptian heads of departments.

The final agreement to be submitted to the British Parliament and an Egyptian Constituent Assembly.

The announcement of this agreement was everywhere received with satisfaction, except among the minority of politicians and official people who dislike all popular liberties. America in particular expressed the warmest approval of the scheme. In Egypt the agreement displeased the extremists, but it was regarded with quiet satisfaction by the mass of the people, and when Zaghul Pasha returned he threw the whole weight of his influence in favour of acceptance. At the time of writing there seemed to be no reason why the scheme should not be adopted, thus opening a new era of progress for Egypt.

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## PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

THE following statistics, reported by a sub-committee of the Republican National Committee on Politics and Platform, show the progress made by the negro in the United States between 1866—that is from the close of the Civil War—and 1919:—

Homes owned have increased from 12,000 to 600,000; farms operated from 20,000 to 1,000,000; businesses conducted from 2,100 to 50,000; wealth accumulated from 20,000,000 dollars (£4,000,000) to 1,100,000,000 dollars (£220,000,000); literally from 10 per cent. to 80 per cent.; colleges and normal schools from 15 to 500; students in public schools from 100,000 to 1,800,000; teachers from 600 to 38,000; property for higher education from 60,000 dollars (£12,000) to 22,000,000 dollars (£4,400,000); annual expenditures for education from 700,000 dollars (£140,000) to 15,000,000 dollars

(£3,000,000); raised by negroes for educational purposes from 80,000 dollars (£16,000) to 1,700,000 dollars (£340,000); churches from 700 to 43,000; communicants from 600,000 to 4,800,000; Sunday schools from 1,000 to 46,000; Sunday school pupils from 50,000 to 2,250,000; church property from 1,500,000 dollars (£300,000) to 85,900,000 dollars (£17,180,000).

In a single decade negro farm owners increased 17 per cent., and their land in 1910 was valued at 346,881,270 dollars (£69,376,254).

Negroes operate insurance companies with assets amounting to 3,500,000 dollars (£700,000), with 60,000,000 dollars (£12,000,000) insurance in force. There are 72 negro banks capitalised at 12 million dollars (£2,500,000) doing an annual business of 35 million dollars (£7,000,000).



# MANUFACTURE OF OVERALLS



One of the  
several  
Clothing  
Factories of  
the C.W.S.

A MACHINIST AT  
WORK.



MECHANICS'  
SHOP

A CORNER  
OF  
THE CUTTING  
ROOM



MACHINE  
ROOM.



## INTERNATIONAL EVENTS, 1920.

## JANUARY.

1. Siberia: Announcement of local Social Revolutionary insurrection in Siberia, and of Zemstvos broken up by Koltchak.
2. Russia: Denikin's armies announced to be in rapid retreat.
2. United States: Wholesale arrests of Radicals; 4,500 persons of advanced labour views taken into custody.
3. Esthonia: Seven-days' armistice begins between Esthonia and Soviet Russia.
3. Egypt: Removal of embargo on the movement of Nationalist leaders.
3. Lettonia: Lettish army begins offensive against Bolsheviks.
6. Resumed conference in London on Italy's claims.
7. Russia: Denikin's army reported cut in two; Bolsheviks reach the South Russian coast.
7. United States: Five Socialists expelled from New York State Legislature.
8. Syria: Serious fighting reported between the French forces and Syrian volunteers.
8. Russia: Colonel Semenoff reported driven out of Irkutsk.
9. Russia: Rostoff captured by Bolshevik forces.
9. Russia: Admiral Koltchak arrested in Siberia.
10. Russia: Announcement of the rout of Koltchak's army in Siberia by Bolshevik troops; 60,000 prisoners captured.
10. Germany: Allies at peace with Germany. Peace Treaty ratified at Paris.
12. France: French Senatorial election results announced; Reactionist gains.
12. United States: New York Legislative Assembly refuses by 71 votes to 33 to reconsider the suspension of Socialist members.
12. Austria: Reported dissolution of the Consultative Assembly by armed Communist workers at Vienna.
13. Germany: Blockade raised and first German ship sails from Stettin.
13. Russia: Report of Lettish advance into Russia.
14. France: M. Leon Bourgeois elected president of the Senate.
11. Portugal: New Government (Liberal) formed.
15. Conference of Baltic States at Helsingfors.
16. Georgia: Announcement of decision of the Allied Powers to grant de facto recognition to Georgia and Azerbaijan.
16. League of Nations first sitting.
16. Siberia: All Northern Siberia reported in occupation of Bolshevik bands.
16. Supreme Council decides to allow trade with Russia through the Russian Co-operative organisations.
17. United States: Prohibition of alcoholic liquors comes into force.
17. Hungary: Social Democrat Ministers abandon the Coalition Government.
17. Germany: German evacuation of West Prussia commenced.
17. France: M. Deschanel elected President of the Republic by 734 votes out of 889, M. Clemenceau receiving only 56 votes.
19. Russia: Relaxation of Russian blockade announced.
19. Russia: Central Soviet abolishes capital punishment.
19. France: New Cabinet formed, with M. Millerand as Prime Minister.
19. Defensive and Offensive Alliance reported between Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.
19. Germany: Arrest of Herr Daumig, leader of the Independent Socialist Party; arrested without charge.
24. United States: Government's decision to deport American Communists.
27. Hungary: Constituent Assembly elections.
20. India: Official account of Punjab disorders, and General Dyer's action.
31. Russia: Bolshevik Government renews peace offer to Poland and the Ukraine.

## FEBRUARY.

1. Silesia: Arrival of first party of Entente troops.
1. Russia: Soviet Government authorises International trade through co-operative organisations.
2. Esthonia: Peace Treaty between Russia and Esthonia signed at Dorpat.
3. Germany: List of German war criminals presented by the Allies; 800 persons on the list, including Bethmann-Hollweg, the Crown Prince and chief generals. German representative in Paris refuses to accept the list and resigns his post.
5. Germany: List of war criminals sent to Berlin.
7. India: Punitive expedition in progress on the North-west Frontier.
7. Russia: Execution of Admiral Koltchak (by order of the Military Revolutionary Committee at Irkutsk) announced.
8. Russia: Fall of Odessa.
11. Denmark: Plebiscite North Slesvig shows large majorities for union with Denmark.
14. United States: President Wilson protests against the Adriatic settlement proposed to Jugo-Slavia by the Supreme Council. Dismissal of Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State.
14. Holland: New Allied note, asking Holland to reconsider refusal of the Kaiser's extradition.
15. Egypt: Boycott of Milner Mission continues.
17. France: Trial of M. Caillaux.
20. Lettonia: Armistice with Russia announced.

20. Russia: Archangel occupied by the Bolsheviks.
28. Russia: Bolshevik victory over Denikin's troops in the Northern Caucasus.

**MARCH.**

1. Hungary: Government intimidated by militarists.
2. Asia Minor: Announcement of Turkish atrocities on Armenians in Asia Minor.
8. Asia Minor: Six hundred French casualties reported in fighting in Cilicia.
8. Turkey: British Prime Minister announces Allied nations against Turkey, to defend further attacks on Armenians.
8. Syria: Syrian Congress at Damascus declares Syria independent.
13. Germany: Coup d'état in Berlin, led by Dr. Kapp. The President of the Republic and other Government officials withdraw to Dresden and Stuttgart. Social Democratic leaders proclaim a general strike.
16. Turkey: Constantinople occupied by Allied troops.
17. Germany: Collapse of militarists' counter-revolution. Counter-revolutionist troops hooted out of Berlin.
19. Germany: Widespread Communist revolt; Essen and Kiel captured by armed workmen.
22. Germany: Ministers return to Berlin; Government concessions to trade unionists. Resignation of Herr Noske.
24. Germany: Communist army of over 50,000 dominating the industrial region of the Rhineland.
25. Germany: Agreement between German Government and the armed workers in the Ruhr district announced.
27. Germany: New Cabinet formed, with Hermann Müller as Imperial Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
29. Russia: Denikin's last Black Sea base captured by the Bolsheviks.
29. Denmark: Zahle Ministry dismissed by the King.
29. Italy: Russo-Italian Co-operative Convention.
31. Germany: Renewed fighting in the Ruhr district. Armed workers in distrust of the Government refuse to lay down arms.
31. Denmark: General strike begun as a protest of the high-handed action of the King in dismissing the Zahle Ministry.

**APRIL.**

4. Denmark: Danish crisis at an end. The newly appointed Premier resigns by request. New ministry appointed and Social Democrats promised election reforms.
5. Palestine: Martial law proclaimed in Jerusalem; street fighting, 250 casualties.
6. India: British advance on Northwest frontier.

7. Germany: French occupation of Frankfurt results in firing on a hostile crowd; 40 casualties.
7. Germany: Government troops enter Essen; armed workmen disbanding.
7. Portugal ratifies Peace Treaty.
11. British Foreign Office requests amnesty for the remnants of Denikin's army.
12. Turkey: Chamber of Deputies dissolved.
14. Germany: French coloured troops withdrawn from Frankfurt and replaced by regulars.
14. Asia Minor: Massacre of Greeks in Cilicia by armed bands of Kurds announced.
19. Supreme Council meets at San Remo.
20. Turkey: Conference of Allied Premiers at San Remo decides to Internationalise the Straits, and establish Allied detachments in Constantinople.
22. France: Trial of M. Caillaux; High Court rejects the charges of high treason, but finds the accused guilty of correspondence with an enemy power. Accused sentenced to three years' imprisonment, of which there was one month only to serve.
22. Germany: The National Assembly adopts Bill providing that the Imperial President shall be elected by the people and not by Parliament.
23. Mexico: Insurrection in progress.
24. Russo-Italian peace negotiations.
24. Offensive against Russia by Poland and the Ukraine.
26. Denmark: General Election.
27. Palestine: Recent conflicts between Arabs and British forces announced.
28. Revolution in Guatemala announced; 800 killed.
28. French Premier announces that England had received a mandate for Palestine and Mesopotamia, and France for Syria and America had been requested to take charge of Armenia.
29. Hungary: Italian Socialist deputies investigating the White Terror are expelled from Hungary.
30. Poland: Announcement of Polish offensive in Russia; 10,000 prisoners.

**MAY.**

2. France: Maritime workers' strike at Marseilles in sympathy with the railwaymen.
2. Russia: Polish troops under Marshal Pilsudski occupy Kieff.
3. King of England's telegram to Marshal Pilsudski.
4. Japan: Financial crisis announced.
6. Russia: Anti-Bolshevik surrender in the Crimea announced.
6. The Secretary for India announces the requested resignation of General Dyer on account of the affair at Amritsar.
6. Germany: Social Democratic Party Conference condemns the use of coloured troops by the French in the neutral zone.
7. Mexico: Flight of General Carranza from Mexico City to Vera Cruz.

7. Russia: Polish invasion of Russia; advance of 100 miles in 10 days announced.
8. Mexico: Rebels capture Mexico City.
10. Poland: Peasant risings in Ruthenia against Polish estate owners announced: Polish troops suppressing the insurgents with rigour.
11. Russia: Arrest of three leading co-operators by the Soviet authority announced, on a charge of treason.
12. Russia: Odessa occupied by the Ukrainians.
12. Italy: Italian Cabinet resigns in consequence of an anti-Government vote.
14. League of Nations Council confers in Rome.
15. Russia: Bolshevik defeat on the Dnieper by the Poles, 4,500 prisoners taken.
15. Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand confer at Hythe.
17. Germany: French troops evacuate Frankfurt.
18. Persia: Bolshevik eruption in Persia announced.
18. Russia: Advance of Polish army blocked.
19. Mesopotamia: Military operations proceeding.
21. Italy: The Nitti Cabinet reconstituted.
22. Mexico: General Carranza killed.
23. Russia: Bolshevik advance westward. Polish retirement across the Dnieper announced.
27. M. Krassin in London.
31. Anglo-Russian Conference in Downing Street *re* opening of trade relations between Russia and Western Europe.

## JUNE.

4. Hungary: Peace Treaty signed.
8. Persia: Revolution at Resht.
9. Italy: Resignation of Cabinet.
9. Germany: Declaration of general election results, according to which Majority Socialists lose 35 seats, but still remain the largest individual party in the House.
11. Mesopotamia: More fighting between British troops and Arabs.
11. Austria: Cabinet crisis.
14. Russia: Announcement of the re-occupation of Kieff by Bolsheviks.
14. League of Nations Council on Persia.
15. Italy: New Cabinet constituted with Signor Giolitti as Premier.
15. Announcement of General Wrangel's advance in the Ukraine.
16. Asia Minor: French reverse in Cilicia announced.
19. Austria: Trade union boycott of Hungary in force on the Austrian railways.
20. Russia: Polish retreat to the Ukraine announced.
22. Hungary: Resignation of Hungarian Cabinet in consequence of the industrial boycott.
24. Poland: Grabski Ministry formed.
24. Asia Minor: Greek offensive against Turkish Nationalists in progress.
28. Arab rising in Mesopotamia.
29. Asia Minor: Heavy Turkish losses reported in battle with Greek troops.

30. Retreat of the Poles from Vilna to Kovno announced.
30. Germany: Food riots in Lubeck.
30. Poland: Critical situation: Government establishes a Council of National Defence.

## JULY.

- 2-3. Asia-Minor: Greek advances in Asia Minor.
3. Churchill negotiations with Golovin made known.
3. Austria: New Coalition Cabinet formed, with Christian Socialists and Social Democrats.
4. Russia: Wrangel forced back by Bolsheviks.
5. First meeting of Supreme Council and German representatives at Spa.
6. Lithuania: Bolsheviks occupy Kovno. 1,000 prisoners taken.
10. British evacuate Batoum.
10. Political crisis in China: martial law proclaimed in Pekin.
11. Poland asks for Allied intervention with the Bolsheviks. Allies at once suggest to the Soviet Government an armistice between Russia and Poland.
11. Russia: Bolshevik forces reach Minsk: Polish forces in retreat.
14. Bolivia: Revolution announced.
14. Syria: French ultimatum to Emir Feisul.
14. At Spa Conference Germany agrees to accept Allies coal demand.
16. Russia: Occupation of Vilna by Bolsheviks announced.
15. Asia Minor: French at war with the Emir Feisul, King of Syria.
17. Allies ultimatum to Turkey to accept draft Peace Treaty within 10 days.
17. Poland accepts Allies conditions.
18. China: Fighting in China reported.
19. Syria's appeal to the League of Nations announced.
19. China: Anfu faction defeated: Civil war ends.
20. British Government decides to recommend Poland to apply direct to the Soviet Government for an armistice, as suggested by the Soviet Government.
22. Poland: Bolsheviks advancing on Warsaw: Bialystock captured.
23. Poland: Council of National Defence decides to negotiate with the Soviet Government for an armistice. New Coalition Cabinet formed.
24. Syria: Emir Feisul's acceptance of terms of French ultimatum announced.
25. Syria: French troops occupy Damascus: Emir Feisul a fugitive.
26. Turkey: Greek occupation of Thrace in progress.
27. British and French Premiers (at Boulogne) agree conditionally to invite Bolsheviks delegates to a conference of the Allied powers.
26. British Government's note to the Soviet Government on the subject of trade negotiations.
31. Germany: Reichstag votes for the abolition of conscription.

**AUGUST.**

2. India : Death of B. G. Tilak, leader of the Indian Nationalist movement, announced.
3. Poland : Polish armistice delegation at Baranovitchi returns to Warsaw, not having the mandates necessary for the conditions of peace as demanded by the Bolshevik envoys.
3. British Government threatens to break off all negotiations with the Soviet Government if the invasion of Poland continues.
4. Mesopotamia : More fighting on the lower Euphrates between British and Arab tribesmen.
4. Russian Mission to England presents its credentials.
4. Armenian Bureau in London announces the massacre of 1,000 Armenians and Greeks by Turks on July 10th and 11th.
5. German Reichstag passes Disarmament Bill.
5. League of Nations Council at San Sebastian.
5. Poland : Further Bolshevik advances towards Warsaw.
6. Interview between Lloyd George and the Russian plenipotentiaries, M. Kameneff and M. Krassin.
6. Decision for economic relations with Russia.
6. Germany : Railway workers in Karlsruhe, Baden, stop further transport of arms for Poland.
6. Poland : Government retire to Cracow.
10. Bolshevik terms for armistice with Poles include Polish disarmament and the reduction of the Polish army to 60,000 men and demobilisation within a month.
10. Turkish Treaty signed.
11. France : French Government's decision to uphold Wrangel.
11. Committee of the Council of Action ask the British Prime Minister to publish at once the conditions laid down by the Government as being necessary to establish peace with Russia.
11. Lettonia : Russo - Lettish Peace Treaty signed at Riga.
11. Armenia : Peace Treaty with Russia signed.
13. Finland : Armistice with Russia signed.
14. British Labour and Trade Union Council of Action decide to send a British deputation to France. Announcement of the stoppage at Antwerp of French munitions for Wrangel.
17. Mesopotamia : Announcement of the sending of more Indian troops to Mesopotamia.
17. British delegates of the Council of Action, Mr. Adamson and Mr. Gosling, requested by the French authorities to leave Paris on penalty of expulsion.
17. Poland : Russo-Polish negotiation conference opened at Minsk. Bolshevik thrust towards Warsaw checked.
18. Poland : Polish armies drive back Bolshevik forces 50 miles.
19. Mesopotamia : Arab tribesmen give more trouble near Bagdad.
20. Poles capture Brest-Litovsk. French warships sent to Danzig.
22. Mesopotamia : Arab attacks repulsed with heavy losses.
23. Poland : Polish reply to Russian peace terms with a virtual rejection. ;
23. British Foreign Office threatens a rupture of negotiations with the Soviet trade mission unless Russian peace conditions as regards Poland are withdrawn.
24. Egypt : Basis of agreement reported reached between Egyptian Nationalists and the Milner Mission.
26. United States : Nineteenth amendment to the constitution signed and proclaimed whereby all women in the United States gain the same rights of voting as men.
26. Russia : Soviet Government withdraws the peace proposal to Poland objected to by the British Government.
27. Bolshevik troops on the Polish front retreating.
31. Ratification of Franco-Belgian Military Convention.

**SEPTEMBER.**

1. Polish-Lithuanian frontier dispute.
6. Italy : Workers in the principal factories and workshops in Turin, Milan, and Genoa lock themselves in.
6. Mexico : General Obregon elected President.
11. M. Kameneff leaves England for Russia.
11. Germany : Announcement of Socialist Committee of Action having decided to let no munitions for Poland pass through the Kiel Canal.
15. Czecho-Slovakia : Socialist ministers abandon the Coalition.
20. Italy : The Prime Minister decides for Labour control of the factories and workshops seized by Italian workers.
21. Poland : Polish Ministry of War reported to have issued an order for the partial demobilisation of the Polish army.
21. United States : New York State Legislature re-expels three Socialists re-elected to Legislature.
21. Russo-Polish Peace Conference at Riga.
21. France : Resignation of M. Deschanel, French President.
22. Italy : Tumult in Turin : conflict between strikers and military ; several killed and injured.
23. France : M. Millerand elected President of the French Republic by the electoral congress.
24. France : New cabinet, with M. Georges Leygues as Premier and Foreign Minister.
24. Financial conference at Brussels.
24. Poland : Poland resumes offensive on Lithuania.
- 27 : Poland : Announcement that Poland and Lithuania agree to accept the arbitration of the League of Nations.

**OCTOBER.**

2. Poland : Bolshevik defeat by Poles ; 42,000 prisoners and 160 guns taken.
12. Poland : Russo-Polish armistice signed in Riga.
13. India : National Congress in Ceylon rejects constitutional reform.
20. Mesopotamia : War Office report records 2,167 British casualties from June 1st to October 1st.
22. Sweden : Socialist Cabinet resigns.
25. Greece : Death of King Alexander as the result of infection caused by a monkey bite.
29. Russia : New Bolshevik offensive against Wrangel.
29. Prussia : The Diet proclaims Prussia to be a Republic within the German Empire and that its colours are black and white.

**NOVEMBER.**

1. Capture of Hetman Semenoff (militarist reactionist leader in Trans-Bikalia) reported.
2. United States : Presidential elections. Republican success. Senator W. G. Harding elected new President.
7. Russia : Bolsheviks enter the Crimea.
10. Mesopotamia : War Office reports fresh Arab outbreaks and British operations.
10. Italy : Settlement of the Adriatic

- dispute. Jugo-Slavia accepts Italy's terms.
13. Hungary : Hungarian Parliament votes for the ratification of the Peace Treaty.
15. Russia : Bolshevik army occupies Sebastopol : General Wrangel escapes on French warship.
15. Danzig : Danzig formally proclaimed a free city by its constituent assembly.
16. Greece : Venizelists defeated at general election.
17. Greece : New Cabinet formed.
18. Draft trade agreement with Russia passed by the British Cabinet.
23. Rout of Petlura by Bolsheviks announced.
24. Russia : Soviet Government suspends peace negotiations with Poland on the grounds that the Poles have not withdrawn their troops to Pripiet demarcation line as fixed in the peace preliminaries.
25. France : The French Premier, M. Leygues, permits private trade with the Soviets.
28. Danzig : Departure of British troops of occupation announced.
28. France : Paris Socialists by overwhelming majority vote in favour of the Third International.
30. Trade agreement passed by the British Cabinet presented to the Russian delegation.

## THE UNREST IN INDIA.

### FIGURES OF CONVICTIONS.

In answer to the query as to the total number of persons convicted of waging war and other crimes during last year's rebellion in India, the Indian Secretary (Mr. Montague), on August 4th (1920) communicated to the House of Commons the following particulars received from the Government of India :—

[Copy of telegram from Viceroy (Home Department), dated August 20.]

Your telegram of July 22nd regarding statement for House of Commons. Following figures have been reported to us by local governments as the correct figures for convictions for waging war or murder in connection with disorders in Punjab :—

	Trans- portation	Death.
Sentences by Court	108	256
Sentences by Govern- ment	20	25
Common imprisonment for two years or more	271	
Imprisonment for less than two years	40	
Released	8	
Released under proclamation	251	
Released on recommendation of reviewing judges	3	
Remaining in gaol	78	
Twenty death sentences were executed.		

The figures asked for in your telegram of July 28th are as follows :—

**PUNJAB :—**

Total number convicted, including persons convicted twice	1,781
Number of persons convicted for waging war	364
For other offences	1,418
Number released (including 111 released conditionally)	980
Served their sentences	714
Number of persons still in gaol	86

This includes one person convicted in two cases, who, for the purpose of giving the total number convicted, has been counted as two.

**BOMBAY :—**

Total number of persons convicted	123
Sentenced for waging war	36
Other crimes	87
Sentences of 18 reduced ; none pardoned.	

**DELHI :—**

Total number of persons convicted	21
None sentenced for waging war.	
None pardoned, but nine released and sentence reduced in two cases.	

**DIARY OF IRISH EVENTS.****JANUARY.**

2. Two night-shooting outrages near Mullingar.
6. Two hours' siege of police barracks at Roundstone, Co. Galway.
6. Forty Sinn Feiners in Cork gaol go on hunger strike.
6. Drumlish police barracks, Co. Longford, attacked by armed men.
7. Military and police raid the offices of "Dail Eireann" and the Sinn Fein bank, and both places closed, at Dublin.
8. Dismissal of the inspector-general of the R.I.C.
15. Irish municipal elections; Sinn Feiners secure the largest proportion of the vote compared with other parties. Sinn Feiners and Nationalist secure a majority of two on the Derry Corporation.
17. Riot at Enniscorthy; conflicts between crowd and soldiers and police.
18. Attack on police station at Thurles, co. Tipperary; assailants driven off; no casualties.
21. Attack on policemen in Co. Clare.
21. Second assistant commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police shot dead.
24. Attacks on police barracks in Co. Wicklow; two constables wounded.
24. Attack on police barracks in Co. Limerick.
25. £10,000 offered by the Crown for information leading to conviction of the murderers of 14 police officers.
31. Round up of prominent Sinn Feiners; 65 arrests, including several M.P.'s.

**FEBRUARY.**

2. Attack on police barracks at Arklow, Co. Wicklow.
9. Police barracks at Castlemartyr captured by armed men.
15. Attack on police in Ballytrain, Co. Monaghan.
18. Armed raid on police barracks at Camp, co. Kerry.
20. Affray in Dublin; two policemen and civilian shot.
23. Curfew order comes in force in Dublin.
23. Military and police raids in Co. Down.
25. Attack on police constabulary barracks in Co. Cork; three raiders killed, eight wounded.
25. Government's Irish Home Rule Bill.
29. Military escort at Queenstown disarmed by civilians.

**MARCH.**

3. Castle mail at Dublin held up by masked men and contents taken away.
7. Police barrack attacked at Doon, co. Limerick.
19. Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork assassinated.
22. Shooting affray in Dublin; three persons shot dead.
25. Police barracks attacked by raiders near Tralee.

**APRIL.**

3. Easter campaign of Sinn Fein: 60 police barracks destroyed, and income tax offices and custom houses raided all over Ireland.
5. Hunger strike of Sinn Fein prisoners in Mountjoy prison in Dublin begins.
13. General strike throughout Ireland, outside Ulster, as a protest against Government's treatment of hunger strikers in Mountjoy prison, Dublin.
14. Hunger strikers in Mountjoy prison, Dublin, released; general strike ends.
14. Riots in Londonderry; troops fire on crowd.
15. Raids on Sinn Fein in Dublin, 66 prisoners made.
18. Rioting in Londonderry.
21. Irish Labour Party's embargo on the shipment of bacon and live pigs withdrawn.
26. Collision between civilians and soldiers at Arklow, Co. Wicklow; two casualties.
28. Eighty Sinn Fein prisoners transported to English prisons.
29. Strike of Irish dockers at Liverpool.

**MAY.**

1. Shooting at police in Londonderry, constable shot in Cork, and police barracks destroyed at Tyrone.
2. Street fighting in Belfast.
2. Cork telegraph office raided.
16. Police patrol ambushed in Co. Cork, four constables shot.
- 12-13. Organised campaign against police barracks, and so on; 68 disused barracks destroyed, and 23 income tax offices raided, and several court houses burned down.
- 15-16-17. Party riots in Londonderry; shooting casualties.
21. Dublin dockers refuse to handle ships' cargo.
24. Irish railwaymen adopt the policy of refusing to work military goods trains.
25. Lightning strike of railway dockers in Dublin. Further incendiary attacks on Government buildings reported.
28. Attack on Kilmallock barracks; two policemen killed and six wounded.
30. Cork railwaymen decide not to handle munitions nor to work troop specials.

**JUNE.**

1. Armed raiders raid military guard-room in Dublin. Destruction of more barracks in Antrim, Galway and Cork.
2. Police barrack raids in six counties.
6. Affray in Co. Armagh, two policemen and a civilian killed.
14. Announcement of Government's decision to set up a judicial commission

for the trial without juries of persons accused of serious crime in Ireland.

14. More party rioting in Londonderry.
19. Fresh rioting in Londonderry, five killed and many injured.
22. Attempted assassination of the Assistant Inspector General of the R.I.C.
26. General and two colonels kidnapped by Sinn Feiners in Co. Cork.
27. Fermoy, Co. Cork, wrecked and looted by soldiers.
28. Mutiny of Irish troops in India.
30. Nearly all trains from Dublin to the South stopped, drivers refusing to start owing to the trains being boarded by armed police.

### JULY.

2. Attacks on police in Counties of Tipperary and Cork, one killed and two wounded. Sinn Fein official organ, *Irish Bulletin* announces that "Dail Eireann" has decreed the establishment of Courts of Justice and Equity and Courts for Criminal Jurisdiction, and also a national land Commission.
15. Dublin postal sorting office raided by armed men, who carry away bags of correspondence.
17. Sinn Fein raid on Cork County Club; Colonel Smyth, Divisional Police Commissioner for Munster, shot dead, and County Inspector Craig wounded.
18. Tumult in Cork; armoured car and military patrols in motor luries drive through city firing in all directions; one man killed and 40 wounded.
19. Town of Tuam, Co. Galway, wrecked in reprisal for the killing of two constables outside the town.
21. Curfew order comes into force in Cork.
21. Rioting in Belfast. Nationalist workmen expelled from shipyards by anti-Nationalists. Military called out; one person killed and several wounded by troops.
22. Furious rioting in Belfast, several deaths, and over 100 persons injured.
23. Catholic church in Belfast attacked by Unionist mob; attackers fired on by military, with a number of casualties; number of spirit groceries looted.
24. Patrol of armed police in Limerick attacked by armed men, three policemen wounded. Coastguard station in Co. Cork raided, two coastguard officers killed.
27. Newport (Co. Tipperary) creamery and two dwelling-houses destroyed; town looted and terrorised by the military.
28. Unionist shipyard workers at Belfast decide on a boycott of "disloyal" workers.
29. Militarist cyclist patrol attacked by armed civilians in Co. Limerick.
30. Escape of Brigadier-General Lucas after a month's captivity by Sinn Feiners. Military police patrol in

Dublin held up by armed civilians; three members of the patrol and civilian wounded by firing.

### AUGUST.

2. Irish Coercion Bill styled "A Restoration of Order in Ireland" Bill, introduced in the House of Commons.
2. Military terrorisation in Cork during the curfew hours by street firing in reprisal for shots fired at an army car.
3. *Irish Bulletin* announces the resignation of 132 Irish magistrates during the past three weeks.
9. Archbishop Mannix landed at Penzance instead of Liverpool by destroyer, which had removed him from the liner "Baltic." The Archbishop forbidden to visit Ireland, Liverpool, Manchester or Glasgow.
10. Arrests and terrorism reported from Tipperary.
12. Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman McSwiney, arrested and taken to Cork gaol.
15. Soldiers mobbed in Dublin streets. Disturbances at Londonderry. Attack on police patrol in Tralee leads to reprisals by police and soldiers.
16. Dublin custom house raided by armed men, presumably for arms and documents.
16. Alderman McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, tried by court martial, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment without hard labour, and then deported to Brixton gaol, where he commenced hunger strike.
17. North Tipperary town "shot up" by the soldiers and police; street firing, looting and devastation.
23. Attack on police in Mid Cork. Police barracks raided at Ballyvary, Co. Mayo, large quantity of arms and ammunition carried off. Nationalists' houses in Lisburn attacked by forces of the Crown and a Catholic priest's house burnt down.
25. Irish Peace Conference commenced sitting in Dublin and calls for complete Home Rule.
25. Premier refuses to release Lord Mayor of Cork.
- 25-30. More riots in Belfast. Nationalist dwelling-houses looted and burnt by Unionist mob; military called out; 12 persons killed and at least 50 injured.

### SEPTEMBER.

18. More police reprisals reported.
20. Military escort attacked in Dublin, two soldiers killed and three wounded.
21. Police reprisals in Balbriggan. The town sacked and burned; residents abandon the town.
22. Police motor car ambushed in Co. Clare; two of the escort killed and four wounded. Reprisal reported in Milltown Malbay.
22. "Black and Tan" pogrom of three towns in Co. Clare (Milltown Malbay, Lahinch, and Ennistymon); three civilians killed. Pogrom taken in



- reprisal for the ambushing of a police motor car, with casualties.
25. More police reprisals in Belfast in return for night attack on police patrol.
  27. Police pogrom in Trim, Co. Meath, in reprisal for the burning of the police barracks and the wounding of the head constable.
  28. Raid on military barracks at Mallow, Co. Cork; munitions carried away; sergeant shot dead.
  29. Military reprisals in Mallow: town hall, creamery and a number of shops and dwelling-houses burnt down.
  29. Military picket fires on a hostile crowd in Belfast; a number of casualties.
  29. Riots in Lisburn, Co. Antrim; many shops and houses owned by Nationalists wrecked or burnt.
  30. Party of military and police ambushed near Tobercurry (Sligo); District Inspector shot dead and one or two injured; reprisals follow: two creameries burnt down, and a number of houses burned and wrecked.
  22. Attack on military cars in Co. Cork; three killed and three wounded. Police party ambushed in King's Co., casualties on both sides.
  22. Military reprisals at Bandon, Co. Cork, following ambushing of military cars.
  23. "Black and Tan" raid in Dublin.
  25. Police party ambushed at Grange, Co. Sligo; three killed and three wounded.
  25. Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman McSwiney, dies in Brixton Gaol, after 73 days of hunger strike.
  25. Police barracks attacked in Co. Fermagh.
  26. Eight Sinn Feiners arrested at Holyhead.
  28. Second military pogrom in the market town of Templemore, Co. Tipperary.
  29. Mrs. Annan Bryce arrested at Holyhead and deported back to Dublin.
  31. New wave of violence in Ireland: numerous attacks on police patrols in which several policemen killed and wounded, followed by reprisals.

**NOVEMBER.****OCTOBER.**

2. Attack on police barracks in Co. Roscommon; reprisals follow and houses set on fire.
3. "Black and Tan" constable shot dead in Cork; reprisals follow, raids also in Galway.
5. Chief G.P.O. Dublin visited by military, who carry off the morning mail from the three southern provinces. English mail seized at Kings-town Pier. Mayor of Wexford arrested. Armed men capture and burn down police barracks in West Cork.
8. Military raid G.P.O. in Belfast and carry off all the mails for examination.
9. Prime Minister at Carnarvon condones Irish reprisals.
11. Military party attacked near Mallow, one soldier killed and several wounded.
12. Police ambushed in Roscommon and three killed. In Dublin two military officers killed during a raid on a private house.
11. Raid on armoured car in Dublin, and also raid by armoured car: killing and wounding on both sides.
11. Two magistrates kidnapped by Sinn Feiners in West Meath.
16. Two shops bombed in Dublin. Rioting in Belfast and three persons fatally shot by military and police.
17. Hunger striker dies in Cork gaol. Military raid in Dublin, two civilians shot.
18. Two villages in Galway terrorised by uniformed men; number of persons stripped and flogged.
19. Catholic Hierarchy condemn the Government's policy and call for an enquiry on reprisals.
20. Motion for an independent enquiry into reprisals in Ireland defeated in the House of Commons by 346 votes to 79.
1. Execution of Kevin Barry, eighteen-year old medical student, in Dublin, who was sentenced by court martial to be hanged for murder of a soldier.
6. Pogrom in Londonderry following on shooting of two policemen.
8. Attacks on police-military parties. "Black and Tans" dominate Tralee and compel all shopkeepers to close. Attacks and reprisals in Tipperary, Donegal, West Meath and other counties, continue for the whole week—the week of most intensive violence so far experienced.
8. Tralee reported still terrorised by the R.I.C. and held to ransom for two missing "black and tans." Police raid in Dublin and a military motor convoy ambushed in Co. Limerick; two soldiers killed.
10. Colonel C. E. Malone, M.P. for Leyton, arrested at Trinity College, Dublin, subsequently tried at Bow Street and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the second division; let out on bail pending an appeal against the sentence.
11. Latest Home Rule Bill passes Third Reading, in House containing only one-third of the members.
12. Hunger strike, since August 11th, in Cork prison, ends. Ambushing in Co. Kerry of a press party under police escort; two attackers killed and seven captured. New regulation under Irish Coercion Act issued.
13. Ambushing of police parties in Tipperary and Kildare. Reprisals in Tipperary.
17. Executive of British Labour Party issues a manifesto concerning Ireland.
18. Police sergeant shot dead in Cork; subsequent pogrom and the killing of three civilians and the wounding of two others.
19. Irish prisons reported to be full.

21. Organised Sinn Fein attacks on military officers in Dublin; 14 killed and five wounded. Panic at Dublin football match visited by military and police forces; 10 persons killed and 65 injured.
22. Military and police raids on Dublin City Hall, municipal buildings and offices of local authorities in South and West Ireland, and documents seized: numerous arrests made all over the country.
22. Mr. Devlin, Nationalist M.P., assaulted in the House of Commons by Coalition member.
23. Military "Comb" continues throughout Ireland; hundreds of arrests.
24. Liberty Hall (Dublin), headquarters of the Irish Transport workers Union, raided; documents seized and burned in the streets and two Labour leaders, Thomas Johnson and Thomas Farren, arrested. *Freeman's Journal* offices also raided.
24. More killings on both sides in Dublin, Cork and Galway.
25. *Freeman's Journal* and its two directors court-martialled for publishing as news, paragraphs objectionable to the authorities.
25. Second Reading of Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords.
26. The Acting-President of the Irish Republic (Mr. Arthur Griffiths, M.P.) arrested in Dublin; two other members of "Dail Eireann" (Professor John McNeil, M.P., and E. J. Duggan) also arrested. Two civilians killed in Cork.
27. Incendary fires in many cotton warehouses and timber-yards in Liverpool. Irish Convention prohibited in Manchester; held in Salford in private.
- 27-28. Mutual reprisals in various parts of Ireland attended with a number of casualties on both sides.
29. Patrol of 17 Cadets of the Auxiliary Division R.I.C. ambushed in Co. Cork, and 15 killed; devastation reprisals in the district. Staff of *Irish Times* held up and commercial offices of *Freeman's Journal* set on fire.
30. Reprisal fires in Cork; City Hall and many other buildings in Cork set on fire. Five police raids in London in connection with the Sinn Fein movement; pamphlets and documents taken away.
30. Irish Bill amended in the House of Lords; two Second Chambers set up, Council abolished.

DECEMBER.

2. Raids of Glasgow police in connection with the local Sinn Fein; quantities of firearms and Sinn Fein literature seized, several arrests. Trial of Countess Markievicz, M.P., by general court-martial opens in Dublin. For refusing to halt, three civilians shot dead near Bandon, Co. Cork, by military and police party. English Labour deputation in Ireland on its mission of peace.

## IRISH STATISTICS, 1920.

### SINN FEIN'S STATISTICS.

The Sinn Fein organ (*The Irish Bulletin*) has given a list of military and police reprisals extending from September 9th, 1919, to September 27th, 1920, and covering seventy-four dates and recording nearly 100 cases of towns "shop up," towns sacked, houses wrecked, houses burned, houses looted and creameries destroyed. These figures are exclusive of persons killed.

### OFFICIAL STATISTICS.

The official statistics of outrages in Ireland from January 1st to November 20th are as follows (excluding the casualties in the Belfast riots).

Barracks destroyed	527
Courthouses destroyed	67
Raids on Mails	80
Raids on lighthouses and coast-guard stations	46
Raids for arms	3000
Policemen killed	149

Policemen wounded	220
Soldiers killed	34
Soldiers wounded	95
Civilians killed	37
Civilians wounded	89

### COURTS-MARTIAL IN IRELAND.

The progress of coercion and military rule during 1920 is indicated by the comparative statistics of courts-martial.

1914-16 (excluding Irish rebellion cases)	8
1917	137
1918	202
1919	138
1920 (January 1st to October 2nd)	303

Of the 303 courts-martial held in the first nine months of 1920, 209 were held in the two months, *i.e.*, between August 1st and October 2nd, as compared with 94 in the seven months from 1st January to July 31st.

## DESTRUCTION OF IRISH CO-OPERATIVE CREAMERIES.

THE I.A.W.S. Bulletin (issued by the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society) gave in November last the following details with regard to the destruction of co-operative creameries in Ireland:—

### WHERE DESTRUCTION WORKED.

The following is a list of Co-operative creameries destroyed or partially destroyed, with the amount of compensation awarded where the claims have been adjudicated on by the County Court judges:—

#### Wholly Destroyed.

Rearcross, Co. Tipperary (£1,100).  
 Knoekfune, Co. Tipperary (£3,965).  
 Newport, Co. Tipperary (£12,349).  
 Shangolden, Co. Limerick (£12,000).  
 Loughmore, Co. Tipperary (£3,581).  
 Killea, Co. Tipperary (£3,182).  
 Upperchurch, Co. Tipperary (£8,749).  
 Reiska, Co. Tipperary, twice attacked.  
 Tubercurry, Co. Sligo.  
 Kildimo, Co. Limerick.  
 Foynes Co-operative Store Co. Limerick.  
 Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.  
 Ballymote, Co. Sligo.

#### Partially Destroyed.

Kilcommon, Co. Tipperary.  
 Castleiney, Co. Tipperary (£1,578).  
 Newcastle West, Co. Limerick (£1,900).  
 Garryspillane, Co. Limerick (£5,420).  
 Achonry, Co. Sligo.  
 Devon Road, Co. Limerick.  
 Silvermines, Co. Tipperary.  
 Hospital, Co. Limerick.  
 Killonan, Co. Limerick.  
 Banteer, Co. Cork.

Grange, Co. Limerick.  
 Abbeydorney, Co. Kerry.  
 Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.  
 Ballintrillick, Co. Sligo.

In addition to these there was an attack on Moycullen Co-operative Store, Co. Galway, and Dingle Co-operative Store, Co. Kerry.

The total amount of compensation awarded in the ten cases for which the figures are given above is £53,824.

It is difficult, at the moment, to compute the number of persons thrown out of employment owing to the destruction of or damage to these creameries. The number directly thrown out of work must be close on 200, and where farmers have been driven out of milk-producing altogether further unemployment has followed.

### HOW FARMERS SUFFER.

The inconvenience caused to farmers by the destruction cannot be over-rated. They have been driven to sending their milk to creameries miles away from their farms, and where the alternative creameries have been unable to deal with increased supplies the farmers have had to give up producing milk.

In consequence of the destruction of these creameries there will be a shortage of milk this winter and a scarcity of butter for export.

## PAUPERISM.

Pauperism in England and Wales continued to increase up to 1910 when the total number of paupers of all classes reached 916,377, or 25·9 per 1,000 of the population. In 1911 (when a number of paupers, especially out-door paupers, ceased to be dependent on poor relief, in consequence of the partial removal of the pauper disqualification for old-age pen-

sioners) the number of paupers was reduced to 886,177. Since then there has been a general decrease in the number. For the last three years the figures are as follows: 1918, 596,163; 1919, 555,639; 1920, 563,045; the respective totals being equivalent to 15·9, 14·8, and 15·0 per 1,000 of the estimated population.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895): 4, Great Smith Street,  
Westminster, London, S.W.1. General Secretary: H. J. May.

### UNITED KINGDOM.

*For a complete list of Co-operative bodies in the United Kingdom see  
pages 365 to 369.*

### AUSTRIA.

Verband deutsch-österreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna (Union  
of German-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 Wirtschafts-  
genossenschaften: 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 belge 4-5 Place de la Justice, Brussels. (Co-operative Union.)

### BULGARIA.

Société Coopérative de Consommation, "Bratski Troud": Sofia. (Distributive  
Society.)

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Ustředni svaz československých družstev v Praze (Central Union of Czech-Slovak  
Co-operative Societies, Prague). Established 1907.  
Velkonákupní společnost konsumních družstev v Praze (Co-operative Wholesale  
Society, Prague). Established 1909.  
Verband deutscher Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften. (Union of German Industrial  
Societies.)

### DENMARK.

Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Copenhagen. (The Danish Dis-  
tributive Wholesale.) Established 1896.  
Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. (The All-Danish Central Co-operative  
Board).  
Jydsk Andels Foderstofforening: Aarhus. (Feeding Stuff Society.)

### FINLAND.

Yleinen Osuuskappojen Liitto, Helsingfors. (General Co-operative Union.)  
Suomen Osuuskappojen Keskusosuuskunta r.l. (The Finnish Co-operative  
Wholesale Society): Helsingfors. Established 1904.

- Pellervo Society: Helsingfors. Secretary: Onni Karhunen. (Society for the Promotion and Propagation of Co-operation.) Established 1901.
- Kulutusosuuskuntien Keskuslütto: Djurgardsvägen 1, Helsingfors. Secretary: Wäinö Hüpli. (Central Union of Distributive Societies.) Established 1916.
- Suomen Osuustukkukauppa: Broholmogatan 8, Helsingfors. (Co-operative Wholesale of Central Union.) Established 1917.

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### FRANCE.

- Fédération nationale des Cooperatives de Consommation: 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Chairman: Charles Gide. Secretaries: A. Daudé-Bancel 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.

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### \*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.

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### GERMANY.

- Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine: Beim Strohhaus 38, Hamburg. Secretary: Heinrich Kaufmann. (Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1903.
- Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine: Besenbinderhof 52, Hamburg. (The Wholesale of the Central Union.) Established 1892.
- Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschafts-genossenschaften: 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 Związku Zarabowych: Posen.

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### HOLLAND.

- Centrale Bond van Nederlandse Verbruiks-coöperaties. Gedempte Burgwal 35, The Hague. (Central Union of Dutch Distributive Societies.) Established 1889.
- Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereniging "De Handelskamer": Ruijgeplaatweg 29, Rotterdam. President: J. Warmolts. (The Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1890.
- Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Vrouwenbond. Secretary: Mej. Marg. Meyboom, Westerbro, Rijswijk (Z.H.) (Women's Co-operative Guild).
- Vereeniging Eigenhulp: The Hague. (Distributive Society).
- Bond van Coöperatieve Vereenigingen in Nederland, Hertogenbosch. (R.C. Co-operative Union.) Established 1902.

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\* Now associated with Poland.



- Allgemeene Nederlandsche Zuivelbond : Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. (Union of Dairy Societies.) Established 1900.  
 Coöperatieve Centrale Boerenleenbank, Eindhoven. (Farmers' Co-operative Credit Bank).  
 Coöperatieve Stoomzuivelfabriek : Alkmaypr.  
 Erste Nederlandsche Beetwortelzuikerfabriek : Sas van Gent.

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#### HUNGARY.

- Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Ertekesítő Svövetkezete : Közraktar-utca 34, Budapest. (The Hangya Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1898.  
 Magyarországi szövetkeztek szövetsége (General Co-operative Union) : Ullői-út 25, Budapest.  
 Landes Central Kreditgenossenschaft, Baross-utca 13-szam : Budapest. (National Central Credit Society).  
 Verband Raiffeisenseher Genossenschaften, Siebenbürgen, Hermannstadt.

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#### ITALY.

- Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative : Via Pace, 10, 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.

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#### NORWAY.

- Norges Kooperative Landsforening : 4, Kirkegatan, Christiania. (The Norwegian Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1906.

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#### POLAND.

- Zwiazek stowarzyszen spożywczych : Ul. Mickiewicza Warsaw-Mokotow. (Wholesale Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1911.

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#### ROUMANIA.

- Casa Centrala a Bancilor populare si cooptivelor Satesti : Bucharest. (Co-operative Credit Banking Central.) Established 1903.

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#### RUSSIA.

- Vserossiisky Tsentralny Soyuz Potrebitelnykh Obshtshestv : Moscow. (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1898. Official representative (under the new regime) in Great Britain : The All-Russian Co-operative Society Ltd. "Arcos," 68, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.  
 Komitet o selskikh ssudosberegatelnykh i promyshlennyykh tovarishtshestvakh : Moscow. (Rural Savings and Industrial Associations Committee).  
 Soyuz Sibirskikh Maslodyelnykh 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, Moscow.  
 Council of the All-Russian Co-operative Congresses, Moscow.  
 Moscow Narodny Bank : Miasnitzkaia 15, Moscow. (People's Co-operative Bank.) London Offices : 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.  
 Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupsbyt," Novo-Nikolaievsk, Siberia. (London branch : Hazlitt House, 43, Southampton Buildings, High Holborn).  
 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 : Rue Ressavska 15, Belgrade. Established 1895.

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**SPAIN.**

Federación Regional de Cooperativas de Cataluña : Pasaje de San José, Letra D. Barcelona. (Catalonian Union.) Established 1900.

Federacion de las Cooperativas Integrales y Populares : Madrid.

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**SWEDEN.**

Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverige : Stadsgården 12, Stockholm. (Co-operative Union and Wholesale of Sweden.) Established 1899.

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**SWITZERLAND.**

Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine : Thiersteineralle 14, Basle. (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.")

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**UKRAINE.**

Union Dniпровienne des Sociétés Coopératives de Consommation : Kiev. (Union of Distributive Societies.) (London Office : 82, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.)

Banque Populaire de l'Ukraine : Kiev. (People's Bank.)

Union Centrale ukrainienne des Coopératives agricoles : Kiev. (Central Union of Agricultural Societies.)

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**ARMENIA.**

Union of Armenian Co-operative Societies : Erivan.

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**JAPAN.**

Central Union of Distributive and other Co-operative Societies : Tokio. Established 1903.

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**INDIA.**

Co-operative Union of India : Calcutta.

Dharma Samavaya Ltd. : Samavaya Mansions, Corporation Place, Calcutta. (Co-operative Wholesale.)

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**ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.**

El Hogar Obrero : Buenos Aires. (Distributive, Building, and Credit Society.)

Sociedad Cooperativa de Pan : Rosario de Santa Fé. (Baking Society.)

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**CANADA.**

Co-operative Union of Canada : 215, Nelson Street, Brantford, Ontario.

Co-operative Association : 39, Quebec Street, Guelph.

British Canadian Co-operative Society : Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia.

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**UNITED STATES.**

Co-operative League of America : 2, West 13th Street, New York.

Pacific Co-operative League, 236, Commercial Street, San Francisco.

National Co-operative Association, 342, River Street, Chicago. (Co-operative Wholesale Society.)

## INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY.

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### AUSTRIA.

- Der freie Genossenschaftler** : Vienna. Organ of the Union of German-Austrian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1903.
- 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.

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### BELGIUM.

- La Coopération**. Organ of the Belgian Federation of Co-operative Societies. Established 1902.
- La Coopération Belge** : 4-5, Place de la Justice, Brussels. Issued from the Office Cooperatif. Fortnightly. (*Journal Populaire*.) Established 1919.

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### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

- Druzstevnik (Co-operator)** : Palackého 63, Prague, Bohemia. Organ of the Union of Czech-Slovak Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1909.

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### 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.

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### FINLAND.

- Yhteishyvä (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.
- Kulutajain 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.

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### FRANCE.

- L'Action Coopérative** : 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Organ of the National Federation of French Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1912.
- L'Emancipation** : Nimes. 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.

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### GERMANY.

- Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau (Co-operative Review)** : Beim Strohhause 38, 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.
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#### HOLLAND.

- Het Coöperatieve Nieuws:** Gedempte Burgwal 35, The Hague. Official organ of the Central Union of Distributive Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1913. A continuance of the Co-operative Monthly, established 1904.
- 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.
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#### HUNGARY.

- Szovetkezes:** Budapest. Issued by the "Hangya" Wholesale Society. Bi-weekly.
- Mezőgazdak:** Budapest. Organ of agricultural co-operation.
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#### ICELAND.

- Timarit íslenskra samvinnufelaga.** Magazine of Icelandic co-operation. Reykjavik, Quarterly.
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#### ITALY.

- La Cooperazione Italiana:** Via Pace, 10, Milan. Official organ of the National League of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1886. Director: Antonio Vergnanini.
- L'Idée Cooperativa:** Via Meravigli 9, Milan. Official organ of the Unione Cooperativa (Distributive Society).
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#### NORWAY.

- Kooperatøren:** Kirkegaten 4, Christiania. Organ of the Norwegian Wholesale Co-operative Society. Monthly. Established 1906.
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#### POLAND.

- Spolem:** ul. Mickiewicza, Warsaw. Organ of Polish Co-operation. Weekly, from July, 1918.
- Odrodzenie (Regeneration):** Plac Smolki 3, Lemburg, 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, Lemburg, Galicia. Organ of the (Galician-Polish) Union of Distributive and Productive Societies. Monthly. Established 1914.
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#### RUSSIA.

- Soyuz Potrebitelei (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.
- The Russian Co-operator:** 38, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2. Monthly. (Issued by the Joint Committee of Russian Co-operative Organisations in London).
- N.B.—The above constituted a representative list of leading co-operative periodicals issued in normal times.

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#### SPAIN.

- Cooperatismo:** Pasaje San José, Barcelona. Organ of the Federation of Catalan Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly.

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#### 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.

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#### 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.
- Genossenschaftler (Co-operator):** Winterthur. The official organ of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in East Switzerland.

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#### THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

- La Cooperacion Libre:** Martin Garcia 465, Buenos Ayres. Monthly.

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#### 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.

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#### 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:** 342, River 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.)

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## CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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- Co-operative News** : Long Millgate, Manchester. News organ for the British movement. Issued by the National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited Weekly, 2d. Established 1871. Editor : W. M. Bamford.
- Scottish Co-operator** : 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow. Issued by the National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited. Weekly, 1½d. Established 1900. Joint editors : W. Reid and R. Murray.
- Irish Homestead** : 34, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. Official organ of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Weekly, 10s. per annum (post free). Established 1895. Editor : G. W. Russell.
- I.A.W.S. Bulletin** : Issued by the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society Ltd., 151, Thomas Street, Dublin.
- Producer** : 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Technical organ of the British movement. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly, 3d. Established 1916. Editor : James Haslam.
- Wheatshaf** : 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, 6d.
- 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.
- Co-operative Official** : Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Official organ of the National Co-operative Managers' Association, The Co-operative Secretaries' Association, and the National Co-operative Officials. Monthly, 2d.
- S.C.W.S. Magazine**. Published by the Employees of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. Monthly, price 2d. Established 1920.
- International Co-operative Bulletin** : 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Official organ of the International Co-operative Alliance. Monthly, 6s. per annum (post free). Established 1908. Editor : H. J. May.
- Russian Co-operator** : Published monthly at Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.4, in the interest of Russian co-operation. Price 6d. 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.

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Co-  
operation

First  
Principles

Story  
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# Co-operative Movements Abroad.

## AUSTRIA.

With the reduction of Austria (as a result of the Peace Treaty) to the dimensions of a minor European state, the Central Union of Austrian Consumers' Societies has become transformed into the Central Union of German-Austrian Consumers' Societies—a union functioning within a comparatively limited sphere.

Within the scope of the Empire it had grown as a polyglot union to about 500 societies with a membership of nearly 370,000, and a collective turnover of 158 million kronen or nearly £6,600,000. Its post-war dimensions are indicated by the following particulars of affiliated societies, *i.e.*, 112 consumers' societies, 17 building and dwelling, 17 productive, 4 credit, 4 regional federations, 3 purchasing federations, 1 wholesale, and 1 insurance. The position of the consumers' societies is shown as follows:—

	Total number.	Number reporting.	Total membership.	Sales.	
				Kronen.	£
1919 ..	112 ..	103 ..	370,866 ..	572,771,278 ..	23,865,470

In the matter of collective distributive membership it is worthy of note that the Union has more than recouped the loss due to the loss of societies since the disruption of the Empire, and has a greater membership than had the polyglot union in the pre-war period. Along with influx of members and the raising of the amount of share capital, there has also been consolidation as indicated by the amalgamation of Viennese Societies.

Under the stress of necessity, in short, the co-operative movement in Austria has become more compact than ever before.

### THE WHOLESALE.

Wholesale operations are now conducted by the Wholesale Society of Consumers' Societies Ltd., and the Wholesale Society and the Union, though distinct organisations, are linked by the one board which is elected for both.

In 1919 the turnover of the Wholesale amounted to 700 million kronen in round figures, or over £29,000,000. How enormously the annual turnover figure has increased may be seen by the comparison with that of previous years.

	Kronen.	£
1914 ....	26,802,153	1,116,756
1916 ....	50,092,772	2,087,199
1918 ....	157,077,733	6,128,239
1919 ....	700,000,000	29,166,666

Needless to say the abnormal increase in figures reflects to a large extent the terrific rise in the price of commodities.



## BELGIUM.

In 1912 the Federation of Belgian Co-operative Societies (La Fédération des Sociétés Co-opératives belges) comprised 205 societies, with a collective membership of 170,748, and a collective turnover of 47,573,587 francs (£1,902,943), that is to say, the Federation embraced about two-thirds of the members and three-fourths of the turnover of the whole of the co-operative societies in Belgium. For later figures we have to await the results of the new census undertaken by the Belgian Co-operative Office.

Meanwhile the progress of events has led to the concentration of co-operative forces in many areas, as indicated by the Union Co-operative de Liège (which by the absorption of 50 societies attained to a turnover (in 1919) of 35,000,000 fr. (£1,400,000), and Les Magasins Généraux at Philippeville (amalgamating 11 societies) which has a turnover of 10,000,000 fr. (£400,000), and by fusions elsewhere.

The "Forward" movement is further proclaimed by the resolutions adopted at the congress held at Charleroi in August 1920, declaring for the raising of the shares of societies to 100 francs each, and for the formation of a pension scheme for employees, and also by the decision to transform the Belgian Co-operative Office (conducting the non-commercial activities of the movement) into an autonomous organisation, *i.e.*, into a society distinct from the federation or trading union; co-ordination between the two bodies being ensured by the nomination to the Board of the Co-operative Office, of seven Board members of the Federation.

The activities of the Co-operative Office have eventuated in the undertaking of a Co-operative census, and the establishment of a co-operative deposit and loan bank in Ghent in conjunction with the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party and the Trades' Union Commission.

### WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

As regards Wholesale operations the Federation's comparative figures may be allowed to speak for themselves:—

		Turnover.	
		Francs.	£
1913	....	11,550,931	462,037
1914	....	5,400,000	216,000
1915	....	2,000,000	80,000
1919	....	15,869,276	634,771

In the first three months of 1920 the sales reached over 13½ million francs. Meantime post-war activities are further evidenced by the purchase of a hosiery factory and the schemes for other productive undertakings.

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The recent advance of the Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague (Ustředni svaz československých družstev v Praze) is evinced by the following record :—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Total turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1914 .....	285	71,405	26,664,770	1,111,032
1915 .....	285	72,144	26,207,699	1,091,987
1916 .....	286	72,353	27,826,551	1,159,440
1917 .....	304	83,028	34,568,174	1,440,341
1918 .....	384	139,227	94,305,597	3,929,400
1919 .....	703	300,000	330,000,000	13,750,000

Of the 702 societies recorded for 1919 the majority were distributive societies, the others being productive, building and housing, credit societies, and so forth.

### THE WHOLESALE.

The statistics of the Co-operative Wholesale (Velkonákupni společnost Konsumních družstev v Praze) repay perusal :—

	Turnover.	
	Kronen.	£
1914 ....	3,238,427	134,934
1915 ....	4,205,671	175,236
1916 ....	5,327,392	221,975
1917 ....	9,553,729	398,072
1918 ....	37,206,326	1,550,264
1919 ....	290,234,454	12,093,102

### THE GERMAN SOCIETIES IN THE REPUBLIC.

It is stated that the co-operative distributive societies in the republic number between 2,000 and 2,500 altogether, including the German societies (which constitute a separate racial organisation), comprising in 1919, 285 societies, 274 of them distributive, of which 194 reporting possessed 182,236 members, and collective sales amounting to 166,341,829 kr. (£6,930,909). Their Wholesale's turnover for the first nine months of 1919 amounted to 136,000,000 kr. (£5,666,000) and to 120 million kr. for the first five months in 1920. The Wholesale engages in production and further schemes are in progress.

## DENMARK.

The dimensions and growth of the co-operative distributive movement in Denmark are indicated by the recorded figures from the last two official censuses.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership.	Total turnover.	
			Kroner.	£
1914 .....	1,470	244,000	(1913) 103,000,000	5,722,222
1919 .....	1,690	317,000	(1918) 150,000,000	8,333,333
Increase .....	220	73,000	47,000,000	2,611,111

## THE DANISH WHOLESALE.

The Danish Wholesale Society (Fællesforeninger for Danmarks Brugsforeninger)—whose affiliated societies collectively comprise seven-tenths of the distributive co-operation membership in Denmark—has the following statistical record from 1914 :—

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
1919 .....	—	—	131,126,885	7,284,827

The figures show an increase of membership for the whole period, while the record turnover for 1919 shows that the set-back in the two preceding years has been amply recouped.

## PRODUCTION.

The productive enterprises of the Wholesale comprise hosiery, ready-made clothing, cycles, soap, rope, margarine, mustard, chocolate and sweetmeat manufactures; in addition to which the society possesses seed testing and seed-growing grounds. The comparative figures for the last four years show that the society has again resumed the progressive career interrupted in 1917-18 :—

Year.	Kroner.	£
1916 .....	17,668,395	981,189
1917 .....	16,377,979	909,888
1918 .....	9,598,531	533,085
1919 .....	27,619,451	1,534,414

## THE DANISH CO-OPERATIVE BANK.

Reference may also be made to the Danish Co-operative Bank, which operates as a central organisation for co-operative savings and loan banks in Denmark, of which there are about 70 with limited liability. The Danish Co-operative Bank has now over 100 branches, and its total turnover increased from 925,000,000 kr. in 1915 to 8,000,000,000 kr. in 1919, *i.e.*, from approximately £51,389,000 to over £444,400,000.

## ESTHONIA.

Esthonia (formerly one of the Russian Baltic states, but now an independent republic) possesses about 140 co-operative societies with a collective membership of 16,000, and a total turnover of about five million roubles (or approximately £500,000). One of the largest societies (established in Reval in 1914) has 4,000 members, and a turnover of two million roubles (approximately £200,000).

In 1919 a Wholesale was established with results shown by a turnover of two million roubles (£200,000) for the first year.

## FINLAND.

In Finland the General Co-operative Union, embracing the majority of consumers' societies, has the following record of progress :—

	1914	1918	1919
Number of societies . . . . .	415	524	567
Membership . . . . .	97,000	173,564	201,307
Collective sales—			
Finnish Marks . .	71,000,000	368,000,000	615,740,736
£	2,840,000	14,720,000	24,630,829

During the same period the Finnish Wholesale Society (Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunti, or S.O.K.), the trading organisation of the neutral movement, has developed as follows, despite the obstacles of civil war and cleavage :—

Years.	Number of Societies.	Wholesale Turnover.	
		Finnish Marks.	£
1914 . . . . .	244	24,285,756	971,440
1915 . . . . .	341	35,098,522	1,430,940
1916 . . . . .	432	72,160,139	2,886,406
1917 . . . . .	442	91,121,357	3,644,854
1918 . . . . .	494	107,715,834	4,308,633
1919 . . . . .	503	204,985,896	8,199,436

### PRODUCTION.

Besides several agricultural estates the S.O.K. owns a match manufactory, a saw mill, a brick works, a tar distillery, a cooperage, in addition to fruit packing and a coffee roasting establishment. The value of the total productive output has increased from 677,721 F.mks. (£27,109) in 1915, to 5,186,970 F. mks. (£207,479) in 1919.

### THE CENTRAL UNION.

The Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies (formed by Socialist Societies seceding from the General Union (the neutral union) in 1916-17) embraces the minority of distributive societies in Finland,

In 1919 the Central Union (K.K.) had 103 affiliated societies with (collectively) 123,817 members, and a total sales turnover of 275,140,301 Finnish Marks, £10,922,612. The Wholesale (O.T.K.) had 91 affiliated societies with 119,615 members; and the Wholesale's sales to societies amounted to 54,148,625 Mks. or £2,165,944.

## FRANCE.

Owing to the lack of definite figures for the post-war period, it is impossible to show with preciseness the growth of the distributive co-operative movement in France in recent years. The approximate

estimate of growth, however, may be seen from the figures which have been recorded by M. Daudé-Bancel.

	1914	1919
Number of Societies .....	3,261	4,000
Total membership .....	880,000.	1,300,000
Total turnover .....	Fr. 321,800,000 £12,840,000	Fr. 1,000,000,000 £40,000,000

According to the foregoing figures there has been an (approximate) increase of societies of 22 per cent., of membership 47 per cent., and of turnover 211 per cent.

#### THE NATIONAL FEDERATION.

Of the 4,000 distributive co-operative societies in France the National Federation of Consumers' Societies embraces practically half; but figures of the membership and turnover of the societies as a whole are incomplete. The statistics recorded by M. Daudé-Bancel for July 1st, 1919, are as follows:—

Number of affiliated societies .....	1,944
Membership (of 1,196 societies) .....	724,494
Turnover (of 1,080 societies) .....	Fr. 443,820,200 £17,752,808

A notable feature of the time is the growth of regional societies with multiple stores, in which connection the formation of the Union des Coopérateurs by the amalgamation of the Union des Coopératives, and the Union des Coopérateurs de la région parisienne—the latter being itself the result of the fusion of a number of societies.

The Union of Co-operators possesses 300 branches, and has a turnover of 70 million francs (£2,800,000).

#### THE FRENCH WHOLESALE (MAGASIN DE GROS).

Year.	Number of Societies.	Turnover.	
		Francs.	£
1914-15 ....	—	9,000,000	360,000
1915-16 ....	—	12,000,000	480,000
1916-17 ....	428	26,019,421	1,040,777
1917-18 ....	670	41,270,668	1,650,827
1918-19 ....	1,088	78,616,184	3,144,647
1919-20 ....	1,435	152,008,914	6,080,357

In 1919-20 the value of the output of the Wholesale's productive departments figured at 14,085,177 francs (£563,407), as against 6,818,096 francs (£272,724) for 1918-19, and 3,797,553 francs (£151,902) for 1917-18.

The productive establishments now comprise: Three boot factories, a clothing factory, three canned commodities establishments, and a coffee roastery.

Since the close of the war the M.D.G. has made considerable extensions in its depots, both in size and number. The M.D.G. has also opened an office in Algiers.

## GEORGIA.

The distributive co-operative movement in Georgia, Transcaucasia (which in the pre-war period was one of the subject states of the Russian Empire, but is now an independent republic) dates from 1907, and its vigorous growth from 1916 when the first central Co-operative Union, with 174 affiliated societies, was established in Tiflis, and with what further success is revealed by the comparative figures available:—

Year.	Societies.	Collective Membership.	Collective Turnover.	
			Roubles.	£
1916 .....	174	66,605	—	—
1917 .....	518	260,612	58,357,603	5,835,760
1918 .....	880	464,845	158,267,311	15,826,731

It is estimated that the distributive co-operative membership in Georgia embraces (when families are taken into account) about 74 per cent. of the whole population of 2,500,000.

## GERMANY.

Despite the loss of a number of societies through the recent political readjustment of frontiers, the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies (*Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine*) is a numerically stronger organisation to-day than ever before—an organisation which still occupies the premier position amongst continental consumers' movements west of Russia, and this notwithstanding the present eclipse of Germany. In this regard the figures from 1914-1919 may be allowed to speak for themselves:—

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	1,690	1,078	2,231,917	670,753,153	33,537,657
1919	1,132	—	2,308,407	1,075,581,269	53,779,063

## THE GERMAN WHOLESALE.

As the subjoined figures indicate, the Co-operative Wholesale (Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine) is recovering from the set-back sustained for a period of four years, but although the figure of turnover for 1919 is more than double that for 1914, it becomes obvious in this as in a variety of cases (when the factor of soaring prices is taken into account), that the pre-war scale of commodities sold has yet to be reached.

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
1919	352,698,074	17,634,903	28,681,534	1,434,076

The Wholesale's productive establishments now comprise three cigar manufactories, a tobacco manufactory, a match works, two soap works, a weaving shed, a clothing manufactory, and a box manufactory, besides a sweetmeat and chocolate manufactory, a mustard works, a spice mill, and a manufactory of doughwares. A brush works and a wood works were added to the list in 1919.

## GREECE.

The co-operative movement in Greece comprises in its totality over 1,800 societies of various kinds, of which the agricultural co-operative societies constitute about half and possess over 70 per cent. of the total membership of about 45,000. Of urban societies—distributive, productive, transport, &c., there are about 100 in round figures.

Distributive co-operation is represented by some sixty societies, the chief of which are those at Athens, the Piræus and Salonika.

## HOLLAND.

With the amalgamation of the two organisations (the Dutch Co-operative Union and the Union of Dutch Workers' Co-operative Distributive Societies) old distinctions and appellations are effaced, and a new vista opens out for co-operation in Holland under the auspices of the Central Union of Dutch Distributive Co-operative Societies—the new organisation established in April, 1920, which enters on its career with close on distributive societies embracing over 190,000 members (*i.e.*, 107 societies with a membership of 142,458 from the Dutch Co-operative Union, and fifty distributive societies with a membership of 51,119 from the Union of Dutch Workers' Societies),

apart from thirty-two non-distributive societies with 5,188 members which also belonged to the Dutch Co-operative Union. The status of the new Union may be gauged from the fact that it embraces at least four-fifths of the co-operative stores members in Holland.

#### THE WHOLESALE.

The Co-operative Wholesale (Handelskamer) on being constituted, in 1914, an entity separate from the Co-operative Union, embraced 133 affiliated societies, and had a turnover of (approximately) £365,000—a turnover which after steadily increasing year by year fell off in 1918, but recovered the year following.

Year.	Total Turnover.	
	Florins.	£
1913-14 . . . .	4,561,444	364,915
1915 . . . . .	6,236,095	498,888
1916 . . . . .	8,977,305	718,184
1917 . . . . .	10,000,298	800,024
1918 . . . . .	7,775,336	662,027
1919 . . . . .	11,126,477	890,118

The productive establishments of the Handelskamer comprise a coffee roastery, a butchers' meat establishment, and a soap manufactory.

#### HUNGARY.

The growth of the "Hangya" (Ant) Co-operative Wholesale Society of the Federation of Hungarian Farmers with headquarters in Buda-Pesth, in war time and peace, is statistically indicated as follows :

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1914	1,276	190,555	—	—
1915	1,307	228,403	77,069,069	3,082,762
1916	1,386	292,062	107,278,794	4,465,783
1917	1,707	467,077	172,661,259	7,194,219
1918	2,140	658,267	247,700,037	10,320,835
1919	2,334	—*	—*	—

\* Particulars available only at a later date.

The recent growth of the "Hangya," despite the loss of societies due to the shrinkage of the Hungarian territory brought about by the Peace Treaty, is explained by the process of intensive cultivation (illustrated by the foundation of 257 societies between January 1st and March 1st, 1919), and by the fusion of forces represented by the amalgamation of the Central Organisation of Christian Co-operative Societies with the Hangya in 1918.

#### WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

The wholesale trade of the "Hangya" has, in figures, septupled since 1914, but this ultra-abnormal increase is unquestionably due in large measure to the ultra-abnormal rise of prices.



Year.	Total Wholesale Turnover.	
	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
1918 .....	126,775,127	5,282,297
1919 .....	209,807,104	8,741,963

The increase of the share capital from 16,201,700 in 1918, to 30 million kronen (£1,250,000) in 1919, and to over 40 million kronen early in 1920, and the opening of new depots, evidence the "Hangya's" efforts to cope with the needs of the time—efforts further evidenced by the dozen concerns (productive and trading) under the management of the "Hangya" or belonging thereto, ten of which in 1919 had a capital (collectively) of over 35 million kronen or over £1,462,000.

## ICELAND.

In Iceland, co-operation embraces at least one half the population of 90,000. Iceland has about 40 co-operative societies with a membership averaging from two to three thousand each. The societies are organised in a centralised union combining the functions of propaganda and wholesale trading, the union in this respect bearing a resemblance to various unions on the continent of Europe. No less than 20 per cent. of the Icelandic co-operative wholesale trading surplus is allocated to the propagandist department.

## ITALY.

The conditions both of war-time and peace have led to a notable development of co-operation in Italy, and it is estimated that Italy now contains close on 10,000 co-operative societies of all classes. Colour is lent to this estimate by the returns, collected early in 1920, by the National League of Co-operative Societies—returns from 3,814 distributive societies, 2,351 labour and productive societies, 425 agricultural societies, 425 miscellaneous, and 234 federations, or 7,249 societies and federations in all.

As regards the distributive co-operative movement, the supremacy of the National League of Co-operative Societies (Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative) is evinced by the fact that in 1914 it comprised 2,182 affiliated societies, or about 90 per cent. of the total, while the increase to 2,923 at the end of 1919 (with affiliations flowing in during 1920) betokens the notable growth of the League as well as the impetus given to co-operation by the ever-increasing cost of living which has proved to be a more harassing feature in peace time even than in the high tide of war.

THE ITALIAN WHOLESALE.

The following is the statistical record of the Italian Wholesale (Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative di Consumo) up to 1917; and it is understood that the organisation is still making progress.

Year.	Wholesale Turnover.	
	Lire.	£
1914	1,410,000	56,400
1915	2,502,170	100,087
1916	3,240,000	129,600
1917	9,000,000	360,000

While the figures show the progress made, they also show that there is still scope for more.

NORWAY.

The substantial progress made by the movement in Norway is indicated by the statistics of Norway's Co-operative Union (Norges Ko-operative Landsforening) showing a 97 per cent. increase in the number of affiliated societies, and a 158 per cent. increase in collective membership.

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	234	67,910	48,139,900	2,674,438
1919	294	80,000	71,215,200	3,956,400

WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

Comparative figures also bear witness to the progress in Wholesale operations, and to the recovery from the set-back sustained in 1918.

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
1919	12,063,342	670,186

The productive operations comprise the manufacture of margarine and tobacco (in addition to coffee roasting). The output of the tobacco factory in 1919 amounted to £60,000, as compared with £18,525 for the year before. The output of the margarine factory showed an increase of 50 per cent. for 1919.

## POLAND.

The growth of the organised distributive co-operative movement in Poland is indicated by the figures of the Warsaw Union of Consumers' Societies (*Warszawski Związek Stowarzyszeń Spożywców*) founded in 1911 and which, like various other continental unions, is a centralised organisation combining all the necessary operations of wholesale trading, propaganda, education, and defence. The progress of its affiliated societies is evinced by the statistics of recent years:—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Total Membership.	Societies reporting.	Collective Turnover.	
				Marks.*	£
1917 .....	327	40,553	308	39,708,137	1,985,406
1918 .....	462	69,205	287	65,725,270	3,286,263
1919 .....	628	186,824	412	212,486,779	10,264,338

\* The Polish mark nominally is equivalent to the German mark, whose normal value is approximately one shilling. In this as in all other cases the exchange rate of currency has been worked out on the basis of par.

## WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

As to the Wholesale the figures since 1913 are eloquent both with regard to the vicissitudes experienced during the war period and to the striking advance made during the first year of independence—an advance signified by the record increase of membership (169 per cent.) and the super-record increase in the trading figures (1,178 per cent.), an increase far transcending the rise in the price scale during the year.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Societies' Membership.	Wholesale Turnover.	
			Marks.	£
1913 .....	274	36,909	4,161,821	208,091
1914-15 .....	299	—	3,583,817	179,190
1916 .....	301	—	2,427,549	121,377
1917 .....	327	40,553	3,040,676	152,033
1918 .....	462	69,205	6,491,375	324,568
1919 .....	628*	186,324	11,376,130	563,806
			145,444,083	7,272,204

\* Including 55 societies which have been prevented by various causes from resuming the activities interrupted during the war.

Apart from its affiliated societies the Union has trading relations with over a thousand non-affiliated societies. During 1918-19 seven more branch warehouses were opened, making sixteen altogether established in the chief centres of the Polish republic.

## RUSSIA.

The marvellous advance made by the Co-operative movement in Russia during recent years is proclaimed by the latest figures available, viz., those for the middle of 1919, when it was approximately estimated that Russia contained 25,000 distributive co-operative societies, with a collective membership of nearly 12,000,000, signifying that the stores served a population of 60 millions or thereabouts, or practically a third of the whole population of pre-war Russia.

At the same time the advance of organisation is denoted by the growth of regional unions of societies and the affiliation of these unions to the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the "Centro Soyuz," whose total turnover at the end of 1918 reached 1,000 millions of roubles, or approximately £100,000,000, and the value of whose output from productive undertakings amounted to 150 million roubles or approximately £15,000,000.

The subsequent incorporation of the co-operative system into the Soviet State organisation constitutes a chapter of history, for the details of which the reader is referred to the article on "Co-operation under the Soviets" in a preceding section of this volume.

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## SPAIN.

Co-operation in Spain is mainly represented by the movement in the manufacturing province of Catalonia, which contained (according to the latest available figures—those for 1918) 219 distributive and twenty-four productive societies, the distributive societies having a collective membership of 32,302, 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, or £122,400. The co-operative movement in Catalonia has its federation and annual congress.

In the industrial seaport of Bilbao there is, moreover, a young and promising union, the Co-operative Societies' Union of the North of Spain (Union de Cooperativas del Norte de España) which at the end of 1919 comprised 39 societies with a total membership of 17,680, and a trading turnover of 18,581,799 pesetas, or £743,272. These societies may be regarded as the nucleus of a new and developing movement in Northern Spain.

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## SWEDEN.

In 1913 the Swedish Co-operative Union (Kooperativa Förbundet) which embraces four-fifths of the distributive co-operative societies in Sweden, comprised 560 affiliated societies, with a collective membership of 103,369 for 409 societies reporting, and a total turnover of 32,710,818

*(Continued on page 349.)*

# C.W.S RAISIN PRODUCTION

▪ DENIA. SPAIN. ▪



VIEW OF  
THE FARM



CARTS BRINGING  
FRUIT TO THE  
CWS DEPOT



SCALDING  
GRAPES



DELIVERY OF RAISINS  
TO CWS LIGHTER  
"THE PRESIDENT"

kronor, or £1,817,268. The subjoined figures reveal the subsequent progress.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies reporting.	Membership.	Turnover of Societies.	
				Kronor.	£
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
1918 .....	849	771	203,600	143,871,000	7,992,833
1919 .....	916	879	225,423	216,118,000	12,006,555

In addition to the distributive societies the Union has four affiliated insurance societies.

### WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

At the close of the first business decade in 1913, the Union's wholesale trading operations showed a turnover of 7,621,304 kronor, or £423,406. The subsequent record is as follows:—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kronor.	£.
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
1919 ....	69,149,626	3,841,646

The figures for 1919 show an increase of 147 per cent. over the previous year. As regards production it may be stated that a margarine factory is being established at Norrköping (at a cost of £170,000) with productive capacity ranging from 140,000 lbs. to 160,000 lbs. per day.

## SWITZERLAND.

The Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies (Verband schweiz, Konsumvereine) which embraces approximately four-fifths of the distributive co-operative membership and trade of the country comprised, in 1914, 396 affiliated societies with a collective membership of 276,000. Subsequent figures show the following year's set back and the progress thereafter:—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Societies reporting.	Total membership.	Collective Turnover.	
				Francs.	£
1914 .....	396	—	276,431	143,650,971	5,746,039
1915 .....	407	—	286,704	135,509,788	5,420,391
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	341,826	237,595,776	9,503,831
1919 .....	476	443	353,811	289,666,378	11,586,655

## WHOLESALE OPERATIONS.

Throughout all the harassments of the war period and since, the Union's wholesale operations have gone forward with not a single set-back.

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
1919 . . . .	141,441,837	5,657,673

As is stated, the 141 millions of francs are partly a product of high prices, but they signify progress as well, and they would undoubtedly appear larger had not trade been restricted through the allotment of monopoly-commodities.

## PRODUCTION.

The productive establishments comprise a boot and shoe manufactory, plus a spice mill and coffee roastery, and a manufactory of pickled cabbage. In 1916 activities were extended to farming and agriculture, and in 1919 the V.S.K. owned eight estates and possessed two others on lease, the whole ten comprising 438 hectares of land, or 1,000 acres in round figures.

The movement also possesses in the shape of distinct enterprises a co-operative dairy at Basle, a couple of corn mills (one at Zurich and another at Vevey), and a mutual insurance society, besides two other enterprises originated in 1919, viz.: a co-operative society for the supply of furniture, and a co-operative garden village or colony (that of Freidorf) for the housing of 150 families of the Union's employees.

## THE UKRAINE REPUBLIC.

The newly-established Ukraine Republic (in South Russia) contains over 18,000 co-operative societies—distributive, credit, and agricultural—taken collectively; each section having its separate national organisation or union embracing district federations of societies. The district federations of distributive societies have their national organisation in the Dnipro Union, which aims at bringing the whole of the 4,000 to 5,000 distributive societies in the Ukraine within its sphere of activity.

## YUGO-SLAVIA.

The newly-founded state of Yugo-Slavia, or as it is officially styled, the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," has led to a new grouping of clusters of co-operative societies existing in pre-war days in the separate territories of Serbia and Austria-Hungary. Within

the frontiers of the new state a new organisation was founded in 1919 (the General Co-operative Federation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), embracing eleven co-operative unions with a total of 3,800 co-operative societies comprising nearly half-a-million members all told, and great developments are anticipated in view of the large programme decided on at the Co-operative Congress held at Belgrade last year—developments of which one may hope to have in the near future, a complete statistical record both as regards the distributive movement and all other branches of co-operation as well.

## THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES INTERNATIONAL WHOLESALE.

In 1918 the Distributive Co-operative Unions of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland established a joint international wholesale society at Copenhagen under the title of the Nordisk Andelsforbund or Northern Co-operative Union, the initial capital being fixed at a million kroner or £55,000. At the annual representative meeting held in Stockholm on the 25th July, 1920, the report for 1919 recorded a turnover of 9,647,649 kroner or £535,980, and a net surplus of 199,868 kr. or £11,104. The dividend was distributed in proportion to purchases.

## CO-OPERATION IN THE EAST AND ELSEWHERE.

It is worthy of note that co-operation has been inaugurated in Constantinople, and also in Palestine as shown by the operations of the Hamashbir Society at Jaffa. In Armenia there are a considerable number of societies, and in Egypt one or two societies have been recently established. In Algeria, the co-operative societies for functionaries are a feature of the country, and in the French protectorate of Morocco, co-operation amongst the European inhabitants is making strides, as shown by the report of M. Daudé Bancel recording 14 societies founded since 1916. "The membership consists for the most part of officials and cultivators; in addition there are educated Arabs and non-trading Jews."

"In my report submitted to General Lyautey," says M. Daudé Bancel, "I outlined a scheme for the extension of Co-operative activities in the principal centres which are about to be developed economically—a scheme for strengthening co-operative activities in Morocco and for the control of private trade by a General Co-operative Society with branch stores." A Congress of Moroccan societies (held on the 18th April, 1920) is also regarded as the prelude to a new departure.

Add to this that the English C.W.S. has trading relations *inter alia* with societies in China, the Dutch East Indies, Egypt, India, Palestine, and Nairobi (British East Africa), and the spread of co-operation in Oriental lands is made clear.



## THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The co-operative movement in the Argentine Republic, though still exiguous in dimensions, has gained an impetus in recent years through the instrumentality of the leading society "The 'Workers' Household' Credit, Building, and Distributive Co-operative Society" (El Hogar Obrero Co-operativo de Credito Edificacion y Consumo) in Buenos Ayres, the trading advance of which is shown by the turnover which increased from 1914 to 1919 from 94,178 dollars to 520,022 dollars, *i.e.*, from £18,835 to £104,004. As regards the movement as a whole, the derivation of wholesale supplies from the society, "El Hogar Obrero" and the holding of a conference are facts indicative of the recent advance in co-operative organisation in the Argentine Republic.

## SOUTH AFRICA.

A leading factor in the co-operative movement in South Africa at the present time is the South African Industrial Federation Co-operative Development Company, under whose auspices twenty-five retail branches and a printing works have been established. At Durban, Pretoria, Salt River, Capetown, Kimberley, Bulawayo, and Volksrust there are also separate societies. Meanwhile the convoking of a co-operative congress not long ago, and the adoption of a resolution in favour of establishing a co-operative wholesale society, are facts which serve to foreshadow developments.

## THE UNITED STATES.

In 1918 the United States possessed (according to estimates) over 2,000 distributive co-operative societies and six wholesales situated respectively at San Francisco (California), Seattle (Washington), St. Paul (Minnesota), Superior (Wisconsin), Washington (Pennsylvania), and Springfield (Illinois). Further developments are betokened by the mention of wholesales at Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and by the establishment of the National Wholesale Society at Chicago in 1920 in accordance with arrangements made at the National Co-operative Convention held at Springfield, Illinois, in January of the same year. In fact under the dual stimulus of economic pressure and the co-operative propaganda campaign carried on by the Co-operative League of America, and various regional organisations, co-operation is making record strides.

"During the past year and a half or two years more has, without doubt, been done to start co-operative concerns and definitely establish a Co-operative programme, than had been done in a score of years previously. In every state of the Union, in both productive and distributive lines, the people are joining together in legal organisation to take care of their own business."

## CO-OPERATION IN CANADA.

BY GEORGE KEEN

*(General Secretary, Co-operative Union of Canada).*

IN the international co-operative movement Canada holds, at present, an inconspicuous place. In this respect it does not differ materially from its great and enterprising neighbour. The conditions of life are similar in Canada and the United States. In so far as social and economic conditions are concerned, the international boundary line has no significance. Both countries have substantially the same opportunities, and are subject to similar limitations. Many reasons, some of them conflicting, have been assigned for lack of co-operative progress. There are others of a subsidiary and collateral nature, but probably the fundamental one is that, in the past, a higher degree of individual comfort than in Europe has operated in restraint of development of the associative spirit, and of capacity for co-operative economic action, in the masses of the people. Strength is given to this theory by the fact that in other British Dominions the movement is equally unimportant. New countries, with sparse populations and great natural resources, lend themselves to individualistic exploitation. Having no past, and therefore no class distinctions based on heredity, democratic principles have comprehensively prevailed, but in their expression the idea has been to give equal opportunities to each citizen in a competitive race for material success, rather than that all should co-operate, and could do so more advantageously for the great majority, for the benefit of each.

### ORIGINS OF CANADIAN CO-OPERATION.

The practice of consumers' co-operation was first introduced into Canada by English and Scottish immigrants as long ago as 1861, or only seventeen years after the opening of the store of the Rochdale Pioneers. Nova Scotia may be said to be the birthplace of the Canadian movement. The first store opened was that of the Union Association of Stellarton. Its history is unique, in that its success for more than half a century was almost entirely due to the fidelity, integrity, and sustained energy of one man. Trained in co-operative methods in England, James Mitchell was appointed manager in 1876, after having served fifteen years as secretary. He continued in that position for thirty-eight years, retiring in 1914 after a continuous business association, with the store, of fifty-three years. When the institution was inaugurated it had thirty members, and a capital of £200. At Mr. Mitchell's retirement the membership was 202, capital £3,229, turnover £8,255, the trading surplus for the year £852. During this long period the purchase dividend has fluctuated between three and twelve per cent. In the strict sense of

the term this institution can hardly be classified as a "co-operative" store. While nominally so, it was virtually conducted by one man, with efficiency, as a business proposition, on the Rochdale plan, for the benefit of the shareholding consumers. Of ten other co-operative stores established in Nova Scotia in the last four decades of the 19th century, only one survived. In the mining town of Sydney Mines, Cape Breton, N.S., one was established in 1863, and after doing a successful business for forty-two years failed in 1905. A competitive organisation, known as the Britannic Co-operative Society, established in or about the year 1873 by Mine officials, failed to secure the support of working miners, and in three years time went out of business. In 1906, the British-Canadian Co-operative Society Limited, was established. Commencing on a very modest scale, its experience has been similar to that of co-operative pioneers in the old land. During the last fourteen years it has built up, on the ashes of previous failures, what is probably the largest and most successful retail society, in a community of any size, on the North American continent. Sydney Mines and district has a population of about 15,000 only, yet last year it did the splendid turnover of £202,201, with a membership of 1,910; made a net surplus of £25,601, and distributed £23,740 among the members in purchase dividends at 12½ per cent. for one half-yearly term, and 12 per cent. for the other.

It will be admitted that in the successful practice of co-operation desire and opportunity are essential conditions. In Britain, and the old world generally, the population is intensively settled, and the means of locomotion are consequently greater, cheaper, and more frequent. Co-operators are therefore able, with comparative ease, to meet together for mutual aid and counsel, exchange of opinion and experience, and to formulate and initiate policies and methods of common advantage. To such opportunities may continuous success and development be largely attributed. In Canada, eight million people are scattered over half a continent. Some of our citizens live as far apart from each other as they do from the people of England. To this fact may be assigned one of the causes of co-operative failures and the unimportance of national development. Isolated societies have been organised from time to time by people wholly inexperienced as to sound business policies, and practical administrative methods. Frequently the organisers have been immigrants who have appreciated the loss of economies in price which they shared when members of co-operative societies in Britain, and to which they had not personally contributed, by any conscious effort or interest, while there.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF CANADA.

Such isolated activities have resulted in the repetition of follies committed by other co-operative organisations elsewhere in Canada, and which had culminated in failure. In order to repair this weakness, a conference of Canadian co-operative societies was held at Hamilton,

Ontario, on March 6th, 1909, when the Co-operative Union of Canada was organised. In October of the same year the Union, for the purpose of providing some means of education in co-operative principles and regular communication between co-operators, published a small monthly magazine, which is still in circulation. Progress has, hitherto, been very slow, for the reason that the societies in affiliation are few, small, and scattered, and their available financial resources have been insufficient to justify the employment of anyone to devote his whole energies to the development of the movement. For nine years the work of the Union and of editing and publishing its monthly magazine was undertaken by the officials, without any compensation whatever.

This involved spare-time labour only, and prevented personal assistance in educational and organisation efforts being given, except in districts in the immediate vicinity of the homes of the officials of the Union. Two years ago, it was, however, decided by the executive that the present writer should devote the whole of his time to secretarial, editorial, propaganda, and organising duties. One result is that societies are now being organised with much larger initial capital, membership, and trade, and as the economies to be expected in co-operative distribution are, other things being equal, determined by, and in direct ratio to, the volume of business done, it is hoped and expected that the movement in Canada is now on the eve of a sound, steady, and permanent development.

At the end of 1919 there were twenty-one societies affiliated with the Union. Sixteen of them furnished statistics as to their transactions for that year. They are established at Brantford, Gananoque, Georgetown, Guelph, Hamilton, and Stratford (Ontario); Valleyfield (Quebec); Sydney Mines, and Glace Bay (Nova Scotia); Fernie, and Nanaimo (British Columbia); Glenella, Eriksdale, and Winnipeg (2) (Manitoba); and Léo (Alberta). Eleven are industrial, and four agricultural distributive societies, and one an agricultural marketing and distributive society. The statistics of the fifteen distributive societies disclosed that the aggregate trade turnover during the year had been increased by £128,837 to £426,545; the share capital by £9,940 to £42,412; the loan deposits by £1,953 to £29,755; the reserve funds by £1,841 to £9,493, and the net trading surplus by £6,702 to £31,374. The fifteen distributive societies showed an aggregate membership of 6,306, an increase of 1,560 members compared with the previous year. Of the fifteen distributive societies, one paid a dividend on purchases of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for one period of the year, and 12 per cent. for the remainder, one of 7 per cent., one of 5 per cent., and another of 5 per cent. for part of the year, and 4 per cent. for the remainder; one of 2 per cent., and another 2 per cent. for half of the year; one of 5 per cent. and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. respectively; one 4 per cent., and another 3 per cent. At the time of writing there are twenty-three societies affiliated with the Union, but as eight others are now in process of organisation,

and several are immediately in contemplation, the number is likely to be considerably increased by the end of the year.

The statistics of United Grain Growers, Ltd., the above mentioned agricultural, marketing and distributive society, are separately tabulated, because it is principally a co-operative marketing organisation, and also in consequence of the immensity of its operations, compared with those of the other societies. Its members are grain growers located throughout the western provinces. At the end of the period under review they numbered 34,503, had a share capital investment of £483,037, a reserve fund of £351,286, and a net trading surplus of £29,710. The organisation, during the year, handled 5,257 cars of live stock, and 22,203,007 bushels of grain, besides doing a distributive turnover of £1,236,072. It should be mentioned that while all the other societies are organised on the Rochdale plan, United Grain Growers Limited does not distribute net revenue among members in proportion to their respective trading operations with the society, but, after payment of a fixed rate of interest on capital and appropriations to reserve fund, applies the same to purposes of common advantage to its members, or the people generally.

#### OTHER RETAIL INSTITUTIONS.

There are, throughout Canada, some hundreds of retail institutions which have been organised in imitation of the Rochdale formula, and which are not associated with the organised national movement. Many, no doubt, are genuine, but the members are deficient in knowledge of co-operative principles, and have no ambition beyond effecting for themselves such economies as they can in retail distribution. Other organisations are virtually under the control of the manager, and have no genuine democratic direction or control. In Saskatchewan, according to the annual report of the Director of Co-operative Organisations for the Provincial Government, there were, at the end of 1917, 304 agricultural co-operative societies, with a membership of 12,459, a paid up capital of £30,361, and a turnover for the year of £615,293. The aggregate trading surplus was £22,184. Few of such societies have stores. In many instances the turnover is very small. In some cases societies operate warehouses adjacent to the railroad track at towns and villages, but the transactions of many of them will be in respect of collective purchases made on behalf of members and distributed among them from a freight car immediately on arrival of the goods. There are, approximately, sixty-five incorporated agricultural distributive societies in Alberta, and nine in Manitoba. In British Columbia the most recent information is that there are thirteen retail societies holding charters of incorporation, but that some of them are not in active operation.

While the Ontario Government has established a co-operation and markets branch, in connection with the Department of Agriculture, it does not compile statistical information with reference thereto.

Distributive societies are, however, few in number. In recent years there has been established a centralised co-operative organisation in Toronto in connection with a provincial industrial and political movement known as "The United Farmers of Ontario." It purchases farm requisites and domestic supplies, and, to a considerable extent, undertakes the marketing of produce for farmers' clubs and individual farmers throughout the province. It is doing a rapidly-increasing business, which for the current year will probably exceed £1,000,000, but hitherto the net surplus revenue thereon has been very small. During the last twelve months this organisation has also adopted a chain-store policy, having opened about forty stores throughout the province under management and control centralised in Toronto. In industrial centres this institution is prepared to open stores to cater for the trade of the working-class (on the understanding that each customer invests £2 as loan capital), and to distribute surplus revenues in proportion to purchases. Working men do not, however, participate in the ownership of the undertaking or its direction, the same being vested in the shareholding-farmers scattered over the whole province, and who meet in general meeting annually in Toronto.

The Ontario farmers' movement has been duplicated in New Brunswick by the recent inauguration of "The United Farmers of New Brunswick" and "The United Farmers' Co-operative Company of New Brunswick Limited," the secretary reporting the establishment of ten branch stores throughout the province. In Quebec there is a farmers' co-operative marketing organisation operating on a large scale at Montreal, and a considerable number of local institutions of various kinds. Quasi-co-operative institutions, in a very extensive way of business for the marketing of fruit are operating in British Columbia and Nova Scotia. There are also similar local marketing institutions on a small scale, and agricultural productive factories and farmers' mutual insurance societies throughout the Dominion, but it is impossible to supply data with reference thereto.

#### THE CREDIT BANK SYSTEM.

One of the most interesting features of co-operation in Canada is the credit bank system operating in the province of Quebec and the French-speaking districts of Ontario. This movement is due entirely to the initiative and self-sacrifice of Mr. Alphonse Desjardins, who founded, in 1900, and has since managed, the first bank at Levis, P.Q. Prior thereto he had made a deep study of the credit bank systems of Europe, and adapted the same to conditions prevailing in his native province. He declined to organise other institutions for nine years after the establishment of *La Caisse Populaire de Levis*, in order that he might fully assure himself of the success of the experiment. Mr. Desjardins reports that since then 167 of such parish banks have been established in Quebec alone, that they have an aggregate membership of 60,000, and assets of over £2,000,000. The annual turnover is

now fully £6,000,000, and the loans made each year average 18,000, and run into several millions of dollars. There is no doubt that these small co-operative banks are doing much to promote a true co-operative spirit amongst French-Canadians, and should pave the way to the practice of other forms of co-operation.

#### AN OBSTACLE TO DEVELOPMENT.

One of the greatest obstacles to the national development of the movement, and the standardising and satisfactory regulation of societies, is the fact that we have no federal law for the incorporation of co-operative institutions. The same also makes it impossible to supply even approximate information as to the number, extent, and nature of co-operative enterprises throughout the country, or to test their genuineness. In 1907 a Bill providing for the federal incorporation of co-operative societies was introduced by the late Hon. F. D. Monk, K.C., M.P., and passed the House of Commons without dissent, but it was defeated in the Senate by a majority of one vote only. On two occasions since, similar Bills have been introduced, but did not get beyond the preliminary stages. It is hoped, in view of the general public sentiment in favour of co-operation as a means of relief from the high cost of living, the federal government may soon be induced to introduce and carry through Parliament a satisfactory measure. In the meantime, co-operative societies have to secure incorporation under provincial co-operative Acts—varying in suitability—or to adapt, as best they can, provincial statutes enacted to satisfy the needs of ordinary capitalist joint-stock companies. Special co-operative legislation exists in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and Quebec. In Saskatchewan the terms of the Co-operative Associations Act virtually confine its operation to farmers' organisations. In Ontario, while societies are incorporated under the Ontario Companies Act, a special part was introduced some years ago for the purpose of regulating co-operative societies. It is therein provided that no business enterprise in the province, incorporated or otherwise, shall (subject to a penalty of £20) use the word "co-operative" in its trading title unless it conforms with the definition of the word made in the Act, and which confines the same to societies organised on the Rochdale plan. The minimum incorporation fee is one-tenth of that required for capitalist incorporations. Whenever societies can be incorporated under provincial co-operative acts, such fees are nominal, but if they have to take advantage of the ordinary Companies Acts the usual fees have to be paid, which are sometimes onerous in the case of societies with small initial share capital.

In conclusion, it may reasonably be asserted that the future of the co-operative movement in Canada was never so promising as it is at the present time. Throughout the Dominion there has been great activity among farmers along co-operative lines for some years; and organised labour is now taking similar interest therein.

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## SALES OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES.

The figures of the Continental Wholesales are based on par values, and though the Wholesales are arranged in the order of their turnover figures for 1919, the varying price levels in different countries detract from the value of the figures as a comparative gauge of progress.

	1919	1918	1917	1914
	£	£	£	£
C.W.S., Manchester .....	89,349,318	65,167,960	57,710,132	34,910,813
S.C.W.S., Glasgow .....	24,773,381	19,216,762	17,083,275	9,425,383
I.A.W.S., Dublin .....	1,318,806	914,242	651,567	268,385
Centro-Soyuz, Moscow* .....	—	105,000,000	15,625,000	1,088,737
G. O. K., Vienna † .....	29,100,000	6,128,239	3,500,000	1,072,000
Czecho-Slovak, Prague .....	12,093,102	1,596,813	398,072	130,269
Hangya, Budapest .....	8,741,963	5,000,000	3,660,704	1,259,121
S.O.K., Helsingfors .....	8,199,436	4,308,633	3,644,854	971,440
F.D.B., Copenhagen .....	7,284,827	4,113,533	4,532,321	3,866,046
Warsaw Wholesale .....	7,272,204	568,806	324,568	179,190
M. d. G., Paris .....	6,080,357	3,114,527	1,680,000	360,000
V.S.K., Basle .....	5,657,673	5,118,790	3,847,440	1,828,683
K.F., Stockholm .....	3,841,646	1,554,985	1,211,256	549,403
O.T.K., Helsingfors .....	2,165,865	—	—	—
G.E.G., Hamburg .....	1,434,076	5,225,048	5,353,500	7,876,202
Handelskamer, Rotterdam ..	890,118	662,027	800,024	397,284
N.K.L., Christiania .....	670,186	328,770	462,906	172,055
F.C.B., Brussels .....	634,771	—	80,000	128,000
C.I.G., Milan ‡ .....	—	360,000	200,000	56,400
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>209,507,729</b>	<b>228,379,135</b>	<b>120,765,619</b>	<b>64,539,411</b>

\* No complete figures available for 1919. The Centro-Soyuz is now incorporated in the economic organisation of the Soviet State.

† Of the figure for 1919, approximately £16,600,000 for German-Austria and the remainder for the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

‡ No figures available for 1919.

## LEADING EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The following is a list of the leading Co-operative Societies in Europe in 1919 :—

Country	Society.	Town.	Society's membership.	Society's trading turnover.
				£
England ..	Leeds Industrial .....	Leeds .....	81,175	3,749,288
Scotland ..	St. Cuthbert's .....	Edinburgh ..	57,404	3,599,216
Austria ....	First Distributive Society .....	Vienna .....	80,863	6,555,418
Belgium ..	L'Union Coopérative de Liège ..	Liège .....	48,000 †	1,400,000
Denmark ..	Copenhagen Consumers Society	Copenhagen	26,658	731,313
France ....	Union des Coopérateurs .....	Paris (1920)	55,000	2,800,000
Germany ..	Produktion .....	Hamburg ..	over 110,000	4,491,615
Hungary ..	Háztartás .....	Buda-Pesth	over 30,000	1,083,333
Italy .....	Unione Militare .....	Rome (1918)	—	2,989,680
Switzerland	Allgemeiner Consumverein .....	Basle .....	40,000	1,911,969

## THE CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ABROAD.

### In Austria.

THE Co-operative Women's Guild in Austria which is run parallel to the Union of Distributive Societies was founded in 1913 by Frau Emmy Freundlich, who was its first president and secretary. The Guild is not an independent society with its own members, but consists of the women-members of the distributive societies.

The boards of management of all the co-operative societies must have women also on the boards to represent the women's interests. These participate in the business-management, the agitation and the education of the members, and have also repeatedly taken part in negotiations between Government and representatives of the consumers.

The women have organised many assemblies with lectures for their own information and that of co-operators.

In the times of greatest distress the Women's Guild has helped to pacify women in the stores, and to teach them the best use of the victuals which were to be had.

By the influence of Frau Freundlich great interest was aroused for international work and an attempt was made to found an international correspondence on co-operative news.

The aim of the Women's Guild at the time of its foundation was the recruiting of new members, but when this became undesirable on account of the scarcity of food, the attention of the women was then given to the education of their fellow-women and co-operators, of the saleswomen in their stores, and to the attempt to impart to them a true co-operative spirit.

During the last two years work has been confined entirely to inner organisation and to the education question.

The address of the Austrian Co-operative Women's Guild is : Praterstrasse 8, Vienna II.

### In Holland.

Miss Margaret Meyboom, secretary of the Dutch Co-operative Women's Guild, communicates as follows :—

Our organisation was founded in 1900. Though we have worked as hard as we could we have not had the success we wished for. We have only a few hundred members ; but still we have attained more than that.

The interest in co-operation is growing in different circles. Women of all sorts and conditions begin to think and speak about it and many demands for a propagandist to speak at co-operative meetings come in. Last year we could not answer them all.

We work by speaking at meetings, by forming clubs, by giving courses, and by writing in the "Women's Corner" of our Co-operative paper.

Just now a re-organisation is going on, so that we shall work in closer contact with our Co-operative Union.

President of the Guild: Mrs. L. Romeyn-Tückerman.

Secretary: Miss M. Meyboom. Secretary's address: Rijswijk Z.H., Westerbro, Holland.

### **In Switzerland.**

In Switzerland (writes an official correspondent) the organisation of women co-operators is still at the beginning, despite the efforts of our Press Department to unite the women in local branches. A Central League does not exist. The large majority of Swiss women co-operators do not take to public work, and most of those who do are not co-operators, but merely politicians. However, in some of our co-operative societies there are small women's committees existing, and we are pleased to say that we have two or three very active women propagandists in our movement. So we hope to see the women's organisation developing in the near future.

It only depends on our women members to be represented also on the committees of our societies. In our societies women have the same rights as men, and we already have a society with a woman as president, and also one or two societies with women as managers. In some other societies women are committee members. But all this, we repeat, is a beginning, and there is hard work to be done before we have a real women's movement.

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## **CO-OPERATION IN LATVIA.**

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In Latvia, one of the newly independent Baltic States, the majority of the distributive Co-operative societies are affiliated to the Central Union "Consume"; while the societies grouped in the Union of Lettish Workmen's Consumers' societies occupy a secondary place in point of numbers and turnover. The leading workmen's consumers' society, "Product," is at Riga, and has 23 branches besides its own bakery.

In February, 1920, the Lettish Co-operators held their first General Conference.

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## CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

(References to the character and work of the *Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited* on pages 101 to 121; *Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited* on pages 129 to 133; to the *Co-operative Union* on pages 49 to 55; to the *Co-operative Party* on pages 88 to 93; and to the *International Co-operative Alliance* on pages 94 to 99.

### 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 at the end of 1919, 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 ...	1,212	4,066,280	1,357	4,131,477
Distributive Federations .....	4	59	5	61
Productive Societies .....	81	32,951	95	39,331
Supply Societies .....	2	8,002	3	8,351
Special Societies .....	2	488	4	736
Wholesale Societies .....	3	2,063	3	2,063
<b>Totals for All Types of Societies</b>	<b>1,304</b>	<b>4,109,843</b>	<b>1,467</b>	<b>4,182,019</b>

### NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALERS.

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

1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER. Secretary: T. BRODRICK.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society (whose operations date back to 1864) is the wholesale provider for the 1,200 and odd societies affiliated thereto, and is also a producer on the largest scale.

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

1, MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW. Secretary: JOHN PEARSON.

The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (whose career dates back to 1868) is the wholesale provider for the Scottish societies. The Wholesale also possesses extensive productive establishments.

INSURANCE.**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 £600,000. The invested funds are £804,793. Compensation to the amount of £160,000 has been secured for members, and war pensions granted to members have totalled £200,000. The Section also provides Unemployment Benefit for its members, together with Free Dental Treatment, Legal Assistance for Compensation, Convalescent Home Benefits, and Benevolent Grants.

SPECIFIC FEDERATIONS.**THE NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING 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*, *Scottish Co-operator*, *Millgate Monthly*, *Our Circle*, and *Woman's Outlook*, devoted to the co-operative movement.

**CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LTD.**

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 43 societies, whose trade through the federation for the year 1919 was £414,383.

CULTURAL.**MEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.**

Joint Secretaries : W. C. POTTER, 61, Ingleby Road, Ilford, Essex ;

C. E. WOOD, Co-operative Union, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

**WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.**

28, CHURCH ROW, HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3.

President : Mrs. FERGUSON. 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 practice of (1) co-operation and other methods of social reform ; (2) improved conditions of domestic life. In April, 1920, it had 784 branches, with a total membership of 44,500, an increase of 11,500 over

the previous year. A special campaign for co-operative capital is being organised this year jointly with the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative Union. Other subjects which are being taken up in 1920-21 include the following: (1) The Guild: Its organisation and work in Co-operative and National Life; (2) the Place of Co-operation in the New Social Order; (3) International Co-operative Trade; (4) the Co-operative Party; (5) the Workers' Press; (6) the National Care of Maternity; (7) Cash Trading.

## 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 1919-20 it had a membership of 24,042 in 232 branches. During the year 23 new branches were opened, and seven others were resuscitated.

## 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.

## EMPLOYEES' ORGANISATIONS.

### NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION LIMITED.

President: F. KNOX (Birtley).

General Secretary: WM. BRADSHAW, J.P. (17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham).

Magazine Editor: C. W. SWINGLER (Birmingham).

The Executive Committee consists of the following gentlemen, representing the districts named: W. BRADSHAW, J.P. (Nottingham), C. W. NEWBOLD (London), GEO. SCOTT (West Scotland), F. KNOX (Newcastle), C. W. SWINGLER (Birmingham), WM. SEMPLE (East Scotland), —, WINTERBOTTOM, J.P. (Manchester), C. J. COLE, J.P. (Bristol), J. HOYLE (Huddersfield), W. J. WHITNEY (South Wales), J. E. SHARPE (Northampton), G. W. HAW (Leeds), W. RATHBONE (Boots), T. DAWSON (Furnishing), —, PEARSON (Drapery), and —, HELLIWELL (Tailoring).

### CO-OPERATIVE SECRETARIES' ASSOCIATION.

President: G. BRIGGS, J.P. (Leeds). Treasurer: A. PICKUP (Birkenhead).

Secretary: E. EMERY, 18, Countess Lane, Radcliffe, Manchester.

Council: E. GRIFFITHS (Shrewsbury), T. HORROCKS (N.-W. Convalescent Homes), J. MAGIN (Ashington), W. SNOWDEN (Willington), J. ROWLANDS (Prestwich), J. P. STOPFORD (Blackpool), J. R. STELL (Horwich), W. A. WILKINSON (Brighton), A. E. WORSWICK (Beswick), and W. OLNEY (Southampton).

Membership 520, chiefly in England and Wales.

### THE NATIONAL UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE OFFICIALS.

296, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER.

President: WM. RATHBONE (St. Helens).

Vice-Presidents: W. BRADSHAW, J.P. (Grantham) and A. PICKUP (Birkenhead).

General Secretary: R. SIMPSON.

The union is open to general managers, officially-appointed assistant managers, secretaries, managing secretaries, heads of departments (who are buyers), cashiers, or accountants of co-operative societies, and Wholesale co-operative travellers.



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 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.

N.B.—At the beginning of 1921 the new title, "The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers" will come into use by reason of amalgamation with the National Warehouse and General Workers' Union.

### POLITICAL.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

19, BUCKINGHAM STREET, LONDON, 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 political opinion for the expression of co-operative views in Parliamentary and local government elections.

### FOREIGN.

#### THE ALL-RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.

"ARCOS," 68, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

"Arcos" is the sole official representative (in this country) of the Centro Soyuz in Russia, under the new regime.

#### THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS IN LONDON.

38, FINSBURY PAVEMENT, LONDON, E.C.2.

The representative of the Russian Co-operative Movement of the old regime, but now existing without official recognition.

### INTERNATIONAL.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

4, GT. SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1.

Secretary: H. J. MAY.

The International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895) is an international union (embracing the Co-operative Unions of many countries) founded for the promotion of co-operative principles and practice on an international scale. The resumption of activities (interrupted during the war) constitutes the salient event in the history of the Alliance in the post-war period.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

**AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LTD.**

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 Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in aid of the promotion of co-operation in connection with small holdings and allotments.

On December 31st, 1919, the number of societies in affiliation was 1,315, representing an approximate membership of 200,000.

**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 is 950, with a membership of 117,484 farmers and a total turnover of more than £9,000,000. Among these societies are 437 creameries, whose turnover is roughly 6 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. 174 agricultural co-operative societies, viz.: 143 purchase, dairy, and poultry societies; 13 stock improvement societies; 12 co-operative creameries, and 6 fruit societies. Their total membership is 12,140, and the turnover in 1919 was £948,891.

**Mr. R. HOLT.**

It is with regret that, on going to press, we have to record the death, on December 4th, of our former colleague, Mr. R. Holt. Mr. Holt only retired from the Board in January last, after serving the institution for nearly a quarter of a century.

He succeeded the late J. T. W. Mitchell as a nominee of the Rochdale Pioneers Society, and his death removes one who linked the present generation with the Rochdale tradition of the movement.

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OF FLOUR MILLING

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Principal and most Up-to-  
date Milling Concerns in  
the United Kingdom, the  
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of BRITISH MANUFACTURE,  
MADE AT THE RAILWAY  
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machinery employed in the  
**Cyclo - Pneumatic Wheat  
Cleaning System**

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ROCHDALE, ENGLAND

## GENERAL DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES, ORGANISATIONS, &c.

[Details as to the objects of the following Societies were given in the 1920 Edition of the PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, to which we would refer readers.]

AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LTD., 40, Broadway Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : F. S. Graff, O.B.E.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE AND COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES AND ALLIED WORKERS, 22, Long Millgate, Manchester.—Secretary : J. Hallsworth.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 14, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : R. B. Dunwoody, A.M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.

ASTRONOMICAL ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 136, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.4.—Secretaries : R. J. Melotte, F.R.A.S., and Lieut.-Col. Stanley Maxwell, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S.

ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, Burlington House, W.1.—Secretaries : A. C. D. Crommelin, B.A., D.Sc., and Rev. T. E. R. Phillips, M.A.; Foreign Secretary : H. H. Turner, D.Sc.

BRIBERY AND SECRET COMMISSIONS' PREVENTION LEAGUE (INCORPORATED), 9, Queen Street Place, E.C.4.—Secretary : R. M. Leonard.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, Burlington House, London, W.1.—Secretaries : Professor H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L., F.R.S., and Professor J. L. Myers, O.B.E., M.A.

BRITISH BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION, 23, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.2.—Secretary : W. Herrod-Hempsall.

BRITISH CONSTITUTION ASSOCIATION, THE, Incorporated with The People's League.

BRITISH COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION, 333-350, Royal Exchange, Manchester.—Secretary : E. H. Oldfield, F.C.I.S.

BRITISH FIRE PREVENTION COMMITTEE, 8, Waterloo Place, S.W.1.—Hon. General Secretary : Ellis Marsland.

BRITISH SCIENCE GUILD, 6, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.2.—Secretary : Miss A. D. L. Lacey.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY (NOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY).

BRITISH UNION FOR ABOLITION OF VIVISECTION, 32, Charing Cross, London, S.W.1.—Secretary : B. E. Kidd.

CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAY FUND, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—Secretary : Miss Ward.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (INCORPORATED), 50, Marsham Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : Rev. C. F. Tonks.

COAL SMOKE ABATEMENT SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Secretary : Lawrence W. Chubb.

CODDEN CLUB, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : F. J. Shaw.

COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary : Lawrence W. Chubb.

COMMUNIST PARTY, 21a, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.—Secretary : Albert Inkpen.

CO-OPERATIVE HOLIDAYS ASSOCIATION, 225, Brunswick Street, Manchester.—Secretary : H. P. Weston, M.A.

CREMATION SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, 52, New Cavendish Street, W.1.—Secretary : J. C. Swinburne-Hanham, J.P.

DECIMAL ASSOCIATION, THE.—Hon. Secretary : G. E. M. Johnson.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM UNION, THE. 55-56, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.—Organising Secretary : M. L. Seaton-Tideman.

EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION, 34-40, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4.—Secretary : Captain Albert Larking, F.C.I.S.

ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, 376-377, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary : Frederick Verinder.

EUGENICS EDUCATION SOCIETY, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.—Secretary : Mrs. GOFFE.

FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : F. W. Galton.

FOLK LORE SOCIETY, THE, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.—Secretary : F. A. Milne, M.A.

FOOD EDUCATION SOCIETY, Dances Inn House, 265, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Hon. Secretary : C. E. Hecht, M.A.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.1.—Secretary : W. A. Appleton, O.B.E.

HODGSON-PRATT MEMORIAL, 60, Knatchbull Road, Camberwell, S.E.5.—Hon. Secretary : J. J. Dent, C.M.G.

HOLIDAY FELLOWSHIP LTD., "Bryn Corach," Conway, North Wales.—Secretary : T. A. Leonard.

HOWARD ASSOCIATION, THE, 43, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.—Secretary : Cecil Leeson.

IMPERIAL CANCER RESEARCH FUND, 8-11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.—Secretary : F. G. Hallett, O.B.E.

IMPERIAL SUNDAY ALLIANCE AND SUNDAY LAY MOVEMENT (for the Defence of the Institution of Sunday), 8, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.2.—Secretary : Mr. J. Woodford Causer.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 8-9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.—Secretary : Francis Johnson.

INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE AND COUNCIL, THE, 82, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1. General Secretary : J. Ames.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COUNCIL, THE, now amalgamated with the Industrial League and Council.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary : F. Maddison.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOUR LEGISLATION (BRITISH SECTION), 45, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.—Secretary : Miss I. S. A. Beaver.

INVALID CHILDREN'S AID ASSOCIATION, 69, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : Mrs. Munro.

LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary : Ernest W. Mundy, B.A.

LABOUR PARTY, THE, 33, Eecleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary : Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION, 8, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2. Hon. Secretary : Jas. Rowlands, M.P.

LONDON AND PROVINCIAL ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, 22a, Regent Street, S.W.1.—Secretary : Mrs. E. J. Holland.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON), Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C.2.—Secretary : Miss Mair.

LONDON UNION, 41, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Hon. Secretary : H. A. Baker, J.P., L.C.C.

MENTAL AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATION, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary : Miss E. D. Vickers.

METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, 70, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: A. Hampton Brown.

NATIONAL ANTI-SWEATING LEAGUE, 45, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: J. J. Mallom.

NATIONAL ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, 92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Acting Secretary: R. Somerville Wood, M.A.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS, 20, Hanover Square, W.1.—Hon. Secretary: J. J. Perkins, M.B., F.R.C.P.

NATIONAL BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED), 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss G. Hunt.

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION LTD., 17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham.—Secretary: Wm. Bradshaw, J.P.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUBLIC MORALS FOR GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN, Rhondda House, Gower Street, W.C.—Secretary: Rev. James Marchant, C.B.E.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary, Miss Norah E. Green.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: A. J. Mundella.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF DISCHARGED AND DEMOBILISED SAILORS AND SOLDIERS, 5-6, Idlesleigh House, Caxton Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: J. R. Griffin.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S INSTITUTES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 26, Ecclestone Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss Inez Ferguson.

NATIONAL FOOD REFORM ASSOCIATION, now FOOD EDUCATION SOCIETY.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE, THE, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4.

NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY, 53, Berners Street, W.1.—Secretary: Miss F. Lankester.

NATIONAL HOME READING UNION, 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Miss Swanson.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HEALTH, MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE, 4 & 5, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.—Secretary: Miss J. Halford.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL, 75, Avenue Chambers, Vernon Place, Southampton Row, W.C.1.—Secretary: F. E. Pollard, M.A.

NATIONAL REFORM UNION, 5, Cross Street, Manchester.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, 40, Leicester Square, W.C.2.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, THE, Paternoster House, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: John Turner Rae.

NATIONAL TRUST FOR PLACES OF HISTORIC INTEREST OR NATURAL BEAUTY, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: S. H. Hamer.

NATIONAL UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL, 27, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.

NATIONAL UNION OF ALLOTMENT HOLDERS, 22, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: J. Forbes.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.—Secretary: Miss N. Stack.

PARENTS NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION, 26, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

PEACE SOCIETY, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.2.—Secretary: Rev. Herbert Dunnico, J.P.

PEOPLE'S LEAGUE, THE, 4-5, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

PEOPLE'S LEAGUE OF HEALTH, 7, Hanover Square, London, W.1.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY, 82, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: John H. Humphreys.

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION SOCIETY, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. W. Galton.

RECONSTRUCTION SOCIETY, THE, 58 and 60, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: C. H. Dant.

ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, 16, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: Thomas McRow.

ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.—Secretary: Henry W. Woodford.

ROYAL HUMANE SOCIETY, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Major F. A. C. Claughton.

ROYAL NATIONAL LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION, 22, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: G. F. Shee, M.A.

ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS, 105, Jermyn Street, S.W.1.—Secretary: Captain E. G. Fairholme, O.B.E.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: G. K. Menzies.

ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETY, 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Assistant Secretary: L. Catharine Thorburn.

RURAL ORGANISATION COUNCIL, 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Hon. Secretaries: L. W. Chubb, H. R. Aldridge, Ewart G. Culpin.

RUSKIN COLLEGE, Oxford.—Secretary: F. Smith.

SCOTTISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LTD., 5, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.—Secretary: John Drysdale.

SCOTTISH HOME RULE ASSOCIATION, 109, Hope Street, Glasgow.

SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, 226, West George Street, Glasgow.—Secretary: James Gillies.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE, 5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.—Hon. Secretaries: J. F. Green, Gerald S. Terley.

SOCIETY FOR LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL, 16 and 17, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: Alfred Howe.

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INEBRIETY, 19, Park Crescent, Portland Place, London, W.1.—Hon. Secretary: T. N. Kelynaek, M.D., J.P.

STATE CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION, 53, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. Penrose Philp.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION LEAGUE, THE, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: A. F. Harvey.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.

UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: John Paul.

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, 1, Victoria Street, S.W.—Geo. B. Wilson, B.A., Political and Literary Secretary.

UNITED KINGDOM BAND OF HOPE UNION, 59 and 60, Old Bailey, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: G. Avery Roff, L.C.P.

VEGETARIAN SOCIETY (NATIONAL), 257, Deansgate, Manchester.—Secretary: James Hough.

VICTORIA LEAGUE, 22, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss Drayton, O.B.E.

WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, THE, 37, Newhall Street, Birmingham.—Secretary: Frank Impey, F.C.A.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.—The Council has suspended its research work for the present, and given up its offices at 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, 16, Harpur Street, Holborn, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: J. M. Mactavish.

WORKING MEN'S CLUB AND INSTITUTE UNION, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.—Secretary: B. T. Hall.

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1.—Secretary: A. A. Aldworth, M.A.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.—Secretary: Sir Arthur K. Yapp, K.B.E.

## OTHER SOCIETIES, &c.

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The following particulars relate to societies not included in the foregoing Directory.

**ALLIANCE OF HONOUR**, 112, City Road, London, E.C.1.—President: Lord Algonon Percy, D.L.; Joint Acting Directors: E. V. Bagnall and A. B. Kent.

This society was formed about eighteen years ago with the purpose of spreading knowledge concerning the perils of immorality, and of upholding a high standard of personal purity in life and thought. From very small beginnings it has grown until its operations now extend into about sixty different countries and colonies.

**ARTS LEAGUE OF SERVICE**, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.—President: Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P.; Hon. Organising Secretaries: Miss A. M. Berry and Miss E. M. Elder.

The Arts League of Service hopes to form a nucleus of artists for purposes of co-operation and propaganda, and to offer them a working machinery, which in its various activities will bring them in touch with the general public, and awaken a greater interest in their respective arts. It has so far developed its programme as regards the arts of (1) Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and General Crafts; (2) the Drama.

**BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE**, Dudley House, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.—President: Lord Howard de Walden; Hon. Secretary, Geoffrey Whitworth.

The object of the league is to encourage the art of the theatre, both for its own sake and as a means of intelligent recreation among all classes of the community.

**BRITISH INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE**, 33, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

This society affords information on all matters coming under the heading indicated in its name.

**ENGLISH ASSOCIATION**, 2, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—President: Lord Ernle; Secretary: A. V. Houghton.

The association was instituted in 1907 for the purpose of affording opportunities for intercourse and co-operation amongst all those interested in English language and literature, of helping to maintain the correct use of English spoken and written, of promoting the due recognition of English as an essential element in the national education, and of discussing methods of teaching English, and the correlation of school and university work, and of encouraging and facilitating advanced study in English language and literature. The central body has over 2,000 members, and there are branches of the association in Birmingham, Brighton, various parts of Great Britain, and also in Ceylon, South Africa, South India, Toronto and Witwatersrand.

**GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING ASSOCIATION**, 3, Gray's Inn Place, Gray's Inn, London, W.C.1.—President: Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.; Secretary: C. B. Purdom.

The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association is an educational body, founded in 1899. It endeavours to secure the improvement of housing conditions, the proper planning of towns and the application of the garden city principle to the development of towns, particularly by the establishment of new industrial centres in rural districts. Information and reports are prepared for the use of manufacturers, workers, municipal authorities, and others. The association is actively engaged in creating an enlightened public opinion throughout the country on town planning.

**INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP**, Church House, London, S.W.1.—President: Archbishop of Canterbury; General Director: Rev. P. T. R. Kirk.

The Christian Social Union is incorporated in the Industrial Christian Fellowship, and thus an old Church society of forty-three years' standing becomes better equipped to meet the needs of modern days. It seeks to unite all classes in a bond of Christian fellowship; to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule the whole life of humanity and to present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King.

**INDUSTRIAL WELFARE SOCIETY**, 51, Palace Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: H.R.H. the Duke of York, K.G.; Chairman: Sir Wm. Beardmore, Bt.; Director: Robert R. Hyde.

The object of the society is to retain for industry itself the responsibility for, and the direction of, Industrial Welfare work. The society assists (1) by discussing schemes of welfare work applicable to particular works and circumstances; (2) by training and



recommending suitable persons for positions as welfare supervisors ; (3) by supplying welfare supervisors with information regarding various phases of welfare work.

Membership consists of employers of labour and other interested persons.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.—President: Carrie Chapman Catt; Rec. Secretary: Margery Corbett Ashby.

The alliance works for the enfranchisement of the women of all nations and for a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women.

LAND NATIONALISATION SOCIETY, 96, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: J. W. Logan, J.P.; Secretary: Joseph Hyder.

This society was established in 1881 equitably to restore the people to the land, and the land to the people.

LEAGUE OF FAITH AND LABOUR, 11, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: Archibald Ramage.

"The League is a new way by which men and women associated with Christian or with Labour movements may together co-operate, in a spirit of fraternity and social equality, to find solution for the problems of the modern world in harmony with the spiritual basis of human life."—*Extract from Basis.*

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, Clare Market, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.—Director: Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., M.A., B.C.L.; Dean: Miss C. S. Mactaggart; Secretary: Mrs. Mair, O.B.E., M.A.

Founded in 1895, and admitted as a School of the University of London in 1900, the school is open to all, without distinction of sex, class, or denomination. It provides complete courses for the first degrees of B.Sc. Economics and Bachelor of Commerce; and in co-operation with other colleges for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. The lectures and classes at the school are open also to those who have not matriculated and do not wish to pursue a full university course.

ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY, Burlington House, London, W.1.—President: Prof. A. Fowler, F.R.S.; Secretaries: Dr. A. C. D. Crommelin and the Rev. T. E. R. Phillips; Assistant Secretary: W. H. Wesley.

The society was founded in 1820, for the encouragement and promotion of astronomy and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1831.

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, Kensington Gore, London, S.W.7.—President: Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Secretary: Arthur R. Hinks, C.B.E., F.R.S.

Founded in 1830 for the advancement of geographical science. The society publishes the *Geographical Journal* and special works and maps from time to time. Holds meetings for the reading of original papers and discussion; maintains important library, collection of maps, photographs, and drawings; has a fine house in Kensington Gore with accommodation for research in geography; maintains staff of draughtsmen for production of original maps in journal and gives instruction in survey and field astronomy to intending travellers.

ST. JOHN'S AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION, St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.

This association was founded for the instruction of persons in rendering first aid, and in the transport of the sick and injured, as well as the organisation of ambulance corps and nursing corps. Since its institution in 1877 nearly 1,500,000 certificates of proficiency have been awarded. In many parts of the country boxes containing ambulance appliances have been placed where most needed, and there are now in London twenty-one depots maintained by the association and its supporters. This branch of the work is being developed in provincial towns.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS (Founded by William Morris, 1877), 20, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Thackeray Turner; Secretary: A. R. Powys, A.R.I.B.A.

The society's object is to prevent the loss of Ancient Buildings either from decay, from restoration, or from alteration. It recommends repair and does so in three distinct ways: (1) By giving advice to the owners or guardians of ancient buildings; (2) by making public protest when it learns that a building is being neglected, or misused, or tampered with; (3) by providing lectures on this subject on reasonable terms. It publishes annually a report of its work, price 2s.; has various leaflets for sale, together with the book "Notes on Repair," and a pamphlet on the treatment of old cottages.

## INFORMATION AND RESEARCH.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION : STATISTICAL AND TRADE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

This department has been in existence for some years. Up to recently it was responsible for the preparation of the Union's annual and general statistics, and for their proper analysis and presentation in the most useful form. As a result of the Survey Committee's report the scope of the department was widened, and now "it undertakes research work of a kind calculated to give assistance in the solution of co-operative business and other problems, and is prepared to give advice to societies regarding the administration of new departments and the improvement and efficiency of existing departments." This new branch of the Union's activities also collects information regarding trade developments and, by preparing suitable reports, gives a useful lead to the development of co-operative activities of various kinds.

THE RUSSO-BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE INFORMATION BUREAU.—99, LEMAN STREET, LONDON, E.1. British Secretary : 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.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, 34, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1. Secretary : R. PAGE ARNOT.

The Labour Research Department, which began as a section of the Fabian Society, has been in existence for eight years. In 1916, the constitution was altered to admit the affiliation of trade unions and Labour and Co-operative organisations. The department is governed by its members and affiliated societies, which are divided among the following sections : Trade Union Survey, Co-operative Section, Trades Council and Local Labour Parties Section and General Section. In addition, there are sections dealing with Labour abroad and international problems, the Organisation of Capital, Local Government, and Women in Industry.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1. Hon. Secretary : E. R. PEASE ; General Secretary : F. W. GALTON.

Among the society's activities (in which it places its services unreservedly at the disposal of the Labour Party and the local Labour parties all over the country, the trade unions and trades council, and all other Labour and Socialist organisations) may be mentioned :—

Free lectures by its members and officers ;

Answers to questions from members of local authorities and others on legal, technical or political matters of local government, &c. ;

Special subscription courses of lectures on new developments in thought ;

Economic and social investigation and research, and publication of the results.

Lists of publications, annual report, form of application as member or associate, and any other information can be obtained on application personally or by letter to the secretary at the above address.

I.L.P. INFORMATION COMMITTEE, 5, YORK BUILDINGS, ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.2.

Formed in April, 1919, to supply members of the Independent Labour Party with up-to-date information on economic and political questions useful for propaganda work. Issues each Thursday "Weekly Notes for Speakers," containing full outline of facts and figures relevant to the outstanding issue of the week. Also collects information, and answers enquiries, on all important economic and political issues. Also assists I.L.P. Members of Parliament with material for use in debates, &c., and keeps voting records of all Members of Parliament. Prepares pamphlets for publication through I.L.P., &c.

## LIBRARIES.

THE CO-OPERATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY, THE PLUNKETT HOUSE, DUBLIN. Librarian : D. COFFEY. Assistant Librarian : F. E. MARKS.

Founded in 1914. Contains works dealing with co-operation in all countries, and undertakes research work in co-operative economics.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.1. Hon. Secretary : E. R. PEASE ; General Secretary : F. W. GALTON.

The society lends out the well-known Fabian Book Boxes, each containing about three dozen of the best books on economics, politics and social problems, which can be obtained by any organisation of men or women for 15s. per annum, covering an exchange of books every three months.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE, 39, CURSITOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

Members of trade union branches, trades councils, professional organisations, Socialist societies, and other recognised Labour bodies, may borrow any book on the League's list for a period of one month on payment of 6d. per volume to cover postage. Applications should be addressed to The National Guilds League, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4, and *must come through and be signed* by the Secretary of the organisation of which the borrower is a member. The organisation will be held responsible for the return of the book.

DR. WILLIAMS' LIBRARY, GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.

Dr. Williams' Library (founded in 1716 by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Williams) is primarily a Theological Library intended for the use of ministers, students, and other persons engaged in the study of theology, ecclesiastical history, comparative religion, and kindred subjects. It will also be found useful to students of history, philosophy, economics, the history of language and literature, and classical literature both ancient and modern. The library does NOT supply fiction, nor books on mathematics, natural history, physical science, or medicine ; nor does it supply school text books or class books.

Persons desiring to use the library must fill up and sign a form of application, which may be obtained from the Librarian, and provide the guarantees specified on the form. Tickets cannot be granted to persons under eighteen years of age except by special permission of the Trustees. There is no subscription.

## PROFIT SHARING AND LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP.

OFFICIAL statistics give a record of 380 schemes for the period 1865—October, 1919, of which 182 are still in existence, whilst 198, or more than half the total, have ceased to be.

The number of schemes in operation at various dates are recorded as follows : 1880, 16 ; 1890, 71 ; 1900, 89 ; 1910, 111 ; 1915, 155 ; 1919, 182.

The following are the principal trades in which profit-sharing schemes exist :—

Trade.	No. of Schemes.	No. of Employees.
Gas production	35	33,500
Merchants, Warehousemen's, and Retail		
Traders	23	23,200
Textile	17	24,100
Engineering	11	81,500

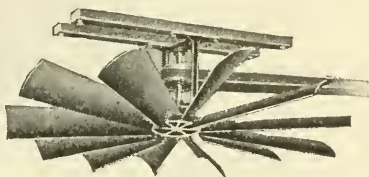
The total number of employees embraced under 164 schemes is 243,000.

As regards personal capital holding the number of instances in which this has been adopted is inconsiderable, inasmuch as outside the gas companies only thirteen such schemes are recorded, and these are mostly of recent origin.

As regards the amounts distributed, these may be gauged by the results of 105 schemes in 1918, by which 81,800 workers received the collective sum of nearly £300,000, or £3. 13s. 3d. per head. The figures recorded in connection with firms only that gave some bonus show that 52,000 workers received an average sum of £5. 15s. 2d. each.

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## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS WORK.

THE League of Nations came into being officially with the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles on January 10th, 1920. Up to September, 1920, thirty-one States (including China) had joined the League and several others had applied for membership.

The existing Organs of the League comprise the Assembly, the Council, together with the Secretariat, the Permanent Armaments Commission, the International Health Office, and the Transit Commission.

*The Assembly* (composed of not more than three delegates of each member of the League, these three delegates having a single vote) "is competent to discuss the admission of new members to the League of Nations, amendments to the Covenant, to revise and pass on many of the decisions taken by the Council, and in general to deal with all matters affecting the world's peace."

*The Council* on the other hand is an executive body composed of delegates of the four great powers (Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan), who are permanent members, and four smaller powers (Spain, Belgium, Brazil and Greece), who are provisional members.\* (The United States, not having yet ratified the Treaty is not yet represented on the Council).

*The Secretariat* is a Permanent International Organisation with a staff of experts of different nationalities, to which is entrusted the task of gathering information and preparing the work of the Council and the Assembly. The head-quarters of the Secretariat will be at Geneva, but during the period of organisation it has been in London.

*Permanent Armaments Commission.* This is composed of military, naval and air delegates of all members of the League. Its duties are to advise the Council on plans for the international reduction of armaments to ensure that States applying for admission to the League comply with these regulations, and to

make recommendations concerning the manufacture of arms and munitions by private persons which Article 8 of the Covenant considers open to objection.

*The International Health Office.* The aim of the International Health Office (of whose organisation the Council has approved) is to bring about the co-operation of the various existing international health organisations, and to deal generally with all matters concerning the improvement and protection of public health throughout the world. It remains for the Assembly to endorse the scheme for its constitution.

*Transit Commission.* The Permanent Commission on the Freedom of Communications and Transit will be created to ensure freedom of transit on international parts, waterways and railways. A special International Transit Conference is to meet at Barcelona in January, 1921, to deal with questions of international travel, through tickets, passports, customs examinations, &c.

### THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

Among the various duties undertaken by the League and the tasks accomplished by it (states the official report) the following are mentioned.

*International Court of Justice.* The League's first important action was to appoint, at the London Council meeting of February 10th, a Committee of eminent Jurists belonging to different countries, to prepare a draft project of the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided for in Article 14 of the Covenant. Meeting at the Hague on June 16th, the Committee, after five weeks' discussion, adopted a plan which was submitted to the Council at the San Sebastian meeting, and by it to all the members of the League for consideration at the first Assembly meeting. There is therefore good reason to hope that this International Court will soon become an accomplished fact.

*Registration of Treaties.* An office

\* In other words, the Council is the seat of authority, and the "Big Four" the seat of authority in the Council, while the Assembly remains to all intents and purposes a deliberative and advisory body.

for the registration and publication of International Treaties and Agreements has been created and is now in operation, in accordance with Article 18. The publicity of Treaties is one of the fundamental principles of the Covenant, which provided that Treaties not so registered and published will not be binding.

*The Protection of Minorities.* The League has definitely accepted the responsibilities offered to it in the Treaty between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland to secure the protection of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities in that country. Analogous Treaties will be concluded with other States containing alien minorities.

*Mandates.* The ex-German Colonies and certain former Turkish territories will be governed under mandates to be conferred on different Powers, not for the benefit of the mandatory Powers themselves, but with a view to the good government of the territories in question, and the protection of their native inhabitants. Each of these mandates will be of a different character, according to the special conditions and the degree of civilisation of the particular territory to which it is applied; its terms will be drawn up by the League of Nations, or, if drawn up by the Government on whom it is conferred, must be approved by the League. . . . Preliminary steps have also been taken for the Permanent Mandates Commission, as provided for by the Covenant, to receive the annual reports of Mandatory States, and to advise the Council on all matters concerning mandates.

*Saar Basin.* This district, containing 650,000 inhabitants and important for its valuable coal mines, has since February 26th been directly administered by an International Governing Commission appointed by and responsible to the League. All powers of government are vested in this Commission until the plebiscite fifteen years hence decides the definite status of the territory.

*Danzig.* Danzig has been placed by the Treaty under a special regime as a Free City under the protection of the League; the administrator appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers was also appointed

High Commissioner for the League, with power to act after the formal inauguration of the constitution of the Free City by the Council of the League and the signing of a Treaty between Danzig and Poland.

*The Russo-Persian Question.* The first time that the League was requested to intervene in an International dispute was on the occasion when Persia protested last April against the occupation by Soviet Russia of certain Persian ports on the Caspian Sea. A special meeting of the Council was held in London in June, but as it appeared that the two States had entered into direct negotiations for a solution of the conflict, the Council decided to await the result of these negotiations before taking action.

*Armenia.* The Supreme Council requested the League of Nations to assume the protection of Armenia, but the Council replied that, while it was prepared to assume a general surveillance over the government of that country, it had not the necessary funds or troops to administer it directly, but would gladly ask one of its members to accept a mandate over that country, and would support an international loan as soon as the Supreme Council agreed upon Armenia's frontiers and gave other guarantees.

*International Financial Conference.* At the meeting of the Council on February 11th, it was decided to summon an International Financial Conference at Brussels, to study the present economic and financial difficulties of the world, and to try to find solutions for the various problems involved, such as will re-establish the world on a normal economic basis once more.

*Health.* Independently of the Health Organisation now to be created, the League has already undertaken several important duties in connection with public health. It has, in the first place, created an organisation under the direction of Dr. Nansen for the repatriation of prisoners of war in Germany and Russia, amounting to nearly half a million, and a considerable proportion of whom have been now repatriated.

In the second place the League has assumed the initiative of a campaign against typhus in Poland, and has

requested the various Governments to provide the necessary funds. A part of the sum needed has already been promised.

*The League of Nations Journal.* The League of Nations issues an official journal which contains all the documents published by the League—reports of meetings, official correspondence, etc.

It appears every month; and in addition a special series has now been begun, containing documents and correspondence on particular questions.

*Labour.* Associated with the League of Nations is the International Labour Organisation, also created by the Treaty of Versailles.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE (GENEVA).

*Director: M. Albert Thomas. Deputy Director: Mr. H. B. Butler.*

THE International Labour Office (called into being by the Peace Treaty) was established early in 1920, but the organisation thereof has necessarily been a matter of time and of stages. Thus the Governing Body was appointed by the Washington Conference at the end of November, 1919. At its meeting in Paris in January, 1920, the Governing Body appointed M. Albert Thomas (Ex-Minister of Munitions in France) as Director, who immediately placed before them a scheme of organisation. The Governing Body referred this scheme to a commission for report and in the meantime M. Thomas appointed Mr. H. Butler (who had been Secretary-General of the Washington Conference) as Deputy Director, and proceeded to collect a small staff. During the succeeding months its numbers have grown steadily until they now comprise over one hundred persons, of fourteen different nationalities, and with a strong proportion of women.

The organisation of the Office (as described in the official report) may be briefly indicated under the following heads:—

1.—*The Cabinet*, under the control of Mr. Lemerrier (French), comprises in addition to the personal secretariat of the Director, a special staff, containing representatives of all the most important countries, specially organised in order to keep the Office constantly in touch with the Trade Union movements in the different countries; Dr. William Martin (Swiss), who undertakes general investigations, and Mr. Viple (French), who deals with the relations of the Press.

2.—*The Common Services.* The Com-

mon Services, which are under the immediate charge of the Deputy-Director, consist of the *Establishment Section* (Mr. Lloyd, English), which comprises the registry, the materiel branch and the central pool of French and English typists and duplicators; and the *Section for Financial Relations and Commercial Services* (Mr. Joucla-Pelous, French), which deals with all the commercial or quasi-commercial activities of the Office, such as the sale of its publications, &c., and three other sections which deal with the *Examination and Control of Expenditure, Accountancy, and Staff Questions*, respectively.

3.—*The Diplomatic Division* is one of the two administrative divisions created to deal with the administrative work laid upon the Office by the various provisions of Part XIII. of the Treaty. It is responsible for the preparation, organisation and secretarial arrangements for the meetings of the Conference, the work in connection with the ratification of Conventions and action taken on Recommendations, the secretarial work of the Governing Body and official communications with the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The Chief of the Division is Mr. Phelan (English), who is assisted by a Chief of Section, Mr. Pône (French), an Assistant-Chief of Section, Mr. Grimshaw (English), and a staff of French and English Secretaries.

4.—*The Scientific Division* is the second of the administrative divisions referred to above, and deals specially with the work allocated to the Office by Article 396 of the Treaty, namely, the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international



adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour. It is accordingly responsible for the publications of the Office, including the continuation of the legislative publications of the Labour Office of Basle, and for the collection, classification and dissemination of information on labour and social subjects. The Chief of the Division is Dr. Royal Meeker, late Commissioner for Labour Statistics in Washington, who is assisted by a Chief of Sections, Mr. Johnston (English) and three Assistant-Chiefs of Section, Mr. Blumel (French), Miss Sanger (English) and Mr. Fleury (French) together with a staff comprising representatives of half-a-dozen different nationalities.

5.—In order to assist the Administrative Divisions in their work and to keep the Office constantly informed of the

latest developments in the most important fields of social problems there are a number of *Technical Services* which are in charge of recognised experts.

6.—Four national correspondents have been appointed in order that the Office may be kept closely in touch with movements in their respective countries and to render assistance in connection with rapid investigations and enquiries. They are :—

Mr. Mario Roques, in Paris ;  
Mr. J. E. Herbert, in London ;  
Mr. A. Cabrini, in Rome ;  
Mr. E. A. Greenwood, in Washington.

*Official Organ.*—The weekly *Bulletin*, issued by the International Labour Office, dates from September 8th, 1920. The Office also issues a variety of Departmental Reports.

## FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS REPORT FOR 1919.

IN the Introduction it is stated " that the standard of safety and sanitation declined during the war owing mainly to press of work, shortage of staffs and difficulties in obtaining materials and labour to effect repairs or renewals, but that during 1919 a great step forward has been made not only in covering the lost ground but, in quite a number of cases, in advancing still further to a much higher standard. The references to Works Committees though disappointing in some respects, are particularly interesting as illustrating what can be achieved by self-inspection where committees are formed on a sound basis and are properly organised.

" It will be noted that while the number of factories has increased by 12,396 since 1914 the number of workshops has decreased by 8,060, the net increase being 4,336. Reference is made in the reports to the gradual closing down of country workshop industries, and the extensive conversion of town workshops into factories, largely by the introduction of electric power.

" The falling off in visits paid, prosecutions taken and contravention and other notices issued, is explained by the vacancies on the staff and the number of Inspectors and Accountants still serving with the Forces at the end of 1919.

" Fatal accidents increased from 1,287 in 1914 to 1,385 in 1919, while the non-fatal accidents reported fell off from 158,585 to 124,632. These latter figures, in view of the great trade activity during the year, can hardly be taken as indicative of the number of accidents which actually happened. . . . It is probable, however, that fatal accidents have been fully reported.

" Works (other than Docks, &c.) under regulations have increased from 67,650 in 1914 to 77,957 in 1919, the Electrical Regulations alone accounting for 58,286.

" The only Acts affecting the Department passed during 1919 were :—

" The Anthrax Prevention Act, and the Checkweighing in Various Industries Act.

" With regard to female labour, the report points out the unbalanced state of things due to the localisation of industries, as shown by a shortage of female labour in some places and a surplus in others.

" Nearly all the inspectors speak, in varying terms, of marked progress in introduction of welfare conditions and measures, either legal or voluntary.

" But, while in the main the inspectors speak of progress in introduction of welfare, there are considerable exceptions, perhaps most notably in the textile trades."

**Co-operative**  
Society



**Wholesale**  
Limited

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Share Capital ( <sup>PAID</sup> <sub>UP</sub> )	£4,060,000
Reserve Insurance & } Depreciation Funds }	£7,500,000
Total Funds - -	£38,000,000

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Annual Movement of Funds **£600,000,000**  
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## SHIPPING STATISTICS.

**L**LOYD'S Register of Shipping recorded (July, 1920) 5,082 sailing ships, totalling 3,409,377 tons, and 26,513 steamers, totalling 53,904,688 tons, or a world total of 31,595 sea-going vessels amounting to 57,314,065 tons gross.

In sailing ships there has been a reduction of 641,000 tons since pre-war times; the only country which has increased its sailing tonnage since then being the United States, which now possesses 43 per cent. of the world's sailing tonnage.

The following figures for the principal countries show the position as regards steam tonnage:—

Country.	Tons.	Increase, 1914.	Decrease.
U. Kingdom	18,111,000	—	781,000
British Dominions ..	2,032,000	400,000	—
America (sea-going) ..	12,406,000	10,379,000	—
America (Gt. Lakes) ..	2,119,000	—	141,000
France ....	2,963,000	1,041,000	—
Germany ..	419,000	—	4,716,000
Holland ....	1,773,000	301,000	—
Italy .....	2,118,000	688,000	—
Japan ....	2,996,000	1,228,000	—
Norway ....	1,980,000	2,300	—
Austria-Hungary	—	—	1,052,000

Thus the United Kingdom now owns 33·6 per cent. of the world's steam tonnage as compared with 41·6 per cent. in 1914; whereas America now possesses 24·0 per cent. as compared with 4·7 per cent. in 1914.

### SHIPBUILDING.

The following figures show the increase of shipbuilding in the United Kingdom. In June, 1920, there were 895 steam vessels in course of construction with a gross tonnage of 3,565,910 tons, as compared with 719 steam vessels in June, 1919, with a gross tonnage of 2,494,569 tons. During the same period the construction of sailing vessels has decreased from 63 (gross tonnage 29,481 tons) to 46 (gross tonnage 12,243 tons). In other words, total steam and sailing vessels in course of construction have increased from 782, with a gross tonnage of 2,524,050 tons, to 941, with a gross tonnage of 3,578,153 tons in the course of twelve months.

### MERCHANT VESSELS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE WORLD.

The following figures show the total construction for the world and the extent to which the United Kingdom participates therein.

WHERE BUILDING.	Steam.		Sail.		Total.	
	No.	Gross tonnage.	No.	Gross tonnage.	No.	Gross tonnage.
United Kingdom .....	895	3,565,910	46	12,243	941	3,578,153
*Other countries .....	1,132	4,084,817	122	57,934	1,254	4,142,751
Total for the World ..	2,027	7,650,727	168	70,177	2,195	7,720,904

\* Excluding Germany, figures for which country are not yet available.

## POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Provisional estimate to the middle of the year 1918:—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
England and Wales .....	37,507,142	17,809,542	19,697,600
Total including Forces overseas.			
Civilian Population .....	33,474,700	13,777,100	19,697,600
Scotland.....	4,886,900	2,363,700	2,516,600
Ireland.....	4,380,000	2,176,000	2,204,000
(Movement of Military taken into account.)†			

† Population in 1917, adopted provisionally for 1918.

The census of the United Kingdom will be taken on the last Sunday of April, 1921.

## BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES.

THE following is the official record of births for the period 1911-18:—

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
1918 .....	662,661	98,550	87,304	848,515

The abnormal reduction of births since 1914 points to the effects of the war on the natality of the United Kingdom.

### 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*
1918 .....	17·7*	20·2	19·9	18·1*

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

## 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 1911-18:—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
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
1918.....	287,163	*15·3	34,594	14·2	22,570	10·3	344,327	*14·7

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

The year 1915 was characterised by an enormous increase in marriages, and the years 1916 and 1917 by an abnormal decrease; in 1918 the figures indicate the tendency back to the normal.

## DEATHS AND DEATH-RATES.

THE total deaths, along with the death-rates per 1,000 of the population, for each year during the period 1911-18 are officially recorded in the following table in which the abnormal figures for 1918 arrest the attention :—

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
1918.....	*611,861	†17·6	78,372	16·0	78,695	18·0	768,928	‡17·4

\* Including deaths of non-civilians.

† Based upon civil deaths and civil population.

‡ Including only civil deaths and population as regards England and Wales.

## INFANT MORTALITY.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY 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 after :—

Year.	Deaths of infants under one year.	Proportion per 1,000 births.	Percentage of total deaths.
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
1918.....	64,386	97	10·0

The infantile death-rate in 1916 was the lowest on record, the circumstance being in part due to a low rate of diarrhoeal mortality.



## INSOLVENCY.

IN the period of 15 years from 1900 to 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 and 1918 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.
1918 .....	907,611	881,865	97·1 per cent.
1919 .....	1,822,824	629,657	34·5 per cent.

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IN 1919 the amount spent in the United Kingdom on intoxicants was £386,600,000, as compared with £259,300,000 in 1918 and £166,600,000 in 1913. The expenditure per adult of twenty-one years and upward (including abstainers) averaged £13. 15s. In 1913 the average was £5. 19s. per adult. The consumption per adult averaged: Beer, 41 gallons (bulk); spirits, .77 proof gallon; and wine, .68 gallon. The amount of taxation in 1919 was £121,700,000 (31½ per cent.). In 1917 it amounted to £34,500,000 (13½ per cent.).

## CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

THE convictions for drunkenness are shown to be increasing, by the following figures:—

The total number of convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales in 1919 was nearly double the figure for 1918, viz., 57,948, as compared with 29,075, an increase of 99·3 per cent.

For the fifty-two weeks ending December 29th, 1919, the convictions of women for drunkenness in England and Wales were 10,875 (as compared with 7,121 in 1918) and in Scotland 6,697 (against 3,878 in 1918).

## POST-WAR CRIME.

ACCORDING to the Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons for the year ending March 31st, 1920, the number of prisoners received under sentence was 39,787, as compared with 28,753 in the preceding twelve months—an increase of 11,034. The figures of the latest year, however, were lower both absolutely and relatively (in proportion to population) than for the five years ended 1913-14—being 41 per cent. lower as convictions on indictment, and 80 per cent. lower as regards cases of summary conviction.

Inquiries made into the cases of 6,461 men committed to prison, who had served in the army, showed that 3,411, or 53 per cent., were first offenders, and that 1,399, or 22 per cent., were ranked as habitual criminals.

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

THE expenditure on Old Age Pensions is now as follows:—

Amount voted for 1919-20 .....	£17,892,000
Additional vote, 1920 .....	10,350,000
Total for a full year .....	<u>£28,242,000</u>

The original rate was 5s. per week. This was raised in the war period to 7s. 6d. And a further increase of 2s. 6d. raises the Old Age Pension to 10s. per week where the means do not exceed £31. 10s. per annum. The pension rate gradually diminishes down to 1s. per week as the means increase up to 19s. per week. Where the means exceed the last-mentioned sum there is no pension.

## EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

The following table shows the accommodation of Council and Voluntary Schools respectively, on March 31st, 1919.

Year.	Number of Scholars on the Books, January 31st.				Net Increase or Decrease.
	Under 5.	5 and under 12.	12 and over.	Total.	
1918	209,522	4,271,462	1,018,908	5,499,892	-17,093
1919	199,094	4,223,499	1,031,062	5,453,655	46,237

For 1920-21 the net value of the vote of the Board of Education amounts to £45,755,567 as against £32,772,473 for 1919-20 and £19,334,705 for 1918-19. As regards teachers' salaries the total increase is estimated at £15,000,000 in round figures.

## UNITED KINGDOM IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1915-1919.

Year.	Summary of the Value of the Imports of Merchandise from Foreign Countries and British Possessions.			Summary of Exports of Manufactures of the United Kingdom.		
	From Foreign Countries.	From British Possessions.	Total.	To Foreign Countries.	To British Possessions.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1915	580,068,123	271,825,227	851,893,350	236,448,764	148,419,684	384,868,448
1916	645,833,842	302,672,650	948,503,492	320,103,836	186,175,871	506,279,707
1917	705,134,305	359,030,373	1,064,164,678	354,421,930	172,657,816	527,079,746
1918	893,115,932	423,034,971	1,316,150,903	323,056,875	178,362,122	501,418,997
1919	1,043,585,573	582,570,639	1,626,156,212	593,015,062	205,620,314	798,635,376

## LAND SETTLEMENT.

THE following official summaries show the position as regards Land Settlement under Local Authority in England and Wales on the 31st October, 1920:—

	Total applicants.	Total acreage.
Ex-service men's applications .....	42,073 ..	730,782
Ex-service applicants awaiting interview or standing over . . .	7,759 ..	133,416
Ex-service applicants approved, and not yet provided with holdings .....	15,819 ..	258,836
Number of ex-service and civilian applicants provided with holdings since December 18th, 1918, including men provided for the first time with holdings on land acquired prior to 18-12-18 .....	9,730 ..	141,274
Total acreage acquired for small holdings with Minister's approval since 18-12-18 .....		233,704
Acreage proposed to be acquired by the C.C. for small holdings in the exercise of their compulsory powers .....		16,975
Acreage for which C.C. were authorised to bid at auction, but were unable to acquire for small holdings .....		80,151

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## THE BY-ELECTIONS, 1920.

## ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

BY-ELECTION.		GENERAL ELECTION, 1918.	
January 31st, 1920.			
De Frece, Sir W. (C.U.)	8,864	Stanley, Sir A. (C.U.)	10,260
Robinson, W. C. (Lab.)	8,127	Lister, T. F. (N.F.D.S.S.)	7,334
Marshall, Sir A. H. (Lib.)	3,511		
C.U. Majority	737	C.U. Majority	2,926

## SALOP (WREKIN).

February 7th, 1920.			
Palmer, C. (Ind.)	9,267	Sir Charles Palmer (Independent) returned unopposed.	
Duncan, C. (Lab.)	8,729		
Bayley, J. C. (Lib.)	4,750		
Ind. Majority	538		

## PAISLEY.

February 12th, 1920.			
Asquith, H. H. (Lib.)	14,736	McCallum, Sir J. (Lib.)	7,542
Biggar, J. M. (Co-op.)	11,902	Biggar, J. M. (Co-op.)	7,436
Mackean, J. A. D. (U.)	3,795	Taylor, J. (C.N.D.P.)	7,201
Liberal Majority	2,834	Liberal Majority	106

## HORNCASTLE (LINCS.).

February 25th, 1920.			
Hotchkin, Capt. S. V. (C.U.)	8,140	Weigall, Lt.-Col. A. G. (C.U.)	8,826
Pattinson, Ald. S. (Lib.)	6,727	Pattinson, Ald. S. (Lib.)	7,433
Holmes, W. (Lab.)	3,443		
C.U. Majority	1,413	C.U. Majority	1,393

## ARGYLLSHIRE.

March 10th, 1920.			
Sutherland, W. (C. Lib.)	10,187	Sutherland, W. (C. Lib.)	11,970
McCallum, Rev. M. (Lab.)	5,498	Weir, L. McN. (H.L.L. and Lab.)	2,733
C. Lib. Majority	4,689	C. Lib. Majority	9,237

## DARTFORD (KENT).

March 27th, 1920.			
Mills, J. E. (Lab.)	13,610	Rowland, J. (C. Lib.)	15,626
Wing, Tom (Lib.)	4,562	Ling, W. (Lab.)	6,506
Mellor, R. J. (C.U.)	4,221		
Applin, Col. R. (N.F.)	2,952		
Fehr, F. (Ind.)	1,802		
Lab. Majority	9,048	C. Lib. Majority	9,120

## STOCKPORT (?).

March 27th, 1920.			
Greenwood, W. (C.U.)	22,847	Mr. S. L. Hughes (Lib.), and Mr. Wardle (Lab.) returned unopposed.	
Fildes, H. (C. Lib.)	22,386		
Money, Sir Leo C. (Lab.)	16,042		
Perry, S. F. (Co-op.)	14,434		
Kindell, A. G. (Ind.)	5,644		
Terrett, J. J. (Ind.)	5,543		
O'Brien, Ald. W. (Sinn Fein)	2,336		
Co. Majority	6,805		

## CAMBERWELL, N.W.

March 31st, 1920.			
McNamara, Dr. T. J. (C. Lib.)	6,618	McNamara, Dr. T. J. (C. Lib.)	6,986
Lawrence, Miss Susan (Lab.)	4,733	Radford, G. (U.)	3,947
Carrol, J. C. (Lib.)	3,386		
C. Lib. Majority	1,885	C. Lib. Majority	3,039

HANTS (BASINGSTOKE).

BY-ELECTION.		GENERAL ELECTION 1918.	
March 31st, 1920.			
Holbrook, Sir A. (C.U.)	8,551	Geddes, Sir A. (C.U.)	11,218
Verney, Sir H. (Lib.)	5,393	Close, A.	6,277
Round, J. H. (Lab.)	5,352		
C.U. Majority	3,122	C.U. Majority	4,941

NORTHAMPTON.

April 1st, 1920.			
McCurdy, C. A. (C. Lib.)	16,650	McCurdy, C. A. (C. Lib.)	18,010
Bondfield, Miss M. (Lab.)	13,279	Halls, Walter (Lab.)	10,735
C. Lib. Majority	3,371	C. Lib. Majority	7,275

EDINBURGH (NORTH).

April 9th, 1920.			
Ford, F. J. (C.U.)	9,944	Clyde, J. A. (C.U.)	11,879
Runciman, W. (Lib.)	8,469	Johnson, J. (Lib.)	6,986
Graham-Pole, Major D. (Lab.)	3,808		
C.U. Majority	1,475	C.U. Majority	4,893

EDINBURGH (SOUTH).

April 9th, 1920.			
Murray, C. D. (C.U.)	11,176	Murray, C. D. (C.U.)	14,854
Holmes, T. D. (Lib.)	8,177	Caird, W. (Lib.)	4,955
C.U. Majority	2,999	C.U. Majority	9,899

SUNDERLAND.

April 24th, 1920.			
Greenwood, Sir H. (C. Lib.)	22,813	Greenwood, Sir H. (C.L.)	27,646
Rutherford, Dr. V. H. (Lab.)	14,379	Hudson, R. M. (U.)	25,698
Howe, Ernest (Lib.)	5,085	Goldstone, F. (Lab.)	9,578
C. Lib. Majority	8,434	C. Lib. Majority	18,068

NELSON.

June 17, 1920.			
Graham, R. (Lab.)	14,134	Smith, A. (Lab.)	14,075
Wainwright, F. N. (C.U.)	8,577	Greenwood, F. (Lib.)	8,623
Rea, W. R. (Ind. Lab.)	5,805		
Lab. Majority	5,557	Lab. Majority	5,455

SOUTH NORFOLK.

July, 1920.			
Edward, George (Lab.)	8,594	Cozens-Hardy, W. H. (C. Lib.)	11,755
Batty, J. H. (C. Lib.)	6,476	Edwards, George (Lab.)	6,536
Roberts, C. H. (Ind. Lib.)	3,718		
Lab. Majority	2,118	C. Lib. Majority	5,219

SUFFOLK (WOODBRIDGE).

July 28th, 1920.			
Churchman, Sir A. (C.U.)	9,898	Peel, Col. R. F. (C.U.)	8,654
Harben, H. D. (Lab.)	8,707	Elleston, Maj. R. (Lib.)	6,842
C.U. Majority	1,191	C.U. Majority	1,812

ILFORD.

September, 1920.			
Wise, F. (C.U.)	15,612	Griggs, Sir W. P. (C.U.)	15,870
King, J. (Lab.)	6,577	Dunnico, Rev. H. (Lab.)	4,621
Thompson, J. W. H. (Lib.)	6,515	Garside, G. W. (Lib.)	3,261
C.U. Majority	9,035	C.U. Majority	11,249

## WREKIN.

BY-ELECTION.		At previous election in February, 1920, the figures were:—	
November 20th, 1920.		Palmer, C. (Ind.)	9,267
Townshend, General Sir C. (Ind.)	14,565	Duncan, C. (Lab.)	8,729
Duncan, Charles (Lab.)	10,600	Bayley, J. (C. Lib.)	4,750
Ind. Majority	3,965	Ind. Majority	538

## MIDDLETON &amp; PRESTWICH (LANCS.).

November 22nd, 1920.		GENERAL ELECTION, 1918.	
Adkins, Sir W. Ryland (C. Lib.)		Adkins, Sir W. Ryland (C. Lib.)	14,831
returned unopposed.		Battle, J. B. (Lab.)	8,501
		C. Lib. Majority	6,330

## THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1920.

AT the municipal contests in the 70 and odd principal boroughs of England and Wales, the Labour Party put forward 747 candidates, of whom 199 were successful, and 548 non-successful. The return of 199 candidates shows that the Labour Party by no means did badly, although it failed to repeat the sweeping successes recorded for 1919. Had the Party put forward a smaller number of candidates in 1920, the results would have appeared in a more favourable light. As a matter of fact, the Labour Party put forward practically as many candidates as both the Liberal and Conservatives put together, and the results must be considered in the light of this fact.

In various boroughs results are illustrated as follows: In Norwich the whole 11 Labour candidates were returned; 11 out of 19 were returned at Stoke-on-Trent, and 11 out of 24 at Chesterfield; 9 out of 13 at West Ham; 9 out of 12 at Wigan; 6 out of 8 at Barrow-in-Furness; 5 out of 10 at Bootle; 5 out of 7 at Merthyr; 6 out of 7 at Bath; and at Rotherham the whole 4 candidates were returned; while in various other boroughs, despite a number of unsuccessful candidates, the total results showed Labour gains.

Meanwhile results serve to show once again how unfairly the electoral system works. For example, in Liverpool the Labour Party polled 31,141 votes without obtaining a single seat, while the Nationalist poll of 11,962 votes secured 6 seats; the Liberal poll of 16,813 votes secured 5 seats; and the Conservative poll of 67,874 votes secured 20 seats.

In Leeds the Labour Party polled 33,905 votes, and secured 2 seats; while the Liberal poll of 30,476 votes secured 7 seats; and the Conservative poll of 30,076 votes obtained the same number.

In Bradford the Labour Party polled 33,810 votes without securing a single seat, while 30,700 votes secured 11 seats for the Liberals, and 29,570 votes secured 12 seats for the Conservatives.

In 13 boroughs Labour mayors were elected, viz., at Barnsley, Barrow, Bootle, Brighouse, Colne, Grantham, Ilkeston, Nottingham, Sheffield, Todmorden, Wallsend, Wigan, and West Ham.

## THE ELECTORATE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

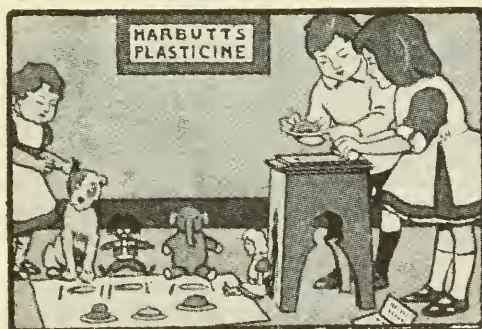
THE following figures show the number of voters of both sexes on the Parliamentary register in the United Kingdom both at the time of the General Election of 1918 and in the Autumn of 1919 :—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1918.....	12,913,166 ..	8,479,146 ..	21,392,312
1919.....	12,919,090 ..	8,856,493 ..	21,775,583
Increase	5,924 ..	377,347 ..	383,271

In the latest return of Parliamentary electors the figures for the three parts of the United Kingdom are as follows : England and Wales, 17,465,638 ; Scotland, 2,306,996 ; and Ireland, 2,002,949.

As regards local government elections the following are the comparative figures :—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1918.....	8,689,005 ..	8,515,438 ..	17,204,453
1919.....	8,908,027 ..	8,882,466 ..	17,790,493
Increase	219,022 ..	367,028 ..	586,040



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## 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, Battledean 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, Annbank-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.  
 CLYNES, 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.  
 DAVIES, EVAN, (Monmouth, Ebbw Vale), Miners' Agent, Ebbw Vale, Mon.  
 DAVISON, J. E. (Smethwick), 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.  
 EDWARDS, CHARLES (Monmouth, Bedwelty), Miners' Office, Blackwood, Mon.  
 EDWARDS, GEORGE (Norfolk, South), 7, Lichfield Street, Queen's Road, Fakenham, Norfolk.  
 FINNEY, S. (Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem), Miners' Office, Burslem, Staffs.  
 GRAHAM, DUNCAN (Lanark, Hamilton), 9, Low Waters, Hamilton, N.B.  
 GRAHAM ROBINSON (Nelson and Colne), 44, Raglan Road, Burnley.  
 GRAHAM, WILLIAM (Edinburgh, Central), 9, Victoria Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.  
 GRIFFITHS, THOMAS (Monmouth, Pontypool), 8, New Street, Neath.  
 GRUNDY, 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, ELDRÉD (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), 6, Twyzell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.  
 LUNN, W. (York, W.R., Rothwell), 22, Carlton Lane, Rothwell, Leeds, Yorks.  
 MACLEAN, NEIL (Glasgow, Govan), 181, St. Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.  
 MILLS, J. (Dartford), 290, Well Hall Road, Eltham, London, S.E.9.  
 MORGAN, Major D. WATTS (Rhondda, East), 22, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.  
 MYERS, T. (Spenn Valley), Brewery Lane, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury, Yorks.  
 O'GRADY, Capt. J. (Leeds, South-East), 60, Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, S.W.13.  
 ONIONS, A. (Glamorgan, Caerphilly), Miners' Agent, Tredegar.  
 PARKINSON, J. A. (Wigan), "Glenthorpe," Oriell Mount, nr. Wigan.  
 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.  
 ROSE, FRANK (Aberdeen, North), "The Cedars," 37, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2.  
 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), Vestry Hall, Vine Street Minories, London, E.C.3.  
 SITCH, C. H. (Stafford, Kingswinford), Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath.  
 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, London, N.W.  
 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.  
 TILLETT, B. (Salford, North), Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.2.  
 TOOTILL, R. (Bolton), "Westfield," 2nd Avenue, Blackpool.  
 WALSH, STEPHEN (Lancaster, Ince), 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.  
 WATERSON, A. E. (Northampton, Kettering), 34, Harcourt Road, Alexandra Park, Wood Green, London, N.  
 WEDGWOOD, Col. J. C. (Newcastle-under-Lyme), 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, London, S.W.3.  
 WIGNALL, J. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean), 17, Fawnbrake Avenue, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24.  
 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., T. SHAW, 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 Councils and Local Labour Parties.	Socialist Societies.		Total.
	No.	Membership.		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	2,960,409	389	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919 .....	126	3,464,020	418	6	47,270	3,511,290

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.

## MEMBERS OF THE 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 (£5,000) .....	MR. BONAR LAW.
Lord High Chancellor (£10,000) .....	LORD BIRKENHEAD.
Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000) .....	MR. A. CHAMBERLAIN.
Minister without Portfolio (£5,000) .....	MR. L. WORTHINGTON EVANS.
Home Secretary (£5,000) .....	MR. E. SHORTT, 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.
Chief Secretary for Ireland (£4,425) .....	SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD, Bt.
First Lord of the Admiralty (£4,500) .....	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 ROBT. S. HORNE.
President of the Board of Education (£2,000) ..	MR. H. A. L. FISHER.
Minister of Labour (£2,000) .....	MR. T. J. MACNAMARA.
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 HEWART, K.C.
Solicitor-General (£5,000) .....	SIR ERNEST POLLOCK, K.C.
Lord Advocate for Scotland (£5,000) .....	T. B. MORISON, K.C.
Minister of Munitions (£5,000) .....	LORD INVERFORTH.
Postmaster-General (£2,500) .....	ALBERT H. ILLINGWORTH.
Food Controller (£5,000) .....	CHAS. A. MCCURDY.
Shipping Controller (£2,000) .....	SIR JOS. MACLAY, Bart.
Paymaster-General (unpaid) .....	SIR J. TUDOR WALTERS.
Minister of Pensions (£2,000) .....	J. I. MACPHERSON, K.C.
Admiralty, Parly., and Financial Sec. (£2,000) ..	SIR JAMES CRAIG, Bart.
Admiralty, Civil Lord of (£1,000) .....	Vacant.
Home Department, Under-Secretary for (£1,500)	Major J. L. BAIRD.
Foreign Office, Under-Secretaries (£2,000) .....	CECIL HARMSWORTH, and F. G. KELLAWAY.
War, Under-Secretary for (£2,000) .....	VISCOUNT PEEL.
War Office, Financial Secretary (£1,500) .....	SIR A. WILLIAMSON, Bart.
Colonies, Under-Secretary for (£1,500) .....	L. C. M. S. AMERY.
India, Under-Secretary for (£1,500) .....	THE EARL OF LYTTON.
Agriculture, Parly. Sec. to Board of (£1,200) ..	SIR A. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN.
Board of Trade, Parly. Sec. to (£1,500) .....	Vacant.
Ministry of Munitions, Additional Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) .....	LORD RATHOREEDAN.
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) ..	Major G. C. TRYON.
Ministry of Shipping, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) ..	Col. LESLIE WILSON.
Ministry of Labour, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) ..	SIR MONTAGUE BARLOW.
Treasury, Financial Secretary to (£2,000) .....	S. BALDWIN.
Treasury, Joint Parliamentary Secs. to (£2,000) ..	LORD EDMUND TALBOT, and Capt. the Hon. FREDERICK GUEST.
Treasury, Lords of the .....	R. A. SANDERS, Bt. (£1,000); JAS. PARKER (£1,000); TOWYN JONES (unpaid); Sir W. SUTHERLAND.
Air Board, Under-Secretary to (£1,200) .....	THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
Ministry of Food, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200) .....	SIR W. MITCHELL-THOMPSON.
Assistant Postmaster-General (£1,200) .....	H. PIKE PEASE.
Vice-Pres. of Dept. of Agriculture, Ireland (£1,350)	HUGH T. BARRIE.



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