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*The People's Year Book.*

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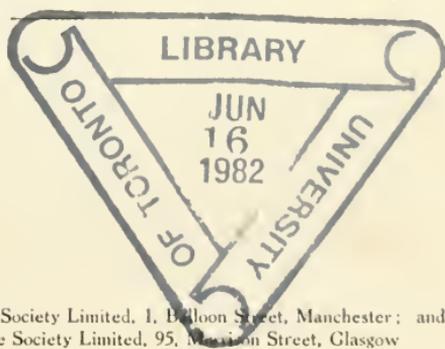
THE PEOPLE'S  
YEAR BOOK

AND  
ANNUAL OF THE ENGLISH & SCOTTISH  
WHOLESALE SOCIETIES

1919

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

*SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION*



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## PREFACE.

IN preparing the second year's publication of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK we have been again hampered by war-time conditions. In these days, when most people are affected by these circumstances, it has been difficult to obtain complete or up-to-date statistics on all matters with which we have been anxious to deal. It has been largely due to this cause that we were not able to issue this volume earlier, and in the end we had to go to press without securing all we had in mind.

This year, for the first time since 1880, the ANNUAL OF THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES (English and Scottish) has been dropped in its usual form, the Committee having decided to combine some of its features with THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK. This practice will be continued in the hope that a volume can be produced each year to give reliable information on subjects essential to all who are desirous of keeping themselves acquainted with advanced and democratic forces, as well as with matters we should know something about. Social, political, industrial, economic, and other activities, tend to change and increase at a greater pace than they once did, and we expect to present a concrete knowledge of all from time to time. We do not necessarily agree with all the facts that can be placed before us, but it is useful to know what they are, and derive what lessons we can from them.

In this year's issue we have included several illustrations, principally having reproduced scenes connected with the latest purchases of the C.W.S. in fields and factories, and others from foreign countries and British Colonies, adjoining our Co-operative Wholesales' depôts and places of trade and commerce.

The article by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., written whilst he was in full harness as Food Controller, gives an insight into the work of the Food Ministry, and most other contributions have been supplied by men actually engaged in connection with the matters with which they deal. Prof. Long surveys a question to which he has given a life-long study, and the same may be said of Mr. J. F. Mills who is responsible for unsigned articles retracing the historical progress of co-operative, labour, political, and democratic movements. Mr. Walter Meakin has provided the events on domestic legislation, &c., from the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. Other contributions, too numerous to mention, have also come from first-hand sources.

THE EDITOR.

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## THE GENERAL ELECTION.

---

IN the results of the General Election of December, 1918, revealing the sweeping victory of the Coalition, the crushing defeat of the Liberal opposition, the annihilation of the pacifist group, together virtually with that of the Irish Nationalist Party and the corresponding triumph of Sinn Fein, which by the way secured the election of the one woman officially returned to Parliament, the sensations of the year reached their conclusion and climax. On the other hand the large number who failed to record a vote is significant both as to the virtual disfranchisement of a large body of men in the army under obtaining conditions, and as to the apathy manifested by no small section of the civilian population, in which women figured as enfranchised citizens for the first time on record. Moreover, when the votes are analysed the fact that the Labour Party would, under a strictly proportionate system of representation, have secured the return of nearly 150 members instead of 59 or thereabouts is sufficient to show how defective the representative still remains despite the new Reform Bill, and to what extent the forces of progress are handicapped. Nevertheless, when we come to consider that the Labour Party will now take rank as the opposition party in Parliament, with the moral force derived from the representation of numbers, the significance of the trend of events becomes sufficiently obvious.

Meanwhile, though co-operators will regret that the full number of representative candidates failed to secure seats, there is some compensation in the fact that the movement is now assured of direct representation in Parliament, and also of the possibility of a reinforcement of strength at the next general election. The election of Mr. A. E. Waterson for the Kettering Division of Northamptonshire has all the merit of a pioneering exploit. On page 378 will be found a portrait of the first co-operative M.P., as well as of all the co-operative candidates, who together polled 57,676 votes.

Meanwhile, the state of parties may be gauged from the results as recorded in *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* (see next page).

The People's Year Book.

The Times List.

COALITION.	
Unionists .....	338
Liberals .....	136
National Democratic Party .....	10
	484
NON-COALITION PARTIES.	
Labour .....	59
Unionists .....	48
Liberals .....	26
National Party .....	2
Independents, &c. ....	7
Sinn Feiners .....	73
Irish Nationalists .....	7
	*706

\* Kennington to be counted.

The Manchester Guardian List.

COALITION OFFICIAL LIST.	
Unionists .....	342
Liberals .....	136
	478
Unionists .....	51
Liberals .....	27
Labour .....	59
Coalition Labour .....	3
Socialist .....	1
Co-operator .....	1
Silver Badge .....	1
National Party .....	2
Independents .....	3
Nationalists .....	7
Sinn Fein .....	73
	706

PARTY GAINS AND LOSSES.

For the United Kingdom as a whole the party changes (as recorded by the *Manchester Guardian*) stand as follows:—

	Last Parliament.	New House.
Unionists .....	287	395
Liberals .....	261	163
Labour Party .....	38	59
Other Labour .....	—	5
Nationalists .....	77	7
Sinn Fein .....	7	73
Independents .....	—	4
	670	706

How the votes were cast is indicated by *The Times* analysis for Great Britain:—

COALITION.		NON-COALITION.	
Unionists .....	3,484,269	Unionists .....	365,982
Liberal .....	1,445,738	Liberal .....	1,298,808
N.D.P. ....	161,521	Labour .....	2,374,385
	5,091,528	Other .....	550,311
			4,589,486

A further analysis for Great Britain, given by a correspondent of the *Daily News*, is also worth reproduction:—

Party.	Votes.	Members actually returned.	Membership actually represented by votes.
Coalition Unionists .....	3,701,855	309	221
„ Liberals .....	1,590,480	133	95
Liberals .....	1,335,620	28	79
Labour .....	2,482,566	62	148
Unionists .....	269,689	50	16
Independent Labour .....	232,754	10	14
Independents .....	473,547	9	28
		601	601

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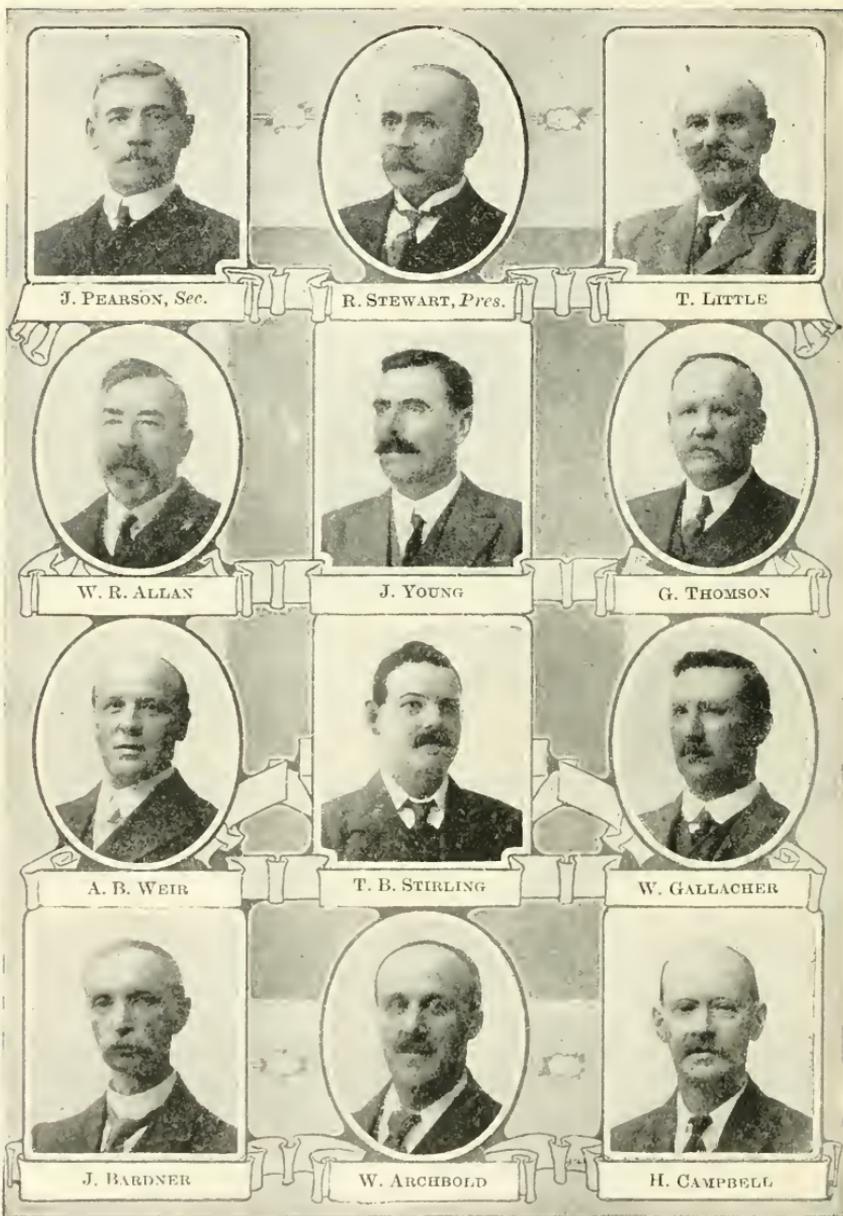
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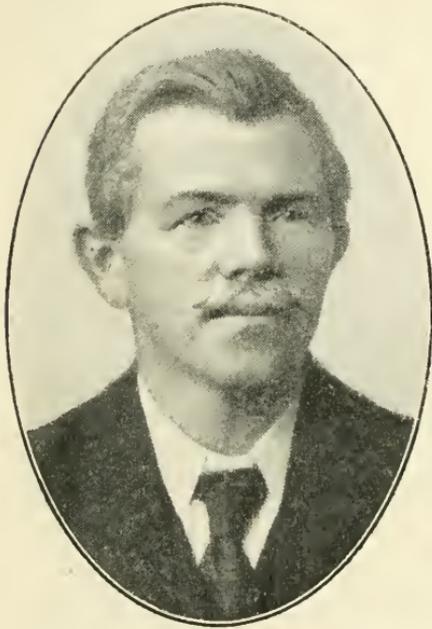
## NATIONAL FOOD QUESTIONS.

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

THE first thought in connection with an article on food in the *People's Year Book* is that of the great services rendered by the co-operative movement in connection with food difficulties, especially during the earlier years of the war and during the time when the competition of co-operative societies with private interests did something to keep down prices and to steady supplies

for the benefit of the consuming public throughout the kingdom. These services were at the time rather tardily acknowledged by some responsible spokesmen on behalf of the Government, but they were well understood by those who took any active part in dealing with the food difficulties which the war created.

It was an extraordinary thing to find later on that the prosperity of co-operative societies, in the sense of considerably increasing their membership, placed the movement at a disadvantage in securing food supplies. In the early days, the Food Ministry, acting upon advice, fixed for the purpose of distributing certain commodities a basis of supplies which handicapped co-operators in their efforts to supply the foods needed by the large number of



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

their new members. These were inequalities which it may be fairly said have now been removed.

I do not shrink from claiming that in spite of the inevitable mistakes and limitations of a temporary State Department, the Food Ministry has attained some measure of success for the purpose for which it was established. That success has, in large measure, been due to the assistance of co-operators, and to the ability and self-sacrifice of a considerable number of business men and Civil servants. I confess that in a Department so vast as the Food Ministry has become, there are very many things about which the Food Controller can know but little, and an amusing side, which probably will continue to the end, is presented when some individual consumer comes forward with a

complaint of a purely local or personal character with the expectation that the Food Controller must know everything about it.

As a fact, he can know little of the working of the local machinery and of that part of the vast food organisation which is entrusted to a considerable number of officers upon whose work our success depends. As your readers will, of course, conclude, his duties are of a higher Executive order, coming close up to the great business sides of the work of the Ministry. He has to deal with problems of purchase, imports, administration, and prices; with the apportionment of quantities of food between the Allied nations, and with most of those aspects of the food problems which become the subject of Parliamentary action. Nor do I fear to say that, despite any shortcoming or difficulty which may not have been removed, that there has been attained in this country the highest point of success reached in any country during the war with regard to food rationing, prices, supplies, and restrictions on profiteering. In no country have the people shown themselves more willing to submit to restraints and orders designed for their good, and in this work the help of co-operative societies has been of the greatest national value.

#### THE PROBLEM OF PRICES.

The first problem was that of prices; for as soon as any scarcity appeared it was natural that articles of food should travel quickly upon the same road of high prices as had already been reached by so many other articles in common use. And long before there was any serious shortage of food in the principal or staple commodities, the tendency to high prices in food appeared. A great deal of unrest was manifested, and many of the wage demands which were made found their roots in grievances relating to the high cost of living. The Controller had to take as the first branch of work the fixing of prices, and that was done either by means of definitely settling what the retail price of a commodity should be, or by the other method of limiting the profits which any retailer, trader, or dealer in food could make upon the service which he rendered. That policy has been challenged to some small extent, but it has been justified by its success, and it is now accepted throughout the country as a just and sensible course of national action. It was natural that at a time when foods were scarce traders in food should yield to the temptation of making enormous profits and of reaping unusual rewards for the service which they were rendering. Co-operators, traders, dealers in food, merchants, wholesalers, and retailers have, on the whole, fallen in loyally with the rather rigid conditions under which the policy of food prices has had to be applied, and with few exceptions they have submitted to conditions which are not only a departure from the common experiences of their trade, but conditions that were looked upon as almost totally un-English when they were first proposed.

#### STAFF REQUIRED.

As to the size of the staff required for the work, some 900 men are engaged by the Ministry in responsible posts for administrative and for executive duties, and for similar tasks about 150 women. To these two figures there must be added a considerable number of clerical and routine workers, making a total staff forming the headquarters machinery of the Ministry of about 4,350. Of the total number of persons who occupy responsible or administrative posts, about 80 of them are Civil servants, and 80 of them are voluntary workers. The rest are made up of business men of experience and capacity in regard to the businesses, trades, and foods with which the Food Ministry are concerned. In the case of the provincial staff, the Ministry employ 2,339 persons, of whom 1,305 may be described as higher officials, and the rest come under the head of subordinate staff, of which the large majority are women.

#### FINANCIAL PROCEDURE.

As to the financial methods, the Food Controller has to obtain Treasury sanction for all operations which involve either actual finance or which pledge the credit of the Ministry. In every Department there is an assistant Director of Finance, whose duty it is to consider every scheme put forward which involves expenditure and submit it to the Financial Secretary to be transmitted to the Treasury for their approval. It will be seen that we have not unrestricted facilities for spending the nation's money, and that effective checks are imposed. In all cases purchases are made by the agents of the Ministry in the countries of origin, after previous sanction by the Treasury. Considerations of finance and tonnage have thrown us mainly upon a single market—the United States—and we are indebted to America for the manner in which the whole people of that great nation have responded to the necessities of this country in regard to food.

The procedure followed may be put under two heads. A requisition is submitted to the financial branch by each section of the Food Ministry; that requisition roughly states the estimated requirements for the coming month. Secondly, an application is at the same time made through the shipping branch to the Ministry of Shipping for the provision of the necessary tonnage, both refrigerated and otherwise. The Controller must make certain of being able to complete the necessary preliminary transaction; he must make sure of being able to carry the food to this country. He has at times been disappointed owing to causes arising from totally unforeseen and ungovernable conditions.

#### HOW PURCHASES ARE MADE.

The purchases are usually made under contracts allotted by the American Food Administration, and the price paid under these

contracts is the same as the United States authorities pay for the supplies for their Army and Navy. It is important that the country should understand that these are the conditions as to price, and that we are therefore not subject to the influences and other effects of ordinary competitive trading conditions such as trading conditions are in times of real shortage. In respect to allotments of food by the United States Food Administration other than under our contracts, these are purchased in the open markets at the best current price that can be secured. The larger proportion of purchases, however, is secured to us by contract.

Tonnage was the fundamental problem for the Allies: how to allocate it so as to keep up the strength of the existing armies, to add to those armies other armies from America, and to supply the civilian needs of the vast Allied populations. That was the problem. The military tonnage requirements constantly increased, and the civilian needs increased also. Military needs come first; they are the most urgent, they cannot wait. Therefore, if the Allies were unable to receive all the food imports they desired for their civilian populations, it was because tonnage had so to be allocated that the armies came first. But, subject to the limitation imposed, our Inter-Allied Food Council can draw upon the entire world for food outside the limits of the Central Empires. This fact has been of profound significance for Germany.

A food controller can do nothing more unpopular than to raise food prices, so that only the pressure of facts amounting to compulsion can ever bring a controller to consent to increase the price of any article of food. But compulsion in the form of the real cost of food production is a guarantee for food supplies, and the prices fixed are the attraction which produce the required quantities. He would like always to avoid raising the price, but must consider the producer's rights as well as the consumer's interests. In thinking of the cost of food we must not forget its cost in money and toil to the producer. We must remember the labour for the necessary wholesaler, of the food distributor, of the shopkeeper and retailer, and all whose services are essential to a satisfactory table in each household. I fear that every section has looked at each separate subject of food only as it affects that section. A Food Controller must consider every point of view, and must not be influenced unduly by any one claim or interest, but reach a decision on grounds of general welfare and justice to all.

#### HOW PRICES ARE FIXED.

The Food Ministry is, in respect to prices, a Court of Arbitration. It determines the prices which must be fixed in justice to the producer and in fairness to the consumer. Industrial workers would do well to remember that before the war agriculture was an under-valued and

often an ill-treated service. Agricultural workers were, in the main, badly paid. They worked long hours, often spread over the seven days of the week and broken into several parts over the day and night. Farmers and farm workers had to face many risks and difficulties unknown to those engaged in industry and business. Our dependence upon food production at home has done something to elevate the status of agricultural life and to rescue the farm workers from the arduous and unreasonable conditions of his former existence. This improvement must continue without profiteering, and the prices to be paid for our food must afford to those who work in our fields at least as good food conditions relatively as men claim for themselves in shipyards, workshops, and factories.

I am not concerned merely to defend a department or to offer excuses on behalf of any Government, but I am concerned to show that the Food Ministry has, in an extreme form, applied in its four main branches the food policy of organised labour. That policy may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. Fixing prices to cheapen commodities.
2. Setting aside needless middlemen and profiteers.
3. Buying food in all parts of the world, and controlling distribution and transit.
4. Providing millions of money to reduce the price of bread.

The Food Ministry knows that its decisions can seldom be popular. Its action and policy must be in constant collision with the interests of sections of the people. Many of these people could help us by practical and definite suggestions, but they often treat us only to complaints and protests, just as though we enjoyed, instead of greatly disliking, the orders which we have to apply.

It was said that the retail meat price when it was put up 2d. was higher than was warranted by the price paid for cattle to the British farmer. The Ministry cannot find all the meat required at home so a balance has to be imported. There is cheap meat in Australasia, but it takes three times as long to send a ship to Australia as to the United States. The policy then is first to get as much home-killed beef as possible, next to exhaust the nearest, *i.e.*, the American supply, and lastly get the balance from the Argentine and Australasia. The Food Controller pools these supplies and retails them to British consumers at such a flat rate as will square accounts. The balance of the meat fund fluctuates according to the relative amounts of the different-priced meats put, so to speak, into the pool at various times.

#### NOTHING TO HIDE.

The loss on imported American meat was in part paid for by the increase of 2d. per lb. There is nothing to hide. So long as meat is rationed the retail price of the various cuts and joints must be the same, irrespective of the particular country from which the meat

happens to have been brought. Equality of opportunity to consumers is our motto. The rich man and the poor man have the same chance of getting home-killed, fresh, or imported frozen meat. Whichever they get the price is the same.

Differences in the retail prices of fresh—North American, South American, and Australian—meat would at once create queues and jealousy. It would not be possible to check the butcher if he charged the higher price for the lower grade meat; and at present purchasing rates the charge would have to be higher for the imported article.

There is another point which is undoubtedly causing considerable anxiety both among farmers and consumers. British farmers feel real anxiety at the reduction of our herds. They see themselves at the end of the war with depleted live stock apparently at the mercy of the Meat Trust. The danger is obvious. It is a danger not only to the British farmer but to the European consumer. It is a danger faced by the French whose herds have been reduced by nearly 20 per cent during the war, and by the Italians who claim to have lost over 20 per cent of their cattle during the German drive of 1917. It is a danger, too, to every European neutral, since their herds have been reduced more than our own.

It is feared, therefore, that we are becoming increasingly dependent on America, and that when the war ends that country may dominate this market. In less responsible quarters I observe it is also insinuated that somehow Mr. Hoover in some mysterious manner is controlling the Ministry of Food through the new Inter-Allied Food Council. Nothing could be more unjust.

#### MILK PRICES.

I received recently a letter of complaint that the new instructions with regard to local food committees have not given satisfaction to co-operative societies and to labour. This is not a conclusion which, on the evidence, I am able to share. In the same letter it was stated that the milk prices fixed for winter had given further concessions to farmers. The following is from my letter in reply:—

I do not know whether you have seen protests and criticisms with regard to my action in making labour and co-operative representation secure. I have been denounced as a "Labour partisan" by those who have trade and commercial interests to defend, and they consider that I have been very unfair to them. I do not fear to add that I would rather see Labour secure its representation in the usual way by its own organised strength through the various city and town councils, than get representation as a gift from any State Department. As, however, labour has not secured for itself representation which it ought to have in the municipal life of the country, a good deal has been done to secure for it representation with regard to local food affairs. As your complaint is more, I think, against form than substance, I will only add that considering the variety and number of questions dealt with by the Consumers' Council (a body consisting mainly of labour and co-operative representatives), the Food Ministry finds itself at variance with the Council only on rare occasions.

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### DEALING WITH PROFITEERS.

For some unaccountable reason there appeared in the newspapers a statement that I have said that there was now no profiteering. I do say that in respect to several of the more common and substantial articles of food, profiteering as we knew it, is impossible. The price of the article is fixed, as are the prices of the services for distribution. But, outside these limits, attempts at profiteering have been common enough, and accordingly steps were taken to strengthen the law to deal effectively with the profiteer; until now, a person who is proven to have charged above the legal prices may not only suffer fine or imprisonment or both, but can be compelled to return double the amount of any profit illegally charged. And in addition to our own efforts to deal with the profiteer, which I claim have not been ineffective, Mr. Hoover has on the American side done his very best not only in the interests of the American people, but on behalf of the Allies as well. In one of his earlier statements Mr. Hoover said:—

There is to me a fundamental principle in national war economics. I do not believe that any person in this United States has a right to make one cent more profit out of any employment than he would have made under pre-war conditions. I do not care whether this refers to the farmer, to the labourer, to the manufacturer, to the middleman, or to the retailer; to me, every cent taken beyond this standard is money abstracted from the blood and sacrifice of the American people.

I do not believe that extortionate profits are necessary to secure the maximum effort on the part of the American people in this war. If we are going to adopt that theory, we have admitted everything that has been charged against us of being the most materialistic, the most avaricious, and the most venal of people in this world.

If we are going to admit that the Government, in order to secure the supreme effort of its citizens in production, must bribe them with money to this extra exertion, we have admitted a weakness of American character, of American civilisation, and of American ideals that puts us on a plane below German *Kultur*.

Do not imagine that I am saying that prices and wages should return to the pre-war normal, because the incidence of war before we joined in it had lifted our costs of operation, and there must be compensation in every direction. Nevertheless, I hold that any man who has made more than his necessary living out of the cost the nation is giving in the blood of the boys we are sending to France should not stand out as a benefactor to his community.

### FOOD SUBSIDIES.

The subject of a general State Subsidy for all foods is too big to discuss here. I believe that co-operators are opposed to carrying this device very far. Subsidies are a costly and complicated process which in effect give relief mostly to the large number who do not require it. It is not too much to say that two-thirds of the consuming public are able to pay the food prices which have been reached, and a policy of subsidies thoroughly carried out would involve the country in the yearly payment of perhaps a hundred million pounds, only a small part of which would go to those in real need. But perhaps the

greatest objection to subsidies is the encouragement which they would give to the profiteer, for when the seller of food knew that prices were made safe at the expense of the national purse, there would be none of the restraints which existing conditions of trade impose. A minimum wage, fixed high enough to meet increased food costs, would be better than giving millions of a subsidy to millions of persons well able to pay for their food.

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## CAMPAIGN OF CONTROL, 1918.

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### JANUARY.

1. New maximum prices for oats products, home-grown rye released for sale or use, and Testing of Seeds Order comes in force. Slaughter-house keepers and occupiers become certificated, and cattle dealers and live stock auctioneers operate under licence. Farmers hold back stock because the Grading and Maximum Prices Order for Cattle is not to their liking.
5. Great week-end shortage of beef and mutton, many shops remaining closed all day.
9. Three thousands miners in the Burnley district suspend work as a protest against the unequal distribution of food.
15. Retail butchers compelled to take out a certificate of registration. Stocks of sterilised cream come within the scope of the Cream Order.
21. Permissive priority scheme comes into force as regards milk for children and invalids.
26. Margarine: All stocks taken over by the Food Controller.
28. Bread: First day of second 1-weekly supply to bakers of potatoes at special prices for use in bread-making. No sheep to be slaughtered except those bought in a market within 14 days.

### FEBRUARY.

1. Margarine: Wholesale dealers forbidden to trade without a licence, and retail dealers prohibited from trading without a certificate of registration. Bacon distribution scheme also begins, and the sale of lamb is prohibited until June 15th.
11. Food Control Committees (Margarine Requisition) Order revoked from this date and powers conferred on the Food Control Committees in regard to all foodstuffs similar to those already possessed as to margarine.
23. Importers of feeding stuffs, as well as wholesalers and retailers thereof, must hold licences.
25. London and Home Counties Rations Scheme comes in force.

### MARCH.

1. Clause 3 of the Grain (Prices) Order repealed, malsters' price of barley reduced, licence re Dorset Horn lambs ends, and every pig buyer in Ireland must hold a licence.
2. All wholesalers in milk (other than producers) come under licence, and milk retailers must hold registration certificates.
4. Sugar delivery in Ireland, either for wholesale or retail, not to be taken without authority.
15. Slaughter of male calves prohibited, except Ayrshires and calves as to which a special permit is granted.
18. National Control Tea: New flat rate in force. Sale of non-national Indian and Ceylon tea can only take place by consent of Food Committees and for special reasons.
31. The licensing system for wholesale traders in dead meat comes in force.

### APRIL.

1. Milk: Summer Prices Order comes in force. Condensed milk supplies taken over. Corruption Prevention Order comes in operation, and new restrictions on the beer manufacture come into force.
2. Raw Cocoa Order comes into effect, and Cocoa Butter Order comes into force as regard sale by retail.
7. Meat: General rationing scheme.
8. National Control Tea: Last day on which 90 per cent Control Tea may be sold in England and Wales; and henceforth no cocoa shell or any mixture other than chocolate containing more than 5 per cent cocoa shell may be sold at a price exceeding 6d. per lb.
14. Meat: Supplementary rations begin.
15. Margarine: Flat rate of 1s. per lb. comes into force in Scotland.
15. Potatoes: Compensation claims to be based on the minimum price of £5. 10s. per ton.
20. Oil and fats: their treatment licensed from this date.
22. National Control Tea: Last day on which 90 per cent Control Tea may be sold in Scotland; and from this date cocoa powder, other than Grade

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- A. is to be sold retail at the same rate as Grade B.
29. Margarine Prices Order comes into force in Scotland in regard to margarine bought before March 25th.

### MAY.

1. Milk: Reduced price.
4. Sugar: Director of Sugar Distribution notifies local committees of the value in sugar of index numbers.
5. Bacon: Purchases limited to shops at which customers are registered. Supplementary rations of meat granted for boys of 13 to 18 years of age. Two coupons only for butchers' meat.
8. Whiskey: Owners of proprietary brands to give notice to the Ministry of the name and price under which any brand was sold by them on November 30th. 1917.
11. Flour retailers must hold certificates of registration from this date, and so also must manufacturers of bread, flour, confectionery, biscuits, and cakes. As regards bacon, only the cuts specified in the Bacon, Ham, and Lard Amendment Order, No. 448, may be bought or sold other than by retail sale from this date.
13. Margarine: New Prices Order comes into force in Scotland in regard to margarine bought before April 20th.
14. Potatoes: New growers' price.
15. Potatoes: From this date the Ministry is ready to purchase from growers all sound ware potatoes in the United Kingdom at not less than £7 per ton for 4-ton lots f.o.r.
19. Sugar: Authorities and vouchers to be held by existing voucher-holders for 4-weekly period without application having been made.
19. Food Profits Act comes into operation, whereby severe penalties are imposed in case of excessive charges.
31. Potatoes: Existing licences (except for sale of seed) expire. Tenders for forward contracts to be received. Also licences for sweetmeat shops of over £10 rateable value to be applied for by this date.

### JUNE.

1. Cocoa Powder: Grade B price becomes applicable to all cocoa powders. Spirils: Regulations as to sales in bottles come into force. First day for sales of early potatoes at 3d. per lb. Gooseberries Order prohibiting picking, selling, or buying lapses in England and Wales.
3. Birthday Honours: Baron Rhondda, the Food Controller, is made a Viscount, and the Deputy Food Controller (Mr. J. R. Clynes) is made a member of the Privy Council.
8. Sugar: First day for issuing permits to applicants under the jam-making scheme. Two forms of permits, one for soft fruit and one for hard, the first valid from June 8th to July 31st, the latter from August 1st to September 30th.

10. Gooseberries: Lapse in Scotland of Order prohibiting picking, selling, or buying this kind of fruit.
15. Canned Meat: All traders, both wholesale and retail, having more than 25 cases of canned meat in stock (fish, poultry, rabbits, and game excluded) to make a return of stocks on or before this date.
16. Butter and Margarine: Increased rations (5oz.) in all districts. Also early potatoes to be sold at the reduced price of 3d. per lb. from June 16th to June 30th inclusive.
17. Confectionery: The use of milk preparations used in the manufacturing of any chocolate, sugar confectionery, or other sweets must be licensed. The Meat (Licensing of Wholesale Dealers) Order ceases to apply to Ireland. At the same time no person may sell by wholesale meat from Ireland to outside unless he has applied for a licence. The new Pickled Herrings Order comes into force.
17. Announcement of the ratification of an agreement with Sweden whereby the Allies secure the service of 260,000 tons of shipping and the import of Swedish paper and pulp in exchange for facilities of import of foodstuffs into Sweden.
18. Potatoes: Last day for advising Ministry regarding supplies of sound ware potatoes, in 4-ton lots, which the grower who has been unable to find a market wishes the Ministry to purchase at not less than £7 per ton f.o.r.
24. Board of Trade Order forbidding the sale or delivery of newspapers and periodicals on the terms known as "sale or return."
25. Price of coal raised 2s. 6d. per ton.
29. Cocoa Butter: Food Controller takes over all stocks.
30. Seed Potatoes: Revocation of certificates of registration granted by Food Control Committees to wholesale dealers under the Potatoes Order. Similar certificates granted in Ireland do not authorise dealings after this date.

### JULY.

1. Household rationing in the matter of fuel and lighting begins.
1. Wholesale delivery of new bread permitted only by licence. Early potatoes reduced in price to 2½d. per lb. from July 1st to July 15th inclusive. Licences to be held for sweet shops of over £10 value. In the matter of spirits, particulars concerning the strength and category and (in the case of sale in a public bar) the maximum price to be marked on the label attached to bottles, receptacles, or tins. Raw Beef and Mutton Fat Order comes into operation. Records of manufacture of home-melt tallow and greases to be kept from this date, and Sugar Permit No. 2 becomes available.

2. Tea: Last day for Food Offices sending in to the Ministry of Food a copy of Secondary Wholesalers' Returns.
3. DEATH OF LORD RHONDDA, THE FOOD CONTROLLER.
6. Butter: Wholesalers, blenders, and importers must be licensed.
6. NEW FOOD CONTROLLER: The Right Hon. John Robert Clynes (Assistant Food Controller) appointed Food Controller in succession to the late Lord Rhondda.
12. Bacon, Ham, and Lard: New Order takes effect for all sales in Great Britain other than retail of home-produced commodities or of those sold by an importer before June 28th.
13. Self-suppliers: Direct supplies by permit from this date. In the matter of sugar no supplies henceforward to be permitted to Welfare Centres at which children merely attend for medical or other advice.
14. Rationing: National scheme comes in force with new ration books. New tea distribution scheme comes into operation. No article of food to be served or supplied in any hut, hostel, canteen, or buffet which has not been licensed by the Food Controller. Lard rationed from this date.
15. Meat: Licences to be held by persons selling by wholesale meat which is in Ireland for delivery to any destination outside.
16. Early potatoes reduced in price to 2d. per lb.
23. Resignation announced of Lord Lee (Director-General of Food Production) on account of the Government's reversal of his policy.
26. Bacon, Ham, and Lard: New Order comes into operation as regards retail sales in Great Britain of home-produced articles and of articles sold by an importer before June 28th.
28. Canned Condensed Milk: New Prices Order comes into effect.

#### AUGUST.

1. Wholesale dealers in frozen fish must hold licences, and retail dealers therein must hold certificates of registration. Amended Schedule to British Cheese Order also issued. New Prices Order in force with reference to poultry and game.
17. Wholesale dealings in Government butter prohibited except under licence.
31. Canned meats sold wholesale or retail must have a label stating net weight.

#### SEPTEMBER.

1. Slaughter-house keepers must hold licences issued by the Live Stock Commissioners for the area.
15. Lard: New distribution scheme in force. Also new distribution scheme comes into operation for oil and fat compound.
24. Announcement of the appointment of a new Food Council by the Food Controller.
29. Butter and Margarine: New distribution schemes come in force.

#### OCTOBER.

1. Milk: Producer's price becomes 2s. 3d. per gallon till May, 1919; retail price 3s. per gallon till November. Consignments of tallow and dripping between Great Britain and Ireland come under licence.
6. Grocery Syrup: Distribution to Manufacturers Order comes into effect.
15. Oats: Wholesale dealers in Ireland must hold a licence.
21. Tea: Wholesalers must hold a licence.

#### NOVEMBER.

1. Sheep: Winter scale of prices comes in force.
2. Eggs: Wholesale dealers must hold a licence.
3. Jam and syrup retailers must have certificates.
18. New Food Committees take office.
22. Milk: Retail price raised to 3s. 4d. per gallon.

## INQUIRY INTO TRUSTS.

The Minister of Reconstruction (Dr. Addison) appointed early in 1918 a Committee with the following terms of reference: In view of the probable extension and development of trade organisations and combinations, to consider and report what action, if any, may be necessary to safeguard the public interest.

The members of the Committee are:

Mr. E. Shortt, K.C., M.P. (chairman).  
Mr. E. Bovin (national organiser.  
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and  
General Workers' Union).

Mr. J. H. Guy (costings expert,  
Ministry of Munitions).

Mr. J. A. Hobson (the well-known  
economist).

Mr. J. F. Mason, M.P.

Mr. G. Scoby Smith (Bolekow,  
Vaughan, and Co.).

Mr. W. H. Watkins (a well-known  
co-operator).

Mr. Sidney Webb (the sociologist).

Mr. Douglas Wenham (Wenham and  
Co., accountants, Birmingham).

## THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

### Rises During the War.

THE following information relating to the increased cost of living since the outbreak of war in August, 1914, is based upon Board of Trade statistics available in official documents dealing with the cost of living and copies of the *Labour Gazette* published during the war period.

Reference to the tables shows that the expenditure on food in the standard working-class budget, which was reckoned at 22s. 6d. in 1904, had risen to 25s. in July, 1914, and in the large centres of population it had risen to 52s. 9d. in May, 1918, an increase of 111 per cent during the period of the war. It will also be noted that the purchasing power of the sovereign spent on food has therefore been reduced to 9s. 6d.

In the smaller towns the increase has been 103 per cent, the cost of the working-class budget having risen to 50s. 9d., and the value of the sovereign spent on food reduced to 9s. 10d.

#### I.—THE BOARD OF TRADE STANDARD WORKING-CLASS BUDGET.

The following budget is based on 1,944 family budgets collected by means of an inquiry by the Board of Trade in the summer of 1904. The average weekly income of the families included was 36s. 10d., and the total expenditure on food 22s. 6d., being 61 per cent of the family income. There were three or four children in the average family. This expenditure on food at the prices of the summer of 1904 was distributed thus:—

	s.	d.
Bread and Flour.....	3	7
Meat (bought by weight) .....	4	5½
Other Meat (including Fish) .....	0	11¾
Bacon.....	0	11½
Eggs.....	1	0
Fresh Milk.....	1	3¼
Cheese .....	0	6½
Butter .....	2	1½
Potatoes .....	0	11
Vegetables and Fruit .....	0	11
Currants and Raisins .....	0	2¾
Rice, Tapioca, and Oatmeal .....	0	6
Tea .....	1	1½
Coffee and Cocoa.....	0	3¾
Sugar .....	0	11
Jam, Marmalade, Treacle, and Syrup.....	0	6½
Pickles and Condiments.....	0	3¼
Other items.....	1	9½
Total .....	22	6

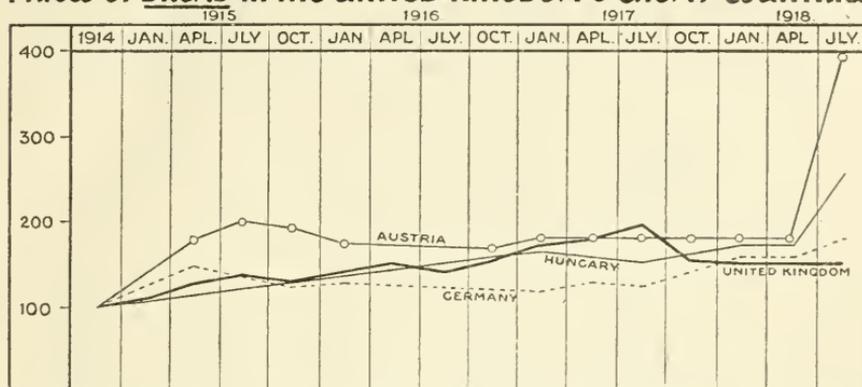
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II.—RISE IN COST OF LIVING AND THE REDUCED PURCHASING POWER OF THE SOVEREIGN SPENT ON FOOD IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE WAR.

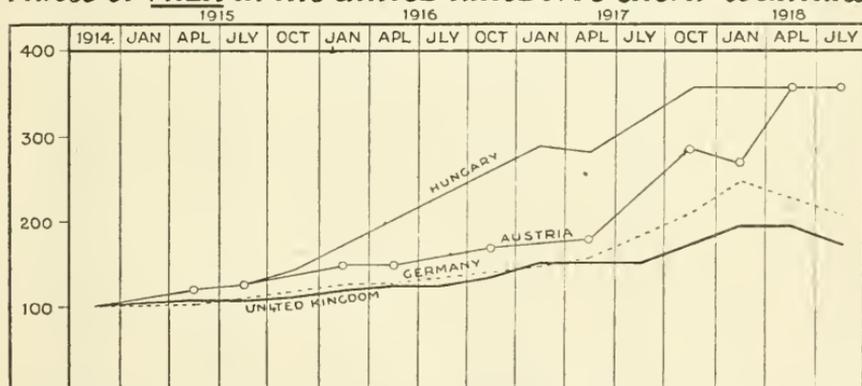
(Illustrated from the changes in cost of the Board of Trade Standard Working-class Food Budget.)

	Cost of One Week's Food for Family.		Percentage Increase above July, 1914.		Purchasing Power of a Sovereign Spent on Food.	
	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.
	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
February 1st .....	37 3	36 0	49	44	13 5	13 11
March 1st .....	37 9	36 3	51	45	13 3	13 9
April 1st .....	38 0	36 6	52	46	13 2	13 8
May 1st .....	39 9	37 9	59	51	12 7	13 3
June 1st.....	40 6	38 9	62	55	12 4	12 11
July 1st .....	41 3	39 3	65	57	12 1	12 8
August 1st.....	40 6	39 3	62	57	12 4	12 8
September 1st .....	42 0	40 6	68	62	11 11	12 4
October 1st .....	42 9	41 6	71	66	11 8	12 1
November 1st .....	45 3	43 6	81	74	11 0	11 6
December 1st .....	46 9	45 3	87	81	10 8	11 0
1917—January 1st .....	47 9	45 9	91	83	10 5	10 11
February 1st .....	48 3	46 3	93	85	10 4	10 10
March 1st .....	49 3	47 0	97	88	10 2	10 8
April 1st .....	49 9	47 6	99	90	10 0	10 6
May 1st .....	50 6	48 3	102	93	9 11	10 4
June 1st.....	51 6	49 6	106	98	9 8	10 1
July 1st .....	52 3	49 9	109	99	9 6	10 0
August 1st.....	51 3	49 6	105	98	9 9	10 1
September 1st .....	52 3	50 6	109	102	9 6	9 11
October 1st .....	50 6	48 3	102	93	9 11	10 4
November 1st .....	52 6	50 3	110	101	9 6	9 11
December 1st .....	52 3	50 3	109	101	9 6	9 11
1918—January 1st .....	52 9	50 6	111	102	9 6	9 11
February 1st .....	53 3	50 9	113	103	9 5	9 10
March 1st .....	53 0	50 6	112	102	9 6	9 11
April 1st .....	52 6	50 6	110	102	9 6	9 11
May 1st .....	52 9	50 9	111	103	9 6	9 10
June 1st.....	53 0	50 9	112	103	9 6	9 10
July 1st .....	53 6	51 6	114	106	9 5	9 8
August 1st.....	55 9	53 3	123	113	8 11	9 5
September 2nd ...	55 3	52 9	121	111	9 0	9 6
October 1st .....	58 6	56 0	134	124	8 6	8 11
November 1st.....	59 9	57 0	139	128	8 4	8 9

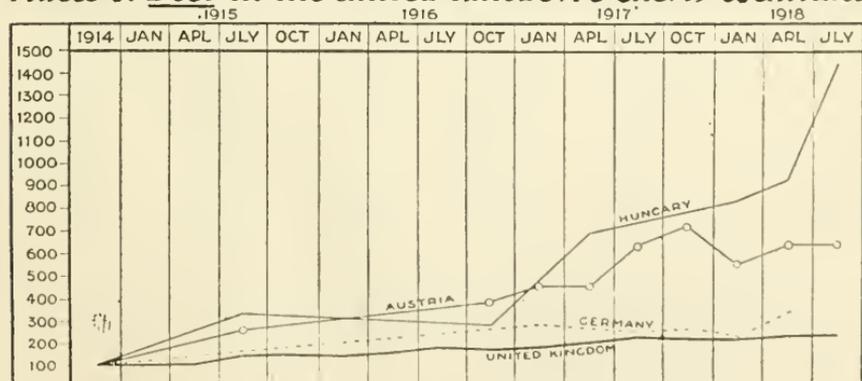
### PRICES OF BREAD IN THE UNITED KINGDOM & ENEMY COUNTRIES



### PRICES OF MILK IN THE UNITED KINGDOM & ENEMY COUNTRIES



### PRICES OF BEEF IN THE UNITED KINGDOM & ENEMY COUNTRIES



## 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

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

\* In 1916 and 1917 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-SIX YEARS.

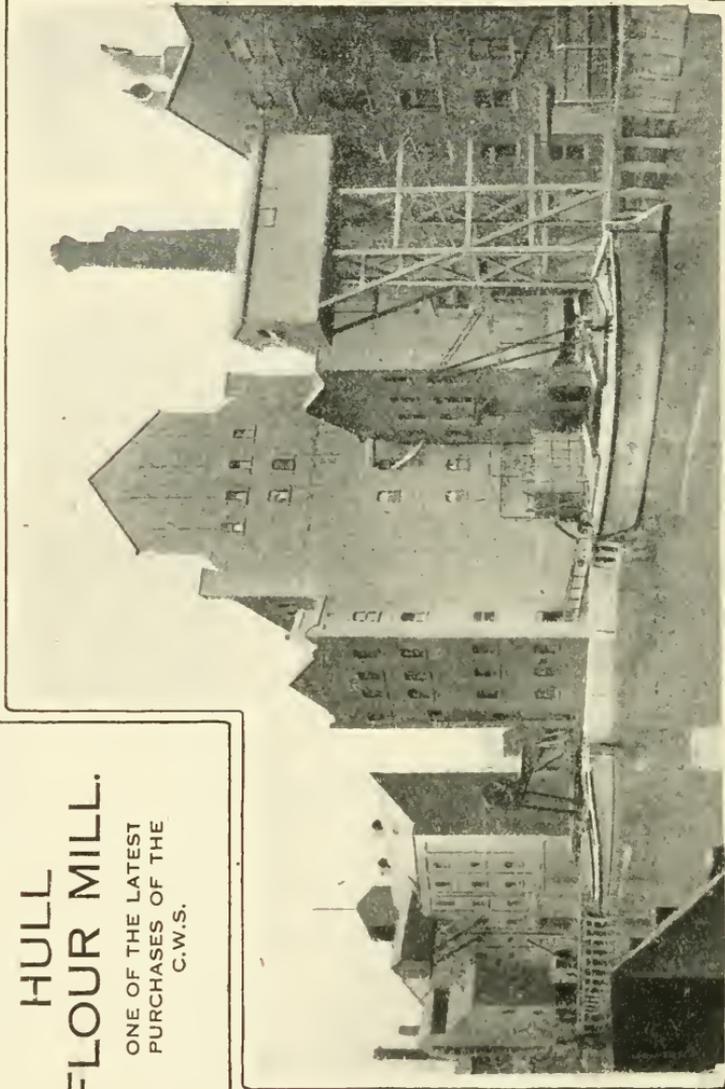
ON COST OF AVERAGE WEEKLY FAMILY ORDER  
BELOW FROM C.W.S. OFFICIAL RECORDS);—

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
1.63	1.66	16.60	59.48	86.75	..... 1896
1.12	1.45	16.37	61.47	83.94	..... 1897
1.23	1.49	16.17	63.85	80.81	..... 1898
1.09	1.55	15.86	61.00	84.59	..... 1899
1.12	1.60	16.94	63.69	81.02	..... 1900
1.19	1.73	17.26	65.18	79.16	..... 1901
1.73	1.61	16.89	66.50	77.60	..... 1902
1.20	1.75	16.63	65.37	78.94	..... 1903
1.19	1.97	17.87	65.39	78.91	..... 1904
1.17	2.17	16.98	67.56	76.37	..... 1905
1.18	1.83	15.42	67.28	76.69	..... 1906
1.34	1.92	15.54	67.82	76.09	..... 1907
1.33	1.86	15.65	70.21	73.49	..... 1908
1.29	1.82	15.13	71.79	71.88	..... 1909
1.16	2.03	15.45	72.38	71.29	..... 1910
1.25	2.05	15.81	71.00	72.67	..... 1911
1.44	2.08	15.85	74.28	69.46	..... 1912
1.36	1.69	15.77	72.45	71.22	..... 1913
1.44	2.28	16.14	76.65	67.32	..... 1914
1.98	3.16	21.26	99.06	52.09	..... 1915
2.12	4.31	25.18	107.13	48.16	.....*1916
3.80	4.83	28.82	132.63	38.90	.....*1917

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

# HULL FLOUR MILL.

ONE OF THE LATEST  
PURCHASES OF THE  
C.W.S.



## WORLD-WIDE WAR PRICES.

THE most striking effect of the war is the universal rise in the cost of living—a rise which has literally extended to every continent under the sun, and reduced the purchasing power of earnings in every part of the globe. Little recked the Labour movements in 1913 that the standard of living of the world's workers lay at the mercy of a eriminal lunatic more dangerous than all the inmates of the gaols and asylums of Europe put together. Fortunately for the world's future, the nations are determined to run no further risks, and once the league of nations is established no potentate on the globe will be in a position either to trouble the world's peace or to lower the standard of living from China to Peru by militarist devices. Meanwhile, though the war is practically at an end at the time of writing these lines, the end of abnormal prices still lies beyond the horizon. For the present, therefore, we had better limit ourselves to established facts and note how far the cost of living has reached in many countries, neutral as well as belligerent, after the European war has raged for four years and more.

Beginning with the United Kingdom, we find it officially recorded that the retail prices of the principal arteiles of food on November 1st, 1918, aggregated an increase of 133 per cent on the prices ranging in July, 1914, which means that in the month of November last it required practically £2. 6s. 8d. to purchase the range of foodstuffs which could have been bought for a sovereign in July, 1914. As regards large places and small, the particulars are as follows:—

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM JULY, 1914,  
TO NOVEMBER 1ST, 1918.

	Per cent.
Large towns (population over 50,000) .....	139
Small towns and villages .....	128
For the United Kingdom as a whole .....	133

The 133 per cent rise for the United Kingdom up to November, 1918, may be compared with the 105 per cent rise up to December, 1917.

### FRANCE.

Next, as regards France, which, whilst having a relatively larger population on the land, has laboured under the disadvantage of the German invasion: On the basis of the pre-war food budget of a typical working-class family in Paris, it is calculated that food prices in Paris in April, 1918, were 118 per cent higher than in July, 1914; whilst in towns of over 10,000 inhabitants (excluding Paris) the average of retail food prices in the first quarter of 1918 was 111 per cent, and in the second quarter 118 per cent above the level of July, 1914.

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### ITALY.

In Italy the rise has been higher than in France, according to the official computation based on the returns from 38 towns as regards the cost of the seven principal articles of food—wheat, bread wheat flour, macaroni, beef, bacon, olive oil, and milk. The calculation is that as between July, 1914, and April, 1918, the average level of prices had since risen by 136·3 per cent.

In Milan, as shown by the Municipal Bulletin, the cost of maintaining a working-class family of five had risen by 207 per cent up to August, 1918—the increased cost of food amounting to 251 per cent, of clothing 207 per cent, and of lighting 120 per cent.

### PORTUGAL.

In Portugal, according to the figures issued by the Ministry of Labour, with regard to the prices of articles of prime necessity (food, lighting, fuel, and washing materials) consumed by the working class, the general level of prices in Lisbon was in January, 1918, 223 per cent, and in February 233 per cent higher than the prices ruling in 1913.

### SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland (a neutral country completely encompassed by belligerents), according to the figures given by the Swiss Union of Consumers' Societies, the level of prices of foods and household commodities has risen since June 1st, 1914, as follows: June 1st, 1915, 18·6 per cent; June 1st, 1916, 39·5 per cent; June 1st, 1917, 79·7 per cent; and by June 1st, 1918, 129·3 per cent; thus each successive year has witnessed a greater comparative increase in the price level than the year preceding.

### HOLLAND.

In Amsterdam, according to the calculations of the Municipal Statistical Bureau, as based on the food budget of the families of the minor official class, the cost of food in June, 1918, was 86·8 per cent higher than in the year 1913.

### NORWAY.

In Norway the total expenditure of an average urban family (living on the moderate income of £83 per annum in 1914) on food, fuel, lighting, clothing, rent, taxation, &c., increased between July, 1914, and May, 1918, to the extent of 147 per cent, assuming the pre-war standard of living maintained. The excessive rise in certain directions is indicated by the increased cost of clothing amounting to 194 per cent, the increased cost of food to 164 per cent, and of fuel to 635 per cent.

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As usual, of course, the advance in wages lags far behind the increase in the cost of living, as shown by the figures issued by the Norwegian Central Statistical Bureau, according to which the rise in wages up to April, 1918, amounted to 90 per cent as compared with the advance in the cost of living reaching to 140 per cent. "As a result the majority of the working classes undoubtedly live in considerably poorer conditions than hitherto." "People are clothed more poorly and are putting up with smaller housing accommodation. Recently the dietary has caused physical weakness and other drawbacks to health. This is probably, in part measure, due to rationing, but in great part also to the fact that wages no longer permit a sufficient amount of food to be provided. The position, therefore, among the broad mass of the population is serious."

### SWEDEN.

In Sweden, as between July, 1914, and June, 1918, the increased cost of food, fuel, and lighting for a typical Swedish household on the pre-war standard amounted to 161 per cent in the principal towns taken collectively. In Stockholm, the capital, the increase amounted to 181 per cent. As between May, 1914, and July, 1918, the increase (as computed) in the cost of clothing amounted to 195 per cent; in the cost of fuel and lighting, to 186 per cent; in rent and rates, to 12 and 14 per cent respectively; other items of expenditure being estimated to have risen on an average by about 95 per cent; and the total increase of expenditure of a typical family (assuming the pre-war standard of living maintained) being estimated to have reached 119 per cent.

### DENMARK.

In Denmark the official statistics are based on the cost of maintaining a working-class family (five persons) in Copenhagen on the pre-war standard, entailing an expenditure of 2,000 kroner (£111) for food, clothing, rent, fuel, lighting, taxation, &c., and the official estimate is that it required 3,652 kroner (£202) in July, 1918, as compared with 2,000 kroner (£111) in July, 1914. Specifically speaking, the increase in the cost of food amounted to 87 per cent; in clothes, boots, and washing, to 160 per cent; in fuel, and lighting to 175 per cent; in rent and repairs, to 29.1 per cent; and in other items of expenditure, to 75 per cent; the total percentage increase in expenditure for the typical Copenhagen family being figured out at 81.8 per cent.

### ICELAND.

The figures issued by the Icelandic Statistical Department show that the prices of necessaries at Reykjavik had, on an average, increased to the extent of 211 per cent between July, 1914, and July, 1918. Food prices alone had increased 190 per cent, while the increase in the

price of petroleum amounted to 217 per cent, and the increase in the price of coal to the astonishing extent of 1051 per cent.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

For the United States there is an estimated increase of 66 per cent in the average of food prices as between June, 1913, and June, 1918. Amongst the rest, milk advanced 44 per cent; butter, 45 per cent; eggs, 55 per cent; bacon, 87 per cent; bread, 74 per cent; flour, 103 per cent; sugar, 72 per cent; and maize meal, 139 per cent.

#### THE BRITISH DOMINIONS OVERSEAS.

IN CANADA the cost of food in June, 1918, as compared with July, 1914, measured by the weekly expenditure of a family of five persons, showed an increase of 72·1 per cent; while the increase in the cost of food, fuel, lighting, and rent, taken together, amounted to 43·6 per cent. The figures are computed from returns of retail prices in sixty towns in the Dominion of Canada.

IN AUSTRALIA figures computed on the average retail price of food in thirty principal towns show an increase of food prices amounting to 30·5 per cent from July, 1914, to March, 1918.

IN NEW ZEALAND returns from twenty-five representative towns show the following increases from July, 1914, to April, 1918: Groceries, 40·5 per cent; dairy produce, 39·1 per cent; meat, 36·4 per cent; the average increase for all groups being 38·7 per cent.

IN SOUTH AFRICA the investigations of the Cost of Living Commission show that the estimated cost of the standard budget for the typical family of five persons in Cape Town had risen by 43·5 per cent up to June, 1918, compared with pre-war figures; or, including rents, the increase amounted to 36·2 per cent. In other South African towns the increase up to June, 1918, was as follows: In Kimberley, 24·8 per cent; in Pretoria, 26·7; in Johannesburg, 27; in Bloemfontein, 28·7; in Port Elizabeth, 33·9; in East London, 34·6; in Durban, 39·1; and in Pietermaritzburg, 41·9 per cent.

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### RUSSIA'S PEACE TREATY.

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According to Reuter's Petrograd correspondent, a report read to the Commissariat of Commerce gave the following summary of what Russia lost by the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk: 488,880 square miles of territory, 56,000,000 inhabitants (32 per cent of the whole population), 13,456 miles of railways (one-third of the whole). The losses also include 73 per cent of the iron production of the country, 89 per cent coal production, 268 sugar refineries, 918 cloth factories, 574 breweries, 133 tobacco factories, 1,685 spirit distilleries, 244 chemical factories, 615 paper mills, and 1,073 machine factories.

## CAN WE SUPPLY OURSELVES WITH FOOD ?

BY PROFESSOR JAMES LONG.

**T**HIS question, which I discussed at great length in the Annual of the Co-operative Wholesale Societies many years ago, is one of the most important in view of the fact that, owing to a serious shortage of shipping the nation has been rationed with various foods. Had we ever been in a position to provide the necessaries of life for ourselves—and I especially refer to breadstuffs, milk, butter, and cheese—we might have regarded the control of our eating and drinking with that equanimity which is so desirable an asset during a long and terrible war.

In the discussion to which I have referred I remarked that if the ports of almost any other nation were blockaded the people would still obtain food; but that, in the words of another, if the ports of this country were blockaded for six weeks a want would be felt, while in six months starvation would be the prevalent condition of the people. Had this fact been recognised by responsible Governments and had measures, which are now proposed, been taken then, it is not improbable that there would have been no war, or that while the losses of life and treasure which we have suffered would have been immensely reduced, victory would long since have been ours.

There is no longer a doubt about the fact that the Empire is able to provide food for itself. Many years ago I was shown by the official statistician in Ottawa that Canada alone possessed virgin land sufficient to supply us with wheat for all time. At a similar date Sir John Macdonald remarked to Mr. Parkin, a once famous advocate of federation, that when Great Britain could see for herself that her Colonies could feed her, federation might be expected on a trade basis, but, in the meantime, great risks would be run which might involve a dissolution of partnership. The war, however, has drawn us together, and the Empire may now hope to emerge from its pangs as one strong, united, and still more prosperous people.

The maintenance of the old country by the importation of food grown by its now strong and capable children is, however, not the object of this discussion. We have passed through an experience which no nation should encounter a second time, and we are naturally anxious to ensure that security during future years, which can only be obtained by producing sufficient food in these islands for ourselves. The question at once arises, "Can we produce this food?" While the answer is by no means impossible, it is hampered by conditions to which it is to be feared the people would never submit.

In facing the facts which are before us we are bound to regard certain questions as rocks on which public opinion would split if a

decision were asked. First, let me remark that we cannot under any conditions produce food in sufficient quantity to feed (1) our population and (2) the live stock which provides us with meat. The time will come when, if meat is still consumed under pre-war conditions, the civilised world will be unable, for want of land, to grow food to maintain both man and beast. Such indeed is the existing condition in the British Islands. If the land now utilised were solely employed in the production of grain and cognate foods for man, the problem would be solved, for its area is more than sufficient for this purpose; but when we consider the fact that of 26,987,000 acres of cultivated land in England and Wales, less than four million acres are employed in the direct production of human food, we are led to ask whether we are not paying a terrible price for our meat and our beer, for we are throwing away our security. Think of it and look at the facts:

ACREAGE, 1918, ENGLAND AND WALES.

Crops for Human Food.		Crops for Stock Food and Beer.	
	Acres.		Acres.
Wheat .....	2,556,740	Barley .....	1,501,830
Potatoes .....	633,640	Oats .....	2,778,980
Brussels Sprouts .....	10,690	Rye .....	141,580
Cauliflowers.....	9,240	Beans .....	250,690
Onions.....	8,070	Peas .....	150,100
Celery.....	3,000	Mangels.....	401,290
Rhubarb .....	5,750	Turnips.....	910,710
Small Fruit .....	65,680	Rape .....	60,100
Orchards .....	263,060	Lucerne.....	40,070
	<hr/>	Vetches.....	62,000
	3,555,870	Grass.....	14,588,000
	<hr/>	Clover, &c. ....	2,095,320
		Other Crops .....	200,000
			<hr/>
			23,180,670
			<hr/>

While it is true that small quantities of peas, carrots, barley, oats, and other crops are used for human consumption, it is equally true (and this fact increases the disparity), that enormous quantities of wheat straw and wheat offals are used under normal conditions for stock which, as we have seen, is already supplied with six-sevenths of the produce of the soil. It should be unnecessary to add that much of this food is consumed by cows for the production of milk, and for horses which are so essential to labour.

Let us now look at the initial question of bread, assuming that bread made from wheat is demanded—although it may be observed that we are the only nation in Europe which restricts its consumption to this particular grain. For some years before the war, it was shown by the late Sir John Lawes, who was the highest authority on the subject, that our annual consumption of wheat was 6 bushels per head. If we assume that our population numbers 46 millions, we

arrive at a requisite total of 276,000,000 bushels. If we place our average yield of wheat at the slightly optimistic figure of 32 bushels per acre, for better work has to be done in the future, we find that the area required for the production of bread would be 8,625,000 acres, whereas the total area cropped in the United Kingdom in 1918 was 2,760,059 acres.

#### WASTE IN MILLING WHEAT.

I am one of those who believe that prior to the war we were, in connection with food, an extremely extravagant people, and that bread in particular, which I see still wasted, could have satisfied a much larger population had it been more carefully used. There is, however, a question of still greater importance which I fully discussed in the London press in the early days of the war, when I persistently asked the authorities to reduce the consumption of wheat by the production of bread from the whole grain. According to the results of an inquiry made by the Highland Society, a quarter of wheat, weighing 50 lbs., produced 359 lbs. of fine flour, or, roughly, 71 per cent; but prior to the war the flour milled varied from 65 to 68 per cent, no less than 32 to 35 per cent of the most valuable portion of the grain being removed and supplied to the live stock of the farm. What this means one fact will explain. In order to produce one pound of live pig—or practically  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of meat, which is of less value as food than six ounces of bread—five pounds of corn are required under the system of feeding which pig owners prefer to adopt.

Now let us look into the question which I am anxious that the public should fully understand, although I believe that if an angel proclaimed this truth with a trumpet of silver, he would be treated with the greatest indifference by 95 per cent of his hearers who, whatever happens, will eat what, and as much as, they please. Thus we have to provide not what food is necessary for the purpose of feeding the people, but what they demand, and what they insist upon wasting. If in milling wheat 90 per cent of flour was extracted from the grain instead of the old proportion, it follows that in place of 276 million bushels we should require only 207 millions, while instead of over  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million acres  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions would suffice for our purpose of growing our wheat. Thus it appears to me that we waste two million acres of land for the sole purpose of supplying the public with their cherished white bread, which is not only less nutritious, as witness the value of wheat offals for stock, but of inestimable value in maintaining healthy condition, a fact which is fully recognised in almost all European countries but our own.

#### THE AREA REQUIRED.

We may now refer to the fact that, if on the basis of pre-war consumption, we were asked to grow wheat upon  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million acres of

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land we should be compelled to add nearly six million acres to the area covered in 1918. Thus:

	Acres of Wheat.
England and Wales .....	2,556,740
Scotland .....	79,237
Ireland (1917).....	124,082
	<hr/>
	2,760,059

This addition would be practically impossible with a cultivated area of arable land amounting to only:

	Acres.
England and Wales (1918) .....	12,398,730
Scotland (1918).....	3,452,156
Ireland (1917) .....	3,037,730
	<hr/>
	18,888,616

Although wheat can be grown on particular soils for years in succession with the assistance of artificial manures, the yield is smaller, while the system is one which few farmers could adopt, and which not one in a hundred would if they could. Nor could we abandon the system pursued in the rotation cropping of wheat land with any serious chance of success. Farmers who grow wheat once in a four-course rotation will not grow it twice if they can do better with barley and oats, especially in Scotland and Ireland, as the majority can. We are thus brought to the gist of the question—the fact that as wheat now covers nearly one-fifth of the arable land in England and Wales, and as we should require over treble the area now cropped to enable us to grow all we require, the land at our disposal is wholly insufficient, while any attempt in the direction of a marked increase by ploughing up grass, would disorganise the recognised system of farming.

Should the Government decide to plough up more grass to increase the tillage area with as much regard to oats, barley, roots, and forage crops as to wheat itself, they should be most energetically supported on the basis of the one fact, which cannot be too persistently published. I refer to the capacity of arable land to produce for human beings six times as much food as grass land, and that is the essential question. The loss of grass, whether for grazing or for hay, would be met by a large increase in the stock food produced under tillage. Each acre of grass would produce under arable culture, in the course of a four years' rotation, one acre of roots, one acre of clover or another green forage crop, and two acres of straw. As a whole the annual value in food of these crops would be more than treble the value of grass, for which reason more stock could be fed.

#### PLOUGHING UP GRASS.

The British farmer has realised during the last twenty years that pastoral farming involves the expenditure of less energy on his part,

and much smaller expense in labour and machinery than the culture of arable land, and he is too often unwilling to make the necessary change. When it was decided by the Government to require tenants to plough up grass land for wheat, second and third-class pastures were selected. This I regard as an unfortunate decision, however much it accords with the views of the agriculturist. The inferior pasture land is usually poor in quality because of the bad treatment of the past. The best pastures are at their zenith and would provide fertility for half a generation, producing tillage crops in great abundance. On the other hand, while the inferior pastures could be rapidly improved and made capable of feeding a larger head of stock, and producing more hay, they will not yield wheat which will nearly reach the average. I may refer to the results of farming poor land on a Warwickshire farm by Mr. Ernest Park, results which might be supplemented almost *ad infinitum*, and in most cases from my personal knowledge. On poor neglected clay land, skilfully manured under the guidance of Dr. Dyer, the yield of oats during nine successive years was increased by an average of 26 bushels to the acre—the largest crop reaching 96 bushels, against the English average of 40 bushels. After the first three years the crop averaged 80 bushels per acre. Mangels producing only 9½ tons per acre in the first year without manure, and 15 tons with manure, were increased to 48 tons. Grass was grown quite as successfully, basic slag increasing a 13 cwt. crop to 43 cwt.

There need be no fear of failure on the part of the farmer who increases his tillage. If he pays more for labour he may be reminded of the manufacturer who, with each fresh hand, increases his profits. Quite apart from the increase of stock food provided on the arable land, the hills, and downs, and mountain lands have yet to do their duty. Here again good work has been done by numerous farmers who, by the employment of mineral fertilisers, have so changed the character and weight of the herbage that the value has been increased from 2s. 6d. and 5s. an acre to 10s., 20s., and even 40s. I am persuaded that as the Swiss farmers are able to produce milk on the Alps at an altitude of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, where I have frequently seen their herds, so can we adopt the same course at from 600 to 1,200 feet—and still higher—especially if we adopt the plan of improvement already suggested.

We have now seen that more grass land can be ploughed for the production of grain, still further increasing our home production of bread corn, while simultaneously providing food for a much larger head of stock. This is a point of enormous importance inasmuch as thousands of farmers are wholly averse to the change, in the belief that by diminishing pasture land their stock would have to be reduced. I assert my belief that, by the adoption of the method I have suggested, we should be able to feed double the stock we possess. This

should be within the mark, although there are many who, without taking the pains to ascertain the facts, will think otherwise. If we accept 23 cwt. of hay as representing an average summer crop, or seven tons as an annual average yield of grass, and compare it with the average yield of a four-course rotation available for stock, we shall at once recognise the magnitude of the superiority of the yield on tillage land. At a modest computation this yield would be:

First and Third Year's Straw .....	3½ tons.
Clover or other Green Forage .....	15 to 18 tons.
Mangels and Swedes .....	20 to 40 tons.

However large the yield of grass it cannot approach these figures from the point of view of the weight of the nutritive food which each crop provides. Although hay can be increased from 25 to 40 cwt., clover and other forage plants will yield under pressure 20 or 25 tons, and mangels from 40 to 60 tons, still leaving room for an increase.

#### MILK AND ITS PRODUCTS.

It is quite unnecessary to retrace the old complaint of our insufficiency in the production of milk, butter, and cheese. I am of opinion that, with the advantages of largely-increased tillage crops and the cultivation of the uplands, cows could be kept in sufficient numbers to provide all the milk we require for consumption in its natural state, and for the production of a fair yield of prime butter and cheese. There is an insular prejudice among milk producers which has descended from their predecessors of forty years ago, when milk was a small by-product of the farm, that pasture grass is essential to the cow. Our fathers grazed their milkers because they were few; because there was little to sell, and because green forage crops were less known; and their cultivation regarded as unnecessary. Grass is not essential for the production of milk. I have seen the system under which cows are kept in too many countries to believe this for one moment. We obtain most of our butter from Denmark, where the cattle are fed chiefly on arable crops. In France tillage crops are almost universal in summer as well as in winter—if we except portions of Normandy. The Swiss farmer, the maker of a cheese known all over the world—except for the mountain pastures in the higher Cantons—feeds his cows in the stalls, while the farmers of America supply lucerne and green maize to a large and increasing extent.

I do not forget the fact that the British farmer was, under the old conditions, which I pray may never return, asked to compete in the production of butter and cheese against the world, with the result that he failed in his task. It is true that the best cheese paid him to make, but only the best. Immediately his quality fell to the second class he was beaten by imported products, and so it is that cheese production failed to increase. If I am asked whether I believe that we *shall* produce all the milk we require, my reply must be based upon

the line which the Government takes. Under the old conditions, as under the present conditions, we shall certainly not. In the first place we have not the requisite number of cattle. In the second, we have not approached in area the tillage land we require, nor grown the crops which it produces, while last of all there is no sign, where there should be sign, of any attempt to improve the upland grazings, which, as I believe, have *never been cultivated in English history.*

If dairyfarming is to become as productive as the Government asks for corn production at the hands of the corn farmer, it must receive better encouragement. If we are still to rely upon Denmark, Holland, France, America, and our Colonies for our butter and cheese, it will be well to know it at once, for the nation could much better reduce its consumption of meat than lose its butter and cheese, which, so far as home production is concerned, are not made for the million but for those who can afford to pay the best price. At present prices milk pays the producer handsomely, but at a ruinous cost to the consumer. When, after the war, prices approximate to pre-war figures, as some must, farmers will demand exceptional treatment if they produce the milk we conditions return unable to compete petitors, and we shall security for our sup- cheese.

The Co-operative  
Wholesale Society Ltd.  
own 32,649 acres of  
agricultural land in  
England.

It may be well to point to the fact that the production of milk is one of the most fascinating and profitable branches of the agricultural industry, even under present conditions. In pre-war days the cost of maintaining a cow during winter averaged 1s. 3d. per day, while during summer it cost about 3s. a week, or 66s. for the season of 22 weeks. This brings us to a total annual sum of £16. 8s. 6d., whereas the return, based on an average yield of 650 gallons of milk, below which no cow should fall, and at a cost of 9d. a gallon would be £24. 7s. 6d., showing a gross profit of £8 per cow—a sum amply sufficient to cover labour, conveyance, and minor charges which would be reduced by a deduction of the value of the annual calf. In these days the question assumes a different aspect, although grazing is as cheap as before. Labour is much more expensive, while foodstuffs are costly in the extreme. I have, however, made a calculation on the basis of a war crop of hay weighing 30cwt. to the acre and costing £4. 10s. to produce. In a similar way I assume that by good farming the yield of turnips is 20 tons, and of mangels 30 tons to the acre, the gross average expense of production reaching 10s. a ton. At this rate a cow fed in winter on 56lbs. of roots, 12lbs. of hay, and 12lbs. straw, the combination forming the bulkiest and the coarsest

part of her ration, would cost 1s. 2d. a day, leaving a shilling to fourteen pence to cover the cost of the cake and meal, which it is usual to provide for a deep-milking cow, although this food would be quite unnecessary when she is dry. It appears to me that whether we discuss the production of milk during war or during peace, the reply is the same, for success attends the work of those who conduct their business on the right lines. It is precisely the same with the production of cheese, and in some cases with the production of butter, the results of which depend not only upon the skill of the maker, and the cost of the food, but, as Dr. Watney has proved, upon the breed of the cow. On this point one fact must suffice. The average yield of butter of British cows is about 160lbs. in a year. At the great milking competition for the chief dairy breeds, held at Chicago, which I attended, one group of 25 cows were milked for 90 days, their yield averaging 290 gallons, or considerably more than an average cow in this country produces in six months. At the later competition at St. Louis a similar number of cows averaged for the same period 385 gallons, while the yield of butter was 176lbs., or 16lbs. more than our average for twelve months. The whole secret of the success in each case was in the selection of the stock from which these cattle were bred. Had the Government adopted this course when they formed the Development Commission, this country would have now been in possession of many thousands of milk pedigree cows and of a sufficient number of bulls to have covered the country. The two leading cows at St. Louis each produced 330lbs. of butter in 120 days, one of the pair secreting milk at the rate of 3lbs. per hour during the whole period. Such are examples of what is possible with us.

#### THE MEAT SUPPLY.

While I have endeavoured to show that by taking the necessary steps we can keep a largely-increased number of cattle and sheep, I hold the opinion that so long as we continue to be a great meat-eating nation we shall not be in a position to produce all our mutton and beef. Space does not permit of a full discussion of this subject, but if we make a comparison between the average consumption per head of our people and the average home supply we shall at once be struck by the enormous disparity—a disparity which is crystallised in the imports. It is possible, however, to deal somewhat concisely with one branch of the meat question. I refer to the production of pork and bacon, which costs the country so many millions a year. If the production of pigs is left solely to the discretion of farmers there is no hope of any material increase in their number; but if steps are taken to ensure production with that earnestness and enterprise which was exhibited in relation to the production of corn, all might be well. The pig industry could be developed so extensively and so rapidly that in a short time it would be possible to produce the whole of our

bacon, abandoning importation altogether. If we are to provide our own food, those to whom this duty is entrusted must be faithful in its discharge; but the payment they receive in return must be just. Farmers cannot enforce conditions; it is not a question of wages with them, but of rents and their men; nor can they be driven, although they can be led.

The first point to impress upon the whole landed community is that pigs pay when in good hands as well as, possibly better than, any other stock on the farm. While the second is that four-fifths of their food can be grown on the farm in the form of grass, potatoes, mangels, beet, parsnips, carrots, artichokes, and swedes. I am aware that long practice in grain feeding has led pig breeders to believe in nothing else. Let me, however, take one example in explanation of what I mean. At harvest time a large proportion of the food material of a plant, such as barley, is concentrated in the seed. Were the plant eaten before the seed was formed the animal consuming it would obtain the nourishment which later on would be furnished by the seed. It would, however, obtain something more—the indispensable fibre and the water which form part of the green plant. It is precisely the same with the potato and the roots to which I have referred. An average potato contains about 22 per cent of nutritive food in combination with some 75 parts of water. On the other hand, the most popular pig food—barley meal—contains 66 per cent of nutritive food. Thus, weight for weight, one pound of barley meal should be equal to 3lbs. of potatoes. In practice, however, it is essential to recognise the deficiency of the potato in protein, and so we assume that it requires  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4lbs. to make it equal to 1lb. of barley meal. Let us suppose that the ration of a pig is 4lbs. of the meal per day, or an equivalent of 14lbs. of potatoes. If in mixing the meal in a pail, which is a customary plan, a gallon of water is added, we obtain a mixture weighing precisely the same as the potatoes, and we might, therefore, be disposed to regard it as a poor food owing to the large proportion of water. It is because of our ignorance and our too great willingness to accept an old practice as gospel, and to regard a new practice with suspicion and distrust, if it is the result of scientific teaching, that we have so frequently failed. Thus I would impress upon all concerned with this question the absolute folly of relying upon foreign nations for a class of food which we are able to produce so much cheaper and so much better. It is England which has supplied the stock from which Denmark and other countries have bred the pigs which they cure and send to us. It is England, too, which by the purchase of butter from Denmark has enabled her to provide the skimmed milk of her factories, the best of all foods for her pigs. We have been engaged for 40 years in building the national industry of this little country and neglecting ourselves, and we have bitterly paid for it.

### POULTRY AND EGGS.

The poultry industry, which a few years ago was a mere hobby—a combination of fanciers engaged in sporting competitions—has emerged into a national asset. Instead of importing hundreds of millions of eggs, and hundreds of thousands of fowls for the table, we should produce all. The possibilities of the home production of eggs and poultry are as great as the possibility of producing pigs. While I have not abundant faith in the efforts of Governments which have failed so egregiously in the past, I am convinced that unless there is ampler encouragement given to this branch of the farming industry, as well as to others which I have mentioned, what could be done will not be done. To the farmer poultry should appeal far more than to the amateur who occupies little or no land, apart from his garden; yet it is this man who leads the way with none of the advantages which the farmer possesses, with his waste in stables and stockyards and his harvest and grass fields. I have visited farms on which there are numbers of hens of excellent type, but these are not one in a hundred, the ninety-and-nine possessing but few, and these of a nondescript character, or no hens at all. If we are to produce eggs and poultry there must be a national organisation with some authority at its back, while the members of the directing body must regard it as a duty to formulate a propaganda on the lines of “Security for our food supply.” Briefly, the production of food in these islands must become a form of national religion, in which every man is a pledged believer. It is not enough to reconstruct a system; that system must be worked. Faith is faith only when there are acts of faith.

We must build a bigger England, and this can be done by the reclamation of waste land in almost every county, especially that which is near the coast. There is no land so poor as to be non-productive, and although it may not pay a rent it should still be used. I have seen thousands of acres of mountain land in Ireland which have been let at sixpence an acre for grazing, and have yet been abandoned, while the poor people adjoining were unable to obtain an acre under any conditions to help them to live. The system that prohibits the use of land which will not pay a rent is a wrong system. Land which will not produce sufficient to pay for the labour involved in its cultivation, and the interest of the capital employed, will not be cultivated. Where, however, the food produced exceeds these combined values, rent commences, and not before, for there is nothing with which to pay it. Unless uncultivated land which can be made productive is cultivated it should be taxed. I know of no other course of compulsion which is likely to be so decisive as this. Under existing conditions, land which is poor owing to years of bad management, pays the least to the rates, while the best cultivated land

pays the most. It should be quite the reverse if all the poor land in the country is to be put to the best use.

If the Government accepts the recommendations of the Reconstruction Committee, and pursues the course they have devised, landlords will be compelled to manage their estates with the object of insuring thorough cultivation of the land and the production of maximum crops, while tenants will have no option but to give up their farms to better men than themselves if they fail to make the most of the land in their occupation. Already over 500 farmers have been removed from their farms by the County Agricultural War Committees owing to their indifferent work, while land amounting to tens of thousands of acres has been taken from some farms and added to others in order that it may receive greater attention. This is all to the good, but it may be observed, nevertheless, that if corn falls in price to such an extent that it cannot be profitably grown, owing in part to the increased cost of labour and of every commodity in which labour is involved, farmers will decline to grow it on the requisite area. I am unable to see how they can be compelled to do this even by command of the State. In my judgment, although I was opposed to a duty on corn under pre-war conditions there is no other course than that which the Committee propose—a minimum price of 42s. for wheat, and 23s. for oats, leaving barley to take care of itself. It is to be feared, however, that these cereals will remain at higher figures than the suggested minimum for some years. There is, however, another consideration to which I must refer: A State subvention to farmers who are now compelled to pay a higher wage must not be made the occasion of raising rents. Unless some steps are taken to prevent the adoption of this course there are owners of land who will insist on claiming their share. What are those steps to be? There will always be competition for land, and under the new (and it is to be hoped more prosperous) regime, prospective farmers will be induced to bid rents which cannot be paid, with the result that many tenants will be deprived of their business and their home, for the sake of the new man whose ability to pay what he offers is a question yet to be solved. The misfortune is that there are more farmers than farms, and I believe that in future years, as intense cultivation is better understood and practised, the difficulty will be solved by reducing the size of the large farms, many of which are not, and cannot be, made the most of under the existing system of cultivation.

It is significant that although the Empire can amply provide for us, as for itself, the fact is insufficient for our security, owing to the distance of our Colonies across the seas. We must look wholly to ourselves, and till every acre of land in our possession, although it may never have been tilled before. I am intimately acquainted with the West of Ireland, with portions of Scotland and Wales, and with

almost every English county, in some instances through and through. It seems to me impossible, therefore, that one to whom agriculture has been the life and charm of a long career, and to whom opportunities have been afforded, which were almost unique, should fail to diagnose the true state of the case. Thus I arrive at the conclusion that while it is possible to extend our farm lands by nearly a million acres, to convert at least five millions of rough grazing uplands into useful pastures, and to convert another two million acres of grass into tillage land, we cannot produce more than 50 per cent of our normal consumption of grain for the one reason that we insist on providing food for our flocks and herds before we provide for ourselves. Nor can we produce all our meat even then. Pork, bacon, sugar, milk, eggs, poultry, fruit, and vegetables we can grow if we will, but in practice we decide that we won't. It rests not with nature, nor legislation, and not with the farming community, but with the people themselves—to the majority of whom meat and strong drink appeal with much greater force than the simpler, cheaper, and much more valuable foods, all of which could be grown in these islands.

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## THE NATIONAL KITCHENS MOVEMENT.

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THE establishment of national kitchens and restaurants is one of many measures so accordant with commonsense and public utility that the very idea of such in normal times was scouted as rankly Utopian and as altogether incompatible with the conditions of progress in the best of all possible worlds. In the general *bouleversement* of stereotyped ideas brought about by the war, however, the Utopianism of the pre-war period has become the practical politics for to-day, and probably for to-morrow and the day after. When Governments have so far descended from their Olympian altitudes as to provide us with daily bread, national tea and sugar, and standard clothing, and concern themselves with our rations of fuel and wants of all kinds, the circumstance may be regarded as an outward and visible sign of a far-reaching change of conception with regard to social affairs and to the relations of the State and to the nation at large. For years in succession the trend of events has been to impress the nation with the conception that the public welfare is the supreme law, and that the State is an essential factor in the promotion of the general weal: and whilst numerous institutions can only be justified as war-measures, others have shown themselves of such public utility as to ensure the probability of their permanence when peace-time comes round. National kitchens and restaurants may be said to rank in this category.

In view of the success of the movement, due credit must be given to the late Lord Rhondda for adopting a good idea, and for establishing

the National Kitchens Division of the Food Ministry and so setting the movement officially going and giving it a national status. Since then we have had the Food Ministry carrying on a public campaign on behalf of Food Kitchens, where formerly it was members of the public who had to institute a campaign to secure attention to the possibilities realisable by the methods of public organisation.

#### THE ORGANISATION AND AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT.

To-day, local authorities are endowed with the authority and the means to set up National Kitchens on the public behalf; but the circumgyration required to bring all this about is indicated by the details recorded by the Assistant Director of the National Kitchens Division:—

Lord Rhondda believed in decentralisation. He believed in giving a local authority power to manage its own affairs. In regard to kitchens, power was given to all local authorities to establish and maintain kitchens, and authority was vested in them to delegate any of their powers to any committee that they might appoint. The Local Government Board were approached, and they also issued an Order to local authorities authorising them to use money from the rates if necessary for the establishment and maintenance of kitchens. Up to that point the position was perfectly clear. Then came the question of the capital cost. The Treasury were approached several times and eventually granted two concessions. The second was very advantageous and was transmitted to all local authorities in the country. It was that the Ministry would advance the total capital cost of the kitchens as a loan free of interest, to be repaid in equal annual instalments spread over ten years.

The policy of the Ministry was then to bring home to the local authorities exactly what they should do. Steps were taken by letter, by circular, and by personal interview, to explain the details of the various Orders and the methods by which the Ministry considered the kitchens should be run. It was laid down as a cardinal principle that the kitchens were to be self-supporting and run as a business proposition, and there was to be no air or semblance of charity about them at all. The quality of the food to be supplied was one of the most important questions to be tackled; others were to avoid the mistakes of the past, to avoid anything in the nature of glorified soup kitchens, and to avoid the faulty methods apparent in the German kitchens, where food is supplied in bulk, so that nothing short of starvation has driven the German people to the kitchens. Our idea was that everybody in this country was entitled to facilities for getting good food in national kitchens, regardless of the individual's means, and that was one thing insisted upon in the training of cooks and supervisors who had to take charge of the kitchens.

One of the ideas of the National Kitchens Committee was that through the medium of the kitchens, if they were properly run, people—not only the customers, but also the numbers of small caterers throughout the country—might be brought to see that it was possible to give people appetising and nourishing food at a price that would enable them to make a profit, and still be reasonable to the customers. . . . The National Kitchens Division took up the standpoint that there was no reason why the working-classes should not be better fed than they were now. The Ministry felt that it could be done, and by setting up some kitchens which were run entirely by the department, they had proved that it could be done on a commercial basis of making a profit. They frequently received letters from different parts of the country saying that there was a great demand for national kitchens in

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that particular area. If they had an official available they sent him down to remind the local people of the powers which they had got, and did all they could to induce those people to put their powers into operation.

### THE NEED OF PUBLIC INITIATIVE.

With the necessity of public initiative, as emphasised by the Assistant Director of the National Kitchens Division, all will agree:—

But after all, the success of the development of the national kitchens as a business proposition depended entirely upon the public. It was strong public opinion which enabled them to be started, and it was public opinion and action which would enable them to be run successfully after they were started, so that in the case of any particular trade or area where there was a distinct need for cooked food that was not at present available, the first step was to move the local authority. At the same time they were dealing with the local authority, they could deal with the Ministry.

### LONDON EXPERIMENTS.

The national kitchens, established as models by the Ministry of Food and by way of experiment, have proved an unqualified success. Thus, with regard to the Kitchen at Poplar, it was stated after the experiment had been tried for three months that the Kitchen had been a success from the very beginning; every week showing a balance of income over expenditure, and the last week a profit (as ascertained for municipal purposes) equal to over 50 per cent. on the capital outlay; whilst evidence of the popularity of the Kitchen is afforded by the fact that from 1,000 portions per day served in the first part of the period named the number increased to over 2,300 before the end of three months. The scale of charges is indicated by the following particulars:—

- Soup, 1d. per half-pint, and per pint, 1½d.
- Cooked meat, entrees, patties, pies, puddings, or slices from the joint, half a coupon, 4d. and 6d. Patties, &c., 4d. each.
- Two tickets for half a coupon available on different days.
- Vegetables, 1d. per portion.
- Fish, 3d. per portion.
- Vegetarian dishes, 3d. per portion.
- Sweets, 1½d. per portion.
- Cup of tea and scones, 1d.
- Coffee, 1d. per cup.
- Scones, ½d. each.
- Bread and butter, ½d. per slice.
- Jam, ½d. per portion.
- Pickles, ½d. per portion.

A success even greater than that of the Poplar Kitchen has been the national restaurant established in New Bridge Street, London, by the Ministry of Food. During the three weeks ending on August 24th, the net profit amounted to £50. 14s. 5d. for the first week, to £70. 13s. 9d. for the second, and to £73. 9s. 4d. for the third: deductions being made for full rent, management charges, reserves for renewals,

interest on capital at  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. and depreciation at 10 per cent, to arrive at net profit: "The rate of £70 per week, which appears to be maintainable, would be equal to 70 per cent per annum on the capital outlay, and would repay this within eighteen months."

During the third week the number of persons served with meals reached 15,525;  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. being the average receipt for each meal, while the cost worked out at a trifle under  $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. after allowance for all charges—the resultant net profit being 1.136d. per meal.

#### CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS.

From the experience gained in the Poplar enterprise, the Ministry of Food has emphasised the following conditions as essential to success:—

The premises must be in a good position, and not in a back street, nor in a basement which necessitates descending many steps to arrive at the kitchen. The interior must be bright and attractive.

The plant and equipment must be modern and efficient, and not a collection of old gas stoves.

The cooks and the rest of the staff must be suitably attired.

The menu must be varied, and the food of the best quality, prepared by experienced cooks who can produce the best results in the most appetising and attractive form, regard being had at all times to nutritive values.

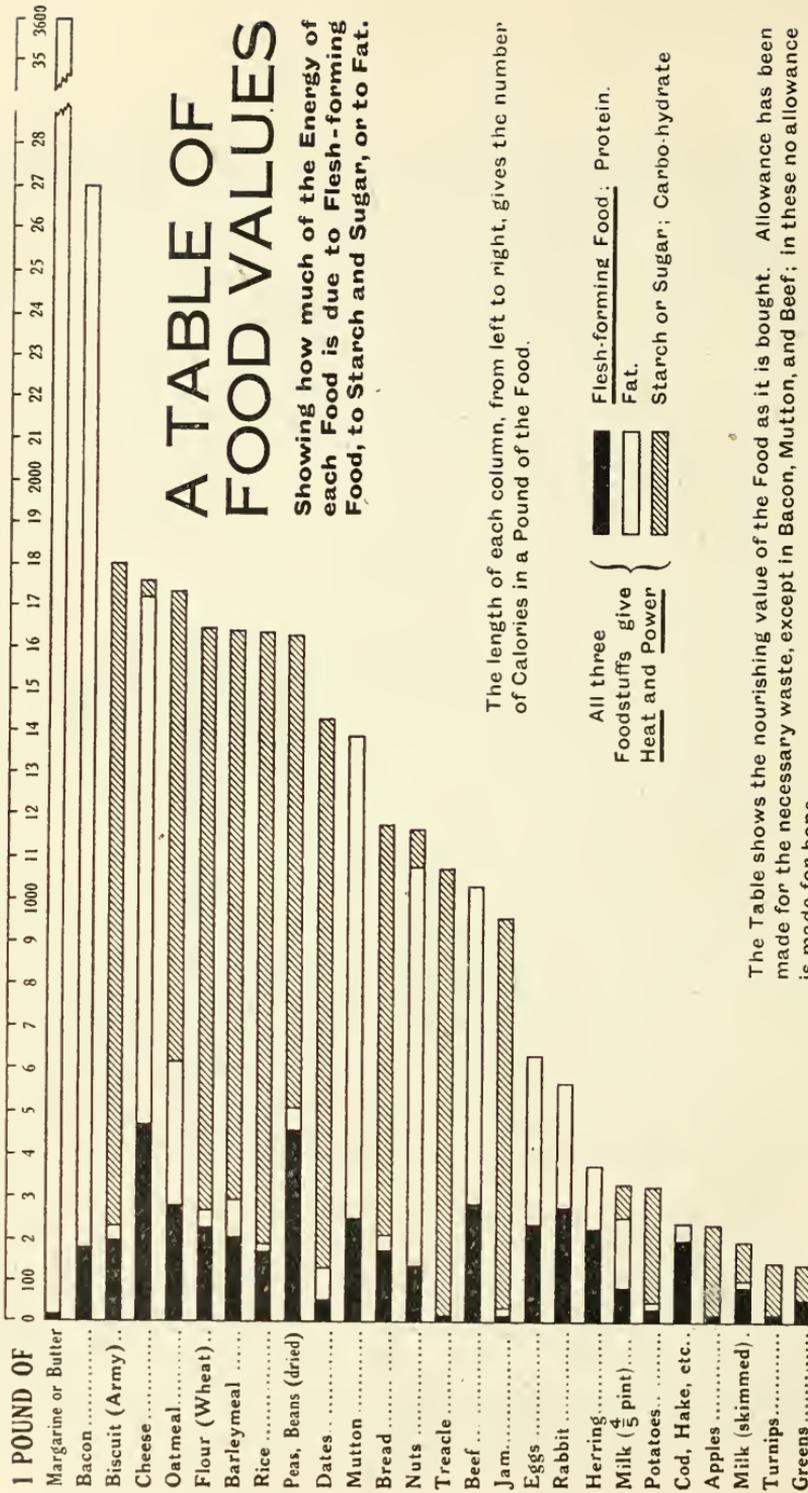
Granting these conditions, it is possible for local authorities to secure such benefits and advantages as a national profit in the saving of food and fuel, a municipal profit which may be applied in affording additional quantities of cooked food, a health profit in the provision of better food for the people, and an individual profit in the saving of time and money to the patron.

#### THE GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT.

Following on the London experiments, the plans of the Ministry of Food in September last embraced the establishment of national model restaurants in Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle, and Brighton. And how far the movement had grown by that period is indicated by the official estimate of 623 kitchens and restaurants serving approximately a million portions of food per day, and by the fact of schemes for about 150 more having been approved or being in course of preparation, London coming at the head of a lengthy list with schemes for an additional 36, Yorkshire next with schemes for 29, and Nottinghamshire the third with plans for 22.

All the same, circumstances clearly show that infinitely more might be done. When one considers the huge industrial areas in which no effort has yet been made, one realises once again the passive resistance to public enterprise characteristic of local authorities preponderantly representative of profiteering interests—a resistance which nothing can overcome but uncompromising pressure on the part of the public, in which connection it is clearly the duty of the local labour movement everywhere to give the public a lead.

FOOD UNITS OR CALORIES.



# A TABLE OF FOOD VALUES

Showing how much of the Energy of each Food is due to **Flesh-forming Food**, to **Starch and Sugar**, or to **Fat**.

The length of each column, from left to right, gives the number of Calories in a Pound of the Food.

All three Foodstuffs give Heat and Power

Flesh-forming Food: Protein.  
 Fat.  
 Starch or Sugar; Carbo-hydrate

The Table shows the nourishing value of the Food as it is bought. Allowance has been made for the necessary waste, except in Bacon, Mutton, and Beef; in these no allowance is made for bone.

## STATISTICS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

**E**MBRACING, as it does, the whole industrial co-operative movement in the United Kingdom (a minor fraction excepted) the Co-operative Union is very much more than a mere representative organisation of the great movement; whilst its mammoth figures constitute it the Titan amongst the world's co-operative movements—a Titan whose colossal proportions at the close of 1917 are summarised in the membership approaching 4,000,000, in the share and loan capital of nearly £70,000,000, in the trading turnover of £225,000,000 (in round figures), in the net surplus of over £18,000,000, in the army of employés mustering over 162,000, and in the collective wages and salaries bill of over £12,000,000 for the year.

The specific ascent of figures during 1917 is denoted by the increase of membership (269,135), by the increase of share and loan capital to the amount of £2,006,340, by the sales increase of £27,617,473, by the collective increase of employés to the number of 3,708, and by the wages bill increase to the amount of £1,248,788. Unfortunately, however, the figures also point to the presence of the proverbial fly in the ointment—how abnormally large and malodorous is indicated by the decrease of surplus to the amount of £955,421, and by the fact that the sales increase of £27,617,473 signifies to no small extent the increase of prices due to war conditions.

Still more expressive are the increases between 1913 and 1917: that is to say, 909,842 in membership, £13,144,728 in share and loan capital, £58,413,238 in sales, 15,264 in the number of employés, and £2,561,720 in the matter of salaries and wages; while the decrease of net surplus to the amount of £3,934,186 is sufficiently expressive to preclude elaboration.

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

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION IN 1917.

Class.	Number of Societies	Number of Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Number of Employés	Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
Distributive Societies	1,366	3,788,490	55,716,193	142,003,612	15,916,591	118,716	8,465,663
"    Federations	5	60	29,274	129,130	8,632	26	2,181
Productive Societies.	97	36,358	1,804,954	5,146,459	359,740	10,038	766,846
Supply Associations.	3	8,282	438,388	1,712,718	58,602	1,816	164,195
Special Societies . . . .	4	278	57,709	480,334	29,388	483	37,495
Wholesale Societies . . .	3	1,908	11,278,330	75,441,542	1,821,647	31,424	2,650,473
<b>Total, 1917 . . . . .</b>	<b>1,478</b>	<b>3,835,376</b>	<b>69,355,148</b>	<b>224,913,795</b>	<b>18,194,600</b>	<b>162,503</b>	<b>12,086,853</b>
"    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 . . . . .	1,510	3,188,140	58,704,695	138,473,025	15,204,098	148,264	9,213,464
"    1913 . . . . .	1,508	3,011,390	54,919,381	130,035,894	11,260,414	142,995	8,494,148

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RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.

Passing from the whole to the parts, and beginning with the distributive societies, the first thing to note is their geographical and statistical distribution in 1917.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1917.

	Number of Societies.	Member-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.
English .....	1,058	3,200,980	£ 46,494,202	£ 112,130,023	£ 12,003,698
Scottish.....	261	557,258	8,969,633	28,702,591	3,841,996
Irish .....	47	30,252	282,658	1,170,998	70,897
Total .....	1,366	3,788,490	55,746,493	142,003,612	15,916,591

The second thing to note is the comparative figures from 1913 to 1917. For 1917 these figures show an increase of membership to the extent of 268,263, an increase of share and loan capital amounting to £2,424,141, an increase in sales figures to the amount of £20,315,062, an increase of employés to the number of 3,065, and an increase of wages to the amount of £1,013,047; and, on the other hand, a decrease of the total net surplus to the amount of £418,488. Comparing the figures of 1917 with those of 1913 the outcome is an increase of membership to the number of 909,842, an increase of share and loan capital to the amount of £13,144,728, an increase of sales to the amount of £58,413,238, an increase of employés to the number of 15,264, and an increase of wages and salaries in the total amount of £2,561,720. As regards the net surplus the figure for 1917 is £3,065,288 more than the figure for 1913, though £418,488 less than that for 1916. It is interesting to note that, while in 1913 the net surplus worked out at 15·3 per cent of the total sales, in 1916 it worked out at 13·4 per cent, and in 1917 at 11·2 per cent of the total sales.

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1913-17.

Year.	Number of Societies	Total Membership	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Number of Employés.	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	13,501,825	103,074	6,319,967
1915...	1,375	3,264,811	48,848,596	102,557,779	14,960,086	109,449	6,749,725
1916...	1,362	3,520,227	53,322,352	121,688,550	16,335,079	115,651	7,452,616
1917...	1,366	3,788,490	55,746,493	142,003,612	15,916,591	118,716	8,465,663

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In 1917 the total reserve funds amounted to £9,217,294, an increase of £1,346,963 as compared with the previous year; the value of the stock in trade equalled £26,300,078, an increase of £3,248,997 for the year; the value of the land, buildings, machinery, and fixed stock amounted to £19,861,857, an increase of £180,405; while the total investments amounted to £38,541,250, including house property investments to the amount of £8,734,530. The total investments for 1917 show a reduction of £1,397,448 as compared with the figures for 1916.

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

PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES

(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALERS).

The productive societies in 1917 showed a total membership of 36,358, share and loan capital to the amount of £1,804,954, trade to the amount of £5,146,459, and a surplus of £359,740; whilst the workers numbered 10,038, and the wages total came to £766,846. As compared with 1916 this means an increase of membership to the number of 1,216, £33,350 increase in share and loan capital, £684,968 increase in sales, £25,898 increase in surplus, 246 fewer employes, and £34,740 more in wages.

Comparing 1917 with 1913 we find the increase as follows: In membership, 1,696; in share and loan capital, £103,921; in sales, £1,436,225; in surplus, £106,726; and in the wages paid, £170,466, coupled with a decrease of 404 in the number of employes.

PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES

(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES).

Year.	Number of Societies.	Members-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Em-ployés.	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

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SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS.

The figures for the supply associations from 1913 to 1917 are as follows:—

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

THE ENGLISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

For 1917 the figures of the C.W.S. are recorded as follows: Share and loan capital, £6,937,325; wholesale distributive trade, £57,710,133; net surplus, £1,315,155; workers, 22,777; and wages, £1,983,869.

Compared with 1916 these figures signify a trade increase of £5,480,059, an increase of 562 in the number of workers, and £164,142 more paid in wages, together with a decrease of £171,966 in share and loan capital, and a decrease of £203,850 in the net surplus.

Compared with 1913 the 1917 figures signify the following increases: In share and loan capital, £616,562; in sales, £26,338,157; in net surplus, £679,036; in employés, 1,783; and in wages, £600,615.

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

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

THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

For 1917 the statistical summary of the S.C.W.S. is as follows: Share and loan capital, £4,257,818; trade, £17,079,842; net surplus, £500,915; employés, 8,522; and wages, £655,874, with an extra £10,916 as bonus.

As compared with 1916 these figures signify a trade increase of £2,577,432, an increase of workers to the number of 215, and an increase of wages by £62,609, together with a decrease of £306,819

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in share and loan capital, and a trifling decrease of £616 in the net surplus.

Comparing 1917 with 1913 there has been an increase of £561,403 in share and loan capital, an increase of £8,115,809 in trading figures, an increase of £160,185 in the net surplus, and an increase of £250,059 in wages, despite a decrease of workers to the number of 163.

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

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

IRISH AGRICULTURAL WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

The figures of the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society show a steady all round advance.

Year.	Member-ship.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Total Wages.
		£	£	£		£
1914 .....	—	—	—	—	—	—
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

CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES IN 1917 AND THE THREE PREVIOUS YEARS.

Year.	Total Workers.	Engaged in				Wages.	
		Production.		Distribution.		Pro-ductive.	Dis-tributive.
		Number.	Per cent. of Total.	Number.	Per cent. of Total.		
1914.....	148,264	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	4,269,017	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	37.78	101,099	62.22	4,876,614	7,210,239

## SKETCH OF THE C.W.S.

**M**OST people are now struck with the magnitude of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. From our own country, from foreign countries, from our extensive colonies, come inquiries wanting to know what is the great C.W.S.

It is even doubtful whether the average member of a co-operative society fully realises to what extent the C.W.S. has spread its operations throughout the kingdom.

And how are we to convey a comprehensive idea of its size without wearying the readers with a long, long list of bare facts of the names and places of fields, factories, workshops, warehouses, wharves, salerooms, offices, &c. ?

And yet it is necessary to state the extent of the commercial and industrial activities we as co-operators now own through what we may generally call "collective action."

But, first, it will be well to say in a few words that the C.W.S. is simply an amalgamated body of local co-operative societies, which does the wholesale business for these local societies. Besides doing the wholesale business as merchants it also builds factories for the manufacture of goods sold in retail societies' shops.

The capital necessary to make it possible for the Wholesale Society to deal in merchandise and erect factories, &c., on a large scale, is provided by the local societies. The members, of course, provide the capital for the local society. The ordinary members, therefore, provide the capital for the C.W.S. to carry on its extensive business of buyers and sellers for the movement, and of growers and manufacturers.

It therefore follows that the C.W.S. does for the worker in the things named what an amalgamation of trade unions does for the local trade union societies in trade unionism.

As the individual member of a branch of a trade union owns with his brothers, and can help to control by vote, the associated amalgamation of trade unions, so the ordinary member of a local co-operative society owns and controls, in co-operation with others, the co-operative amalgamation known as the C.W.S.

The comparison can be carried to any length. For instance, just as the representatives of the executive body of an amalgamation of trade union branches are elected by the mass of the members, so are the representatives of the C.W.S. And just as the representatives of one authority come from all parts of the area of the amalgamation, so they do in regard to the C.W.S.

There is, of course, this vital difference between the two democratic constitutions: The trade union amalgamation looks after such interests of the members as wages, hours, and general conditions of labour;

the C.W.S. directs its attention to the furnishing of the local co-operative store with commodities either purchased on a great, and consequently an advantageous, scale, or provides fields, factories, and workshops wherein these commodities may be grown or manufactured.

The Board of Directors of the C.W.S. forms the executive power of the trading and manufacturing amalgamation of local societies. There are 32 members of the Board, who reside in all parts of the Kingdom.

If the C.W.S. Board of Directors, which is really an executive committee, did not act in a mercantile and manufacturing capacity for the local society, it is almost impossible in these days of consolidated vested interests to say what would happen to the people.

The amalgamated private merchants and manufacturers would simply have the full liberty of making local co-operative societies dance to their tunes; they could and would set societies competing one against the other; they would do everything they possibly could to hold back and break up co-operative production, which is the feature in co-operation that is going to undermine their influence in the future, and give to the workers their right place and power in the nation.

#### THE STORY IN FIGURES.

The share capital of the C.W.S. was, at the end of 1917, £2,918,133. The loan capital was £3,893,062. The reserves amounted to £3,009,932.

The total capital (the above items put together), therefore, was £9,884,127. This means that all members of local societies who are members of the C.W.S. have a share of this £9,884,127. And this capital is in fields, factories, mines, workshops, warehouses, &c.

The total sales of the C.W.S. in 1865 amounted to £120,754. In the subsequent ten-year periods the progress may be graphically illustrated by the following figures:—

Year.	Sales.	Year.	Sales.
1875.....	£2,247,395	1895.....	£10,141,917
1885.....	£4,793,151	1905.....	£20,785,469

Hence the continual progress. In thirty years it rose from an annual sale of £2,247,395 in 1875 to £20,785,469 in 1905.

But from 1905 to 1917 the advancement was much more remarkable. In that twelve years the annual sales of the C.W.S. increased from £20,785,469 to £57,710,132! That was a tremendous rise. What would the original founders of the C.W.S. have thought about it? Nevertheless, great as it is, it is not great enough. It must get greater and greater as we proceed with the extension and construction of the Co-operative State.

It should be added that out of the sales of £57,710,132 last year, goods manufactured in C.W.S. factories, &c., were valued at £18,482,277.

PRODUCTIVE FACTORIES.

The C.W.S. has fields, factories, and workshops in all parts of England and Wales, and a few in Ireland. The undergoing list show where they are and what they are:—

**FLOUR MILLS.**—At Manchester and Oldham, in Lancashire; Avonmouth, in Gloucester; Dunston, in Durham; Silvertown, in Essex; Halifax, Slaithwaite, Sowerby Bridge, and Hull, in Yorkshire. Land for Mill at Birkenhead.

**SOAP WORKS.**—At Dunston, in Durham; Irlam, in Lancashire; Silvertown, in Essex.

**METAL INDUSTRIES.**—At Birtley (tinplate), in Durham; Dudley (buckets, fenders, &c.), in Worcestershire; Keighley (all sorts of ironware), Sheffield (cutlery), in Yorkshire.

**TEXTILE AND CLOTHING MILLS.**—At Batley, Delph, and Diggle (woollen); Leeds, Pelaw, London, and Cardiff (ready-mades); Littleborough (flannel); Sheffield and Cardiff (overalls); Broughton and Crewe (mantle, shirt, tailoring, and underclothing); Bury, Radcliffe, and Chorley (cotton weaving); Desboro' and Kettering (corsets and blouses); Huthwaite (hosiery); Birmingham (pinnafores, &c.); Hebden Bridge (fustians).

**BOOTS AND SHOES, &C.**—At Leicester (two works) and Enderby, also "closing" and legging works, Kettering, in Leicestershire; Leeds, Heckmondwike, and Pontefract (fellmongering), in Yorkshire; Rushden and Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire. Tannery, Street, in Somersetshire.

**PRINTING, BOOKBINDING, &C.**—At Longsight and Warrington, in Lancashire; Leicester, in Leicestershire; Pelaw, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**OTHER FACTORIES.**—At Broughton and Pelaw (cabinet), Crumpsall (biscuits), Manchester (tobacco), Middleton, Silvertown, Clayton, and Hull (jams, pickles, vinegar, &c.), Rochdale (paints), Iard, starch, blue, also margarine factory at Irlam, in Lancashire; Leeds (brushes), in Yorkshire; West Hartlepool (lard), in Durham. New jam factory at Acton, Middlesex; and saw mills at Wymondham, in Norfolk. Oil mills, Liverpool. Drugs and Drysalteries at Pelaw. Coal mine, Shilbottle, in Northumberland.

**AGRICULTURE.**—At Wisbech, in Cambridgeshire; Marden, in Herefordshire; Roden, in Shropshire; Clitheroe and Irlam, in Lancashire; Crewe and Warburton, in Cheshire; Goole, in Yorkshire; Market Drayton, in Salop; Stoughton, in Leicestershire; Compton Bassett, in Wiltshire; Down Ampney, in Gloucestershire. We now own and control over 30,000 acres of agricultural land in England. There are butter and egg depots at Armagh, Cork, Limerick, and Tralee, in Ireland. There is also a butter factory at Brislington, near Bristol.

OUR COMMERCIAL CENTRES.

Of these, Manchester is the chief, with branches at Newcastle and London. At each of these British commercial centres we have wholesale departments for the sale of all manner of articles sold by retail societies and consumed by men, women, and children. There are groceries, provisions, furniture, drapery, boots and shoes, stationery, fruit, coal, and drugs of every description. At the end of 1917 there were 3,365 persons employed in our palatial buildings in and about Balloon Street, Manchester. There were 2,817 employed in and about the Blandford Street premises at Newcastle. There were 1,272 at Lemn Street, London. In all, 8,753 employees at these selling, storing, and distributing centres. These figures do not include all, because our activities have grown to such an extent that it is not easy to tabulate in proper order all that the C.W.S. now possesses. For instance, it owns jointly with the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society the London tea and coffee department employing 519 persons: the fine cocoa factory at Luton employing 249; there are also the insurance departments at Manchester, London, and Newcastle, finding work for 348; there are extensive tea estates in India and Ceylon, on which over 2,642 persons are employed. The C.W.S. has also places in West Africa with 76 employees, and a depot at Ceylon with 73.

At the end of 1917, 29,638 males and females in all parts of the United Kingdom and abroad were employed by Co-operative Wholesale organisation. These 29,638 persons were engaged in all manner of industrial, commercial, and distributive work.

Hence the C.W.S. is gradually encircling the globe. In England and Wales it has busy depots at Bristol, Cardiff, and Northampton, employing 739 persons. Its purchasing depots cover a wide geographical area. They are at Boston, Goole, Hull, Jersey, Liverpool, Longton, Tralee (and other parts of Ireland), Leeds, Beeston, Stockton, Rotherham, Newcastle, and Birmingham.

It has also depots, purchasing centres, &c., at New York, in United States of America; Montreal and Winnipeg, in Canada; Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense, and Herning, in Denmark; Denia, in Spain; at Freetown, Accra, Makene, and Lagos, in West Africa.

SALEROOMS AND SHIPS.

This is not all. There are salerooms at Leeds, Nottingham, Birmingham, Huddersfield, and Blackburn. There are shipping offices at Garston, near Liverpool, and Rouen, in France; and there are four steamships, the *New Pioneer*, *Fraternity*, *Dinah*, and the *Acgir*.

AN OFFICIAL DESCRIPTION.

The objects of the C.W.S. are to carry on the trades or businesses of wholesale dealers, bankers, shippers, carriers, manufacturers, merchants, cultivators of land, workers of mines, and insurers of persons and property against risks of every description which may be lawfully undertaken within the meaning of the Assurance Companies Act, 1909, and the National Insurance Act, 1911, and including in the business of insurers the effecting of insurances in any manner or form against risks, claims, or liabilities in respect of accidents under the Employer's Liability Act, 1880, and the Workmen's Compensation Acts, 1897 and 1900, and any like Acts, the undertaking of schemes for the compensation, benefit, or insurance of workmen under the last-mentioned Act, and the effecting of re-insurances, counter-insurances, or counter-guarantees, but no new trade or business of manufacturers, cultivators of land, or workers of mines shall be begun without the sanction of a general meeting on due notice given. For the purpose of carrying on any such business as aforesaid, either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, the society may acquire property of any description and any rights thereover and any interest therein, and agree with any other society for a profit-sharing or other working arrangement, and, if any such arrangement shall so require, may depute the management of any business or adventure to any representative or agent with such powers as may be agreed on, and may confer all necessary powers on any such agent or representative, and may do all things expedient for accomplishing or incidental or conducive to the attainment of all or any of the objects of the society, which shall include dealings of every description with land.

Hence, the objects give the right to acquire fields, factories, and workshops, &c., such as have been enumerated in the foregoing pages.

WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE C.W.S. ?

We have said that all who are members of co-operative societies are members, through the local society, of the C.W.S. The C.W.S., like the local society, is registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, the national charter for working-class development on co-operative principles. In plain terms—and that is what we want here—if you are a member of a local co-operative society that is a member of the C.W.S., you are, along with your brother and sister members, a member of the C.W.S. And you will see from the aforementioned rule that the constitution and the plan of constructing the new Commonwealth by collective ownership is done on a soundly democratic principle. We have (or can have) all a say in it!

We have thus stated in brief the co-operative basis for the establishment of a new Commonwealth. The geographical area covered by the C.W.S. for trading purposes (which does not include

Scotland) embraces 1,221 co-operative societies, about 1,200 being members of the C.W.S., or owners of the C.W.S. The number of members of the 1,221 societies at the end of 1917 was 3,105,900, the shareholding societies of the C.W.S. having, at the end of 1917, 2,748,277 members. Measured by the number in each family connected with each shareholding society, we have a co-operative population in England, Wales, and Ireland of eight to ten millions in touch with the C.W.S. in one way or another. This is a fair share of the entire population of the three countries.

Properly united and loyal to their own institution, these millions of people should form a solid basis for extending the objects narrated above. The man in the street probably does not know the C.W.S. as he should do. If he has any imagination he will realise that through it, and by it, he can bring distribution and industrial production almostly entirely into his hands. The acquisition of these powers cannot be done without the consent of him and his fellows.

By this consent, and loyalty to what he consents, he can become, in a collective capacity, the owner of fields, factories, and workshops. By development on these lines he can regulate the just wages of the workers, the hours of the workers, the general condition of the workers, and can, in fact, set up his own institutions for the entire regulation of his own affairs.

Already the C.W.S. is the greatest and most powerful working-class trading and manufacturing body in the world. The sound principles on which it has been built are the sound principles on which it can be extended, as men and women realise its power of social and economic welfare.

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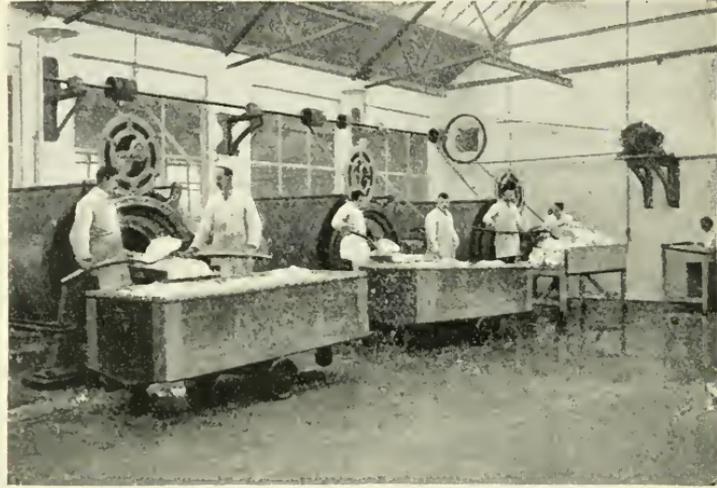
## SOARING TITHES.

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As a result of the continuous increase in corn averages for the seven years to Christmas, 1917, each £100 of tithe rent charge for the year 1918 has amounted to £109. 3s. 11d., or £17 2s. 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. more than in 1917, and has been the highest recorded since 1880. The following statement shows the worth of £100 of tithe rent charge for the last eight years:—

	£	s.	d.
1911.....	71	4	1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
1912.....	72	14	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1913.....	74	14	9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
1914.....	75	16	4
1915.....	77	1	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
1916.....	83	2	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
1917.....	92	1	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1918.....	109	3	11

# C·W·S MARGARINE WORKS



CORNER OF CHURN ROOM



CORNER OF PACKING ROOM

## C.W.S. PRODUCTIVE WORKS.

Particulars of Supplies and Results of Working for Years ended June 23rd, 1917, and June 22nd, 1918.

	Year Ended June 23rd, 1917.			Year Ended June 22nd, 1918.		
	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	s. d.	£	£	s. d.
Biscuit, &c., Works: Crumpsall....	372,149	34,299	1 10	307,371	8,478	0 6½
Preserve, &c., Works: Middleton'..	984,156	71,633	1 5½	1,130,556	57,098	1 0
Soap Works: Irlam, Silvertown. Dunston .....	1,997,896	49,076	0 5½	2,244,139	96,432	0 10½
Flour and Provender Mills: Duns- ton, Silvertown, Sun, Star, Avon- mouth, Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Slaithwaite, Hull.....	11,077,818	186,400	0 4	8,126,777	74,474	0 2½
Tobacco Works: Manchester.....	1,014,575	3,997	0 0½	1,004,273	3,171	0 0½
Sard Refinery: West Hartlepool ..	284,011	6,485	0 5½	243,591	16,259	1 4
Margarine Works: Higher Irlam ..	....	....	..	566,572	40,458	1 5½
Printing Works: Longsight, Leicester, Pelaw .....	328,496	538	0 0½	394,171	4,078	0 2½
Colliery Works: Shilbottle.....	....	....	..	60,786	(a)2,534	0 10
Flannel Works: Littleborough ....	77,503	1,665	0 5½	91,091	1,674	0 4½
Sosiere Works: Huthwaite .....	223,970	2,546	0 2½	353,159	4,633	0 3½
Corset Works: Desborough.....	63,391	2,517	0 9½	83,287	220	0 0½
Shirt Factories: Broughton, Pelaw ..	227,427	7,257	0 7½	240,146	1,089	0 1
Woollen Mills: Batley.....	80,675	1,884	0 5½	81,063	2,539	0 7½
Weaving Sheds: Bury, Radcliffe ..	232,825	1,972	0 2	398,091	170	..
Clothing Factories: Leeds, Broughton, Pelaw .....	213,927	442	0 0½	239,606	229	0 0½
Foot and Shoe Works: Leicester, Heckmondwike, Rushden .....	948,461	9,114	0 2½	1,033,411	20,930	0 4½
Cabinet Factories: Broughton, Pelaw .....	88,511	(a) 129	0 0½	114,983	1,046	0 2½
Brush Works: Leeds .....	38,128	702	0 4½	46,322	177	0 0½
Iron Works: Keighley.....	33,634	741	0 5½	32,994	455	0 3½
Bucket and Fender Works: Dudley	39,847	1,707	0 10½	37,802	2,168	1 1½
Enplate Works: Birtley.....	7,356	(a) 221	0 7½	6,203	(a) 270	0 10½
Paint and Varnish Works: Rochdale	19,697	847	0 10½	26,454	(a) 692	0 6½
	18,354,453	383,472	0 5	16,862,848	332,282	0 4½

(a) Loss.

## C.W.S. PROGRESS

From Commencement in March, 1864, to December, 1917.

YEAR ENDED	Number of Members belonging to C.W.S. Share-holders.	Shares.	Net Sales.	Net Profit.	Average Dividend Paid per £.
October, 1864 (30 weeks)	18,337	2,455	51,857	267	d. 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	2 3/4
" 1870	79,245	16,556	507,217	4,248	1 1/2
" 1871 (53 weeks)	89,880	19,015	677,734	7,626	2 1/4
" 1872	114,588	24,410	758,764	7,867	2 1/4
" 1873	134,276	31,352	1,153,132	11,116	2 1/2
" 1874	168,985	48,126	1,636,950	14,233	2 1/2
" 1875	198,608	60,930	1,964,829	20,684	2 1/2
" 1876	249,516	78,249	2,247,395	26,750	2 1/2
" 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 1/2
" 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	401,006	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 1/2
" 1885	507,772	234,142	4,793,151	77,630	3 1/2
" 1886	558,104	270,679	5,223,179	83,328	3 1/2
" 1887	604,800	300,953	5,713,235	65,141	2 1/2
" 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	7,129,073	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	9,413,938	126,192	2 1/2
" 1895 (53 weeks)	930,985	635,541	10,141,917	192,766	3 1/2
" 1896	993,564	682,656	11,115,056	177,419	3 1/2
" 1897	1,053,561	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	1,594,115	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	22,510,935	410,680	4
" 1907 (53 weeks)	1,768,935	1,476,021	21,786,568	488,571	4
" 1908	1,845,115	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	1,740,649	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	613,097	4
" 1913	2,272,496	2,039,954	31,371,976	636,119	4
" 1914	2,336,460	2,130,959	34,910,813	810,969	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	1,450,732	3
			687,881,526	13,051,970	3 1/2

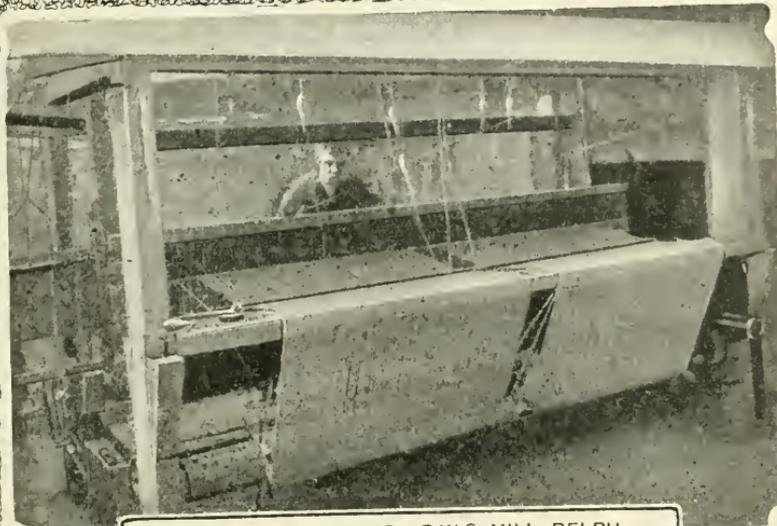
## LANDMARKS IN C.W.S. HISTORY.

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

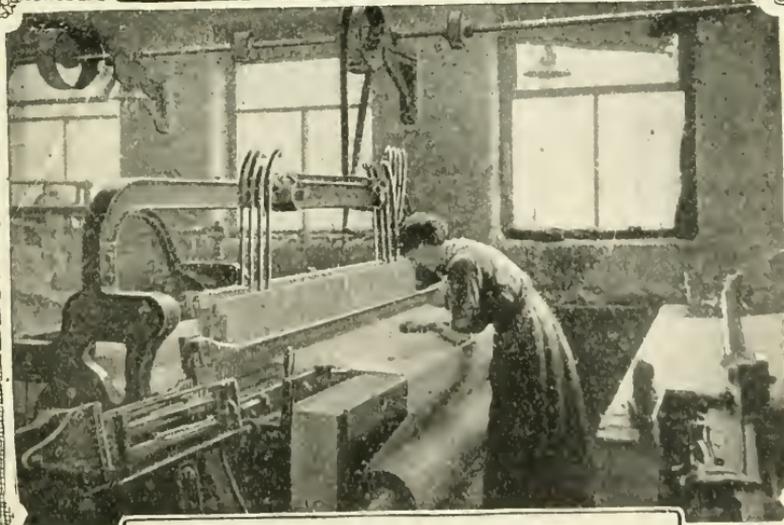
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1898.  
 Mar. 12. Tobacco Factory (Manchester) purchased.  
 April 1. Littleborough Flannel Mill acquired.  
 June 26. Odense Depôt opened.  
 July 11. Longsight Printing Works commenced.  
 1899.  
 Dec. 16. Rushden Boot Factory purchased.  
 1900.  
 Jan. 19. Herning Bacon Factory purchased.  
 April 14. Silvertown Flour Mills opened.  
 1901.  
 April 30. Sydney Tallow Factory purchased.  
 July 27. Roden Convalescent Home op'd.  
 Sept. —. Bute Terrace (Cardiff) Premises opened.  
 Sept. 3. Tralee Bacon Factory commenced.  
 1902.  
 April 9. Pershore Street (Birmingham) New Premises opened, and Cycle 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*.  
 1904.  
 London Brushmaking transferred to Leeds.  
 Jan. 25. Employees start Thrift Fund.  
 Feb. 20. Marden Fruit Farm purchased.  
 April 18. New Drapery Buildings (Manchester) opened.  
 June 20. Brislington Butter Factory commenced.  
 July 1. Huddersfield Brush Factory taken over.  
 Collective Life Assurance instituted by C.I.S.  
 Silvertown Grocery Productive Factory built.  
 1905.  
 Feb. 15. Weaving commenced at Bury.  
 July 3. Desborough Corset Factory op'd.  
 Sept. 5. Esbjerg 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.  
 Aug. —. Minimum Wage extended to all Adult Male Employees.  
 Oct. 1. Huddersfield New Saleroom op'd.  
 1908.  
 Feb. 4. Huthwaite Hosiery Factory commenced.  
 May 18. Silvertown Soap Works opened.  
 June 29. Keighley Ironworks, Dudley Bucket and Fender Works, and Birtley Tinplate Works taken over.
1909.  
 Jan. 16. Irish Creamery Conference. C.W.S. agree to transfer Creameries.  
 Feb. 15. Dunston-on-Tyne Soap Works opened.  
 Feb. 22. Pontefract Fellmongering commenced.  
 April 5. Leicester Printing Works commenced.  
 1910.  
 April 27. Avonmouth Flour Mill opened.  
 July 19. Leman Street (London) Extensions opened.  
 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.  
 Depôt at Makene (Sierra Leone) established.  
 1914.  
 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 14. Mr. T. Killon appointed Chairman.  
 Aug. 19. Whitgift Estate (Goole) purchased.  
 Sept. 16. Marshland Estate (Goole) purchased.  
 Oct. 2. Rixton Estate purchased.  
 Oct. —. Weston Hall Estate purchased.  
 Nov. 1. Birmingham Pinafore, &c., Factory commenced.  
*Producer* first published.  
 Dec. 5. African Oil Mill (Liverpool) acquired.  
 1917.  
 Jan. 13. Shilbottle Colliery purchased.  
 Feb. 3. Delph Mill taken over.  
 April 28. Clayton Vinegar Brewery purchased.  
 July 7. Congleton Dairy purchased.  
 Aug. 4. Checkley and Blakenhall Estates purchased.  
 Aug. 17. Empire Works (Acton) purchased.

WEAVING:  
OLD AND NEW STYLE.



HANDLOOM WEAVING: C.W.S. MILL, DELPH.



POWERLOOM WEAVING: C.W.S. MILL, DELPH.

## C.W.S. PURCHASES DURING THE WAR PERIOD.

In pursuance of its "Forward" policy, the C.W.S., during the war-period, has been actively engaged in enlarging its productive resources in every direction, and to what extent is revealed in the acquisition of fields, factories, and workshops at home, and of estates in overseas continents, as shown in the subjoined list, comprising an array of purchases (87 all told) at a total cost exceeding one and a half million pounds sterling.

### LAND AND FACTORIES.

Date.	Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
Sept., 1914	Newcastle-on-Tyne	1,714 square yards	16,385	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
Sept., 1914	London	1,621 "	16,500	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
Sept., 1914	Broughton (eight houses).	839 "	730	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
Sept., 1911	Dudley	1,080 "	1,250	Land and Buildings—Extension of Bucket Works.
Dec., 1914	Kettering	493 "	800	Land and Buildings—Manufacture of Corsets.
Dec., 1914	Sheffield	692 "	2,800	Land and Buildings—Manufacture of Shirts, Jackets, and Overall.
Mar., 1915	Irlann	31,992	3,717	Land—Manufacture of Margarine.
Mar., 1915	London	1,460	17,500	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
Mar., 1915	Birmingham	17,303	2,055	Land—Extensions.
June, 1915	Manchester	96	3,000	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
June, 1915	Sheffield	900	7,900	Land and Buildings—Manufacture of Shirts, Jackets, and Overall.
June, 1915	Sheffield	591	1,175	Land and Buildings—Extensions of Bucket, &c., Works.
June, 1915	Keighley	464 $\frac{1}{2}$	297	Land—Extension of Ironworks.
Sept., 1915	Irlann	7,766	1,203	Land—Extension of Soap Works.
Sept., 1915	Ilthwaite	3,357	167	Land—Extension of Hosiery Factory.
Dec., 1915	Rusden	1,126	1,305	Land and Buildings—Extension of Boot and Shoe Works.
June, 1916	Leeds	435	750	Land and Property—Extension of Clothing Factory.
June, 1916	Leeds	453 $\frac{1}{2}$	750	Land and Property—Extension of Brush Factory.
Sept., 1916	Newcastle-on-Tyne	4,604	31,350	Land and Property—Extensions.
Sept., 1916	Birmingham	2,760	10,850	Land and Buildings—Manufacture of Overall, Pinforces, and Blouses.

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Date.	Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
Dec., 1916	Irlam.....	33½ acres .....	£ 10,750	Land and Buildings—Extension of Soap Works.
Dec., 1916	Dudley.....	972 square yards .....	1,225	Land and Buildings—Extension of Bucket Works.
Dec., 1916	Rushden .....	271 " " .....	500	Land and Buildings—Extension of Boot Works.
Mar., 1917	Irlam.....	6,350 " " .....	656	Land—Extension of Mangarine Works.
Mar., 1917	Delph .....	0½ acres .....	875	Land—Erection of Weaving Shed.
Mar., 1917	Sheffield .....	451 square yards .....	3,100	Land and Buildings—Extension of Jacket and Overall Business.
June, 1917	Leeds .....	758 " " .....	450	Land and Buildings—Extension of Clothing Factory.
June, 1917	Brighlington .....	15 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches ..	6,980	Land—Produce development.
June, 1917	Weddingborough.....	6,542 square yards .....	1,230	Land—Erection of Boot and Shoe, Clothing, &c., Factory.
June, 1917	Kettering .....	200 " " .....	187	Land and Buildings—Extension of Corset and Overall Factory.
June, 1917	Reading .....	3½ perches .....	30	Land—Extensions.
Sept., 1917	Silvertown .....	4 acres, 31 perches .....	19,400	Land—Extensions.
Sept., 1917	London .....	651½ square yards .....	9,100	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
Sept., 1917	Poulton, Birkenhead .....	8,933 " " .....	3,056	Land—Erection of Flour Mill.
Sept., 1917	Diggle.....	41 acres, 1 rood, 14 perches ..	3,245	Land—Erection of Woollen Cloth Mill.
Sept., 1917	Wynondham.....	18 acres .....	1,650	Land and Buildings—Development of Brush, &c., Trade.
Sept., 1917	Manchester .....	165½ square yards .....	1,400	Land and Buildings—Development of Agricultural Department.
Dec., 1917	Quayside, Newcastle-on-Tyne.....	5,876 " " .....	30,500	Land and Buildings—Warehousing accommodation.
Dec., 1917	Northampton .....	10 acres, 20 perches .....	3,200	Land—Erection of Tannery.
Dec., 1917	Irlam.....	1,386 square yards .....	6,200	Land—Extension of Soap Works.
Mar., 1918	Manchester .....	619 " " .....	7,750	Land and Buildings—Extension of Quilt and Bedding Department.
Mar., 1918	Middleton Junction .....	.....	4,000	Land and Buildings—Extension of Jam Works.
Mar., 1918	London .....	205 square yards .....	2,100	Land and Buildings—Extensions.
June, 1918	Delph .....	207 " " .....	51	Land—Extension of Woollen Mill.
June, 1918	Roeester, Stafford .....	3 roods, 1 perch, 30 sq. yds. ....	415	Land—Extension of Dairying business.
June, 1918	Old Towy Works, Carmarthen ..	1,742 square yards .....	1,425	Land and Buildings—Extension of Agricultural business.
Sept., 1918	Manchester .....	6,701 " " .....	29,500	Land and Buildings—Developments at Broughton Factories.
		Acres, Roods, Perches, Sq. Yds.	117,612	
		156 0 15	115½	

**FOREIGN FIELDS AND BUILDINGS.**

(Land in India and Ceylon purchased jointly with S.C.W.S.)

Date.	Place.	Area.	Price.	Purpose.
Sept., 1914	Wynaad (district of Southern India)	1,630 acres	£ 4,000	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea Growing.
June, 1916	Mango Range, India	3,900 "	3,850	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea Growing.
June, 1916	Maringalli, India	2,494 "	4,988	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea Growing.
June, 1916	Naugastene, India	487 "	1,478	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea Growing.
June, 1916	Boychill, India	723 "	5,700	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea Growing.
June, 1916	Accra, West Africa	2,166½ square yards	3,024	E. & S.C.W.S.—Raw Material for Cocoa Works.
Jan., 1917	Wilzen Farm, Canada	10,240 acres	63,614	Including Buildings, Stock, and Plant.
	Port Harcourt, West Africa	9,680 square yards	1,000	C.W.S.—Collection of West African Produce.
Sept., 1917	Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa	614 "	13,250	C.W.S.—Collection of West African Produce.
Sept., 1917	Richmond, Southern India	592 acres	5,147	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea.
Sept., 1917	Strathern and Maryland, India	999 "	1,729	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea.
Sept., 1917	Marian, Southern India	125 "	831	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea.
Sept., 1917	Colombo, Ceylon	1 acre, 1 rood, 25 poles	3,390	E. & S.C.W.S.—Tea.
Sept., 1917	Accra, West Africa	8,888 square yards	400	E. & S.C.W.S.—Extension of Depot.
	Acres, Roads, Porches, Sq. Yds.	21,195 3 14 22	112,401	

**FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.**

Date.	Place.	Area.	Price.
June, 1915	Sowerby Bridge and Hebden Bridge Flour Mills	11,238 square yards	£ 60,000
June, 1915	Slackwaite Flour Mills	4,735 "	14,000
Sept., 1915	Halifax Flour Mills	9,500 "	50,000
June, 1916	Poynton Saw Mills, Wyomondham	18,603½ "	5,000
Mar., 1917	Northfield Pottery, Rotherham	8,194 "	3,800
Mar., 1917	African Oil Mills, Liverpool. All shares, properties, liabilities, and assets.		122,500
Mar., 1917	Pingle Mill (Woollen), Delph	6,840 square yards	2,100
June, 1917	Shillbottle Colliery, Ahwiek		50,000
June, 1917	Clayton Vinegar Brewery	12,806 square yards	21,112
Sept., 1917	Avenue Mill (Cotton Weaving), Chorley	6,460 "	13,410
Dec., 1917	Acton Jam Works	12,231 "	35,500
Mar., 1918	Whimington Flour Mills, Hull; also s.s. <i>Agtr.</i> and ten lighters	11,494 "	170,000
Mar., 1918	Crewe (Clothing factory)	1,620 "	10,000
Mar., 1918	Congleton (Dairy)		2,000
Mar., 1918	Hebden Bridge Fustian Factory		42,000
June, 1918	Warth Mill (Woolten Weaving), Diggle	5 acres, 3 roods, 5 perches	21,324
June, 1918	Britannia Dairy, Coombe Lodge, Bruton	22 acres, 1 rood, 5 perches	4,700
	Acres, Roads, Porches, Sq. Yds.	49 1 33	627,446

FARMS AND ESTATES.

Date.	Place.	Area.	Price.		
Dec., 1915	Rixton New Hall Estate, Irlam.	161 3/4 acres	28,577		
Mar., 1917	Weston Hall Estate, Crewe	1,114 1/2 acres	42,450		
Mar., 1917	Whitgift Common Farm, Goole	1,155 "	5,971		
June, 1917	Marshall Estate, Goole	3,768 "	118,000		
June, 1917	Briaryforth Farm, Wiltgill	18 "	900		
Sept., 1917	Goldham Estate, Cambus	2,378 "	121,000		
Sept., 1917	Cheekley and Blakenhall Estate, Gorsly Hill Farm	2,372 "	83,450		
June, 1918	Warburton Estate	41 acres, 1 rood, 2 perches	180,000		
Sept., 1918	Wraynagh Estate, Norfolk	1,827 acres, 37 perches	180,000		
Sept., 1918	Down Ampney Estate	4,109 acres, 3 roads, 12 perches	95,126		
Sept., 1918	Phynsonshays Farm, Market Drayton	128 acres, 2 roads	5,402		
		16,075 acres, 2 roads, 11 perches	685,801		
TOTALS.					
		Acres.	Perches.	Sq. Yds.	Cost.
	Land and Factories	156	15	11	117,612
	Oversea Estates and Buildings	21,195	3	22	112,401
	Factories and Workshops	49	14	22	627,446
	Farms and Estates	10,075	2	11	685,801
		31,476	3	34	1,543,260

C.W.S. FIELDS AND FARMS.

Below is a list of estates and acreage now owned by the C.W.S. in England, and used for agricultural purposes:—

Estate.	County.	Year Acquired	Area.	Cost.	Estate.	County.	Year Acquired	Area.	Cost.
Roden	Salop.	1896	742	30,275	Stoughton	Leicester	1918	5,586	£
Marden	Hereford	1901	127	17,000	Warburton	Chester	1918	1,800	180,000
Coldham	Cambridge	1912-7	3,199	166,310	Compton Bassett	Wilts.	1918	4,616	108,000
Wiltgill (Clitheroe)	Lancaster	1913-4	788	27,522	Down Ampney	Gloucester	1918	4,102	95,000
Rixton (Irlam)	Lancaster	1915	163	28,577	Hetton and Holborn	Northumberland	1918	3,421	98,67
Adlington (Goole)	York	1917	3,925	124,000	Roden Farm	Salop	1918	297	5,392
Crewe	Chester	1916	3,490	125,900	Rope Hall Farm,				
Market Drayton	Salop.	1917	128 1/2	5,400	near Crewe	Chester	1918	154	
									Total
									32,648 1/2
									1,180,107



CLAIMS PAID:

£ 1,600,000

INSURANCE FUNDS:

£ 800,000

# The Co-operative Insurance Society Limited

(The Joint Insurance Department of the English  
and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies)

Undertakes  
the following  
classes of  
business:

**ANNUITIES**

**LIFE ASSURANCE** (INDUSTRIAL  
AND SPECIAL)

**COLLECTIVE LIFE ASSURANCE**

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION**

**FIDELITY : FIRE : BURGLARY**

**LIVE STOCK**

**MOTOR VEHICLE**

**PLATE GLASS**

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AGENCIES IN ALL CO-OPERATIVE CENTRES.

**PREMIUM INCOME - - £530,000.**

## THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

### A Jubilee Survey.

By JAS. A. FLANAGAN.

THE war has so occupied people's minds, since 1914, that many events of very special interest to the people of this country have been allowed to pass almost unnoticed. Few events would have impressed the people of Scotland so much as an adequate celebration of the jubilee of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society; but the directors—and the shareholders—of the great northern federation recognised that there was scarcely a home in Scotland that was not represented in the fighting, bleeding ranks of the nation's army, or among the heroes who were keeping watch night and day around our coasts; and, with a characteristic sense of the fitness of things, they deferred to the national feeling and postponed the celebration of the Society's fifty years of triumph over inexperience, victimisation, and hostile intrigue.

Interest in this event cannot be confined to Scotland; for the flag of the S.C.W.S. floats in Ireland and in regions overseas. Besides that, the S.C.W.S. is bound up very closely with the C.W.S., and the two great federations of consumers have been able to do in friendly partnership what they could not have accomplished single-handed; and that has been more apparent than ever during the trying period of the war itself. It cannot be said that the one could not have succeeded without the other; for each of them did excellent work for the working people of the kingdom before any partnership had been entered into; but it must be said that each has served its own constituents the better because of the friendly alliance that exists between them.

When the S.C.W.S. was begun there had been experiments in co-operative trading for nearly a century. Ninety-nine years before, the weavers of the Ayrshire village of Fenwick established a society to supply themselves with "meal and victual." Eight years later Govan had its Co-operative Society, which survived for over a century. Glasgow had a society in 1800, which still exists. One of the societies included in the S.C.W.S. shareholders has been in existence since 1812. Robert Owen's experiments at New Lanark—not a great distance from Glasgow—had created a considerable following of disciples and advocates of collective effort. In 1830 the trade unionists and the co-operators of Glasgow were endeavouring to launch out a co-operative journal, and they sought to popularise it by a little periodical which invited subscriptions and showed the workers what lines a co-operative journal might follow. In the North of Scotland there were many co-operative enterprises being carried on; but Glasgow's co-operative

efforts in the very early years of the nineteenth century were so commendable that it is beyond doubt that the city's great reputation as a municipal trading centre is due to the early inspiration the City Fathers received from the co-operators who were struggling after a more equitable system of trading than the profiteering of traders allowed, and struggling after some economic system which would ease the burden which the wars against Napoleon had imposed upon the people. Some of the leaders in Scotland lived for the solution of such problems; and while Alexander Campbell, of Glasgow, was preaching in 1827 the gospel of "profits in proportion to purchases" (sixteen years before Charles Howarth propounded that scheme at Rochdale), the Lennoxton Society had been distributing part of its profits in this fashion in 1826 (the year to which the society's oldest minute book goes back). Productive societies were in existence before the end of the eighteenth century. How these societies effected the public may be seen from the records of the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow. According to these records, these august personages found, in 1801, that there were baking societies which sold bread to none but their own members, giving no credit and receiving no profit, and which uniformly sold their bread "one penny, twopence, and sometimes threepence, or fourpence, on the quartern loaf, lower than the bakers' prices." That was in 1801. So the co-operative soil was rich in Scotland for the planting of a Co-operative Wholesale Society when the present federation began its beneficent operations in 1868 after four years of spadework.

Into the details of the progress of the fifty years that have passed I am not expected to enter here; but that progress has been phenomenal—especially during the years of war. In distributive trading the society recognises no commodity as outwith its scope except alcoholic liquor; and there are few other commodities it does not supply to its shareholding societies. It did not begin on so grand a scale. It had been in existence for three months before it could amass £1,795 of capital, and its total trade for those three months was represented by sales amounting to £9,697. The war, and war prices, have made comparisons a bit lop-sided; but the year before the war began I pointed out in a handbook I wrote then that the S.C.W.S. was doing three times as much trade in one day as it did during the whole of these first three months. The published balance sheets of the Society, which are sent broadcast through the Scottish press to be criticised by the financial experts attached to the staffs of the daily papers if they will, are a bewildering mass of figures; but they show how rapidly the Society has advanced in the distributive trade. Its position to-day may be gathered from the fact that it has 265 members (societies) whose total deposits of capital amount to £5,620,480. The annual sales amount to £17,767,100, from which the societies derive £633,100 of "profits"—as the surplus would

be called in other trading concerns—allocated in proportion to purchases. The stability of the Society has been secured by steady allocations to a healthy reserve fund; and it has accumulated insurance funds for various contingencies; so that, in reserves, the Society has behind it accumulated funds of £1,023,695; and many large and ambitious firms would be glad to have control of such a sum for their total capital.

The Scottish Wholesale Society's position is further strengthened by its long-established policy of regular and generous depreciation of buildings, live stock, fixed stock, and machinery. The buildings of the Society, for example, cost about £1,250,000; but on the Society's books the value is set down as a little over £400,000. The magnificent Central Premises in Morrison Street, Glasgow—one of the most handsome buildings in Glasgow—cost £156,000; but among the assets of the Society this building is shown at a value of £26,414. A glimpse at the picture of the building, which is printed with this article, will indicate whether that is an overstatement of its value. Several valuable properties, at least one of which would sell at present for £10,000, is written down as of no value.

It might be asked if there is any case on record of the utility of such resources having been proved to the miner or the railway man or mill-girl who is a member of a shareholding society; and many instances might be given. The instance which seems most appropriate is this. When the war broke out and the Moratorium was established, credit and trade were to a considerable extent disorganised. Grain sellers across the Atlantic were not anxious to sell their goods except for cash down. Many buyers for the British milling trade were not prepared for that contingency; but the S.C.W.S. buyers were able to pay on the spot, and they were, in consequence, able to select their grain, command the best quality, and as much as they wanted at the very best terms, while others had to go without or take very limited supplies of doubtful quality at less favourable terms. The whole of the consumers in Scotland—whether co-operators or not—derived the advantage of that transaction, for the S.C.W.S. was engaging in that business in order to supply people with flour and bread and not to supply a few shareholders with profit.

All over Scotland, societies determined to sell at normal prices so long as possible; competitors could not charge more than the stores; and so the great mass of the people, owing to the strength of the S.C.W.S., were saved, during a long period, from an imposition they would have had to bear without any real reason save the natural desire of the profiteers to make profit whenever the slightest opportunity came to them. Such a state of things could not last. The Government became the sole importer of wheat. The S.C.W.S. had a great network of organisations for the collecting of wheat all over Canada; it had its grain elevators studded along the great railway

arteries, and on the shores of the great lakes; and it had its own depot at Winnipeg. The existence of this machinery for the supply of Scottish consumers amazed the members of the Wheat Commission, and, for a time, they were wise enough to agree that the service was so splendid that they should not interfere with it but leave the S.C.W.S. to carry on its good work. Why they should change we can only surmise; but, eventually, the co-operators were forbidden the benefits of their own foresight and thrift. They were, first of all, baulked by shippers on the other side; and then, when they complained, the Wheat Commission decided that the S.C.W.S. wheat must be sold to the Government agent in Canada. The wheat collected had therefore to be sold. The agent obtained his commission on the transaction. The Wholesale had to purchase its wheat from the Government's agent on this side; he, too, had to receive his commission: and the Wholesale, instead of obtaining always the first qualities of grain, had to take what it could get.

So the people were denied the benefits of their great organisation, either because the Wheat Commission believed it to be their duty to preserve the business of the commission agents or because they could not distinguish between people out to make money out of their



S.C.W.S. PREMISES.

neighbours and a big consumers' organisation, constructed by consumers and financed by consumers, whose only business was to feed the people at the minimum cost compatible with fair wages and good quality.

The abnormal height to which prices have soared during the war gives a different colour to comparison that might be made between the past four years and any preceding four years. For the year 1914, the Society's sales were £9,425,384; and for the last complete year (till June, 1918), the sales were £17,767,100. That is not accounted for by the increased prices altogether, for the prices charged by the S.C.W.S. have not increased in the same ratio as prices charged by other wholesale firms, owing to repeated instructions by the shareholders—which have been scrupulously carried out except in respect of goods for which the Government fixed prices—that goods must be sold at the lowest possible prices. The increased total is very largely accounted for by the increase of 115,000 in membership which has come to the distributive societies in Scotland during the four years of war, an increase greater than was effected in ten years before the war, although the field for recruiting grew more restricted year by year.

The S.C.W.S. could never have achieved the success it has achieved, and the consumers in Scotland would never have fared so well as they have fared, had it not been for the remarkable extent to which the federation has carried its productive efforts. Newton saw an apple fall; wondered why it did not fall up instead of down; and his wondering resulted in the discovery of the law of gravitation. In April of this jubilee year the directors and employés of the S.C.W.S. honoured an old employé of the drapery department who had celebrated his ninetieth birthday; he was the buyer in the "heavies" department. The society's accountant and chief clerk, and the manager of the drapery department and its allied factories, in the speeches on that occasion, brought out the interesting fact that in 1881 the society was humbugged by some people who used to make shirts to its orders. The veteran guest at that evening's gathering, Mr. James Leggat, put it to the manager: "Could we not make the shirts for ourselves?" The manager decided that they could, and the first S.C.W.S. productive factory arose. That question should live as long in the annals of the S.C.W.S. as Newton's "Why does it not fall up?" will live in the annals of science. The shirtmaking was a success. It was profitable even although the society handicapped itself in the race with competitors by giving a 48-hour week and a decent wage. It was not only profitable, it was an object-lesson in the abolition of sweating; and, when the last Anti-sweating Exhibition was held in Glasgow, the S.C.W.S. was invited to bring its shirtmakers so that visitors might see their working conditions, question them as they pleased about wages and conditions, and learn from the

practical demonstration that sweating could be dispensed with. Factory followed factory—tailoring, boots, furniture, hosiery, preserves, confectionery, tobacco, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. The great Shieldhall centre—designed to be a model village, although the housing scheme fell through—furnished an interesting object lesson in co-operative productive enterprise. Foodstuffs were prepared; articles of household utility came into the manufactures of the S.C.W.S. The coarser productions of the early days—shirts and boots for work in the foundry and the mine—were supplemented by the production of dress shirts and collars, and fine boots; the substantial articles of furniture for the workman's dwelling were supplemented by the production of finer articles to the dining-room suite and the drawing-room cabinet ing department, which originally to balance grammes, and bills, the best establishments artistic printing and cannot be rivalled. The has progressed in the evolution has shown ductive departments. holding societies sometimes the directors times directors and driven forward by the and trade monopolists. upon dictating how its and the S.C.W.S. closed its own soap factory, faatures soap and allied of a quarter of a million tion forced the directors



R. MACINTOSH,  
Accountant, S.C.W.S.

the chemical and sundries department to push ahead, and the department now engages in a bewildering variety of occupations from the distilling of perfume to the manufacture of boot polish, the preparation of flavouring essences to the concoction of medicines, and the packing of cake flours to the production of disinfectants.

The society has its creameries and its milk collecting centres; its pig-breeding establishments and its sausage factories; its palm-growing land in West Africa and its soap and margarine factory; its grain-growing land (in partnership with the C.W.S.) and the largest milling establishments in Scotland, the Chancelot Mill being the most handsome flour mill in Britain, and the Regent Mill an historic relic of the Stuart days. The society spins its wool and its jute in its own mills, and weaves its own cloth. It startled the War Office by

for the villa; the print-almost confined itself sheets, soiree pro-developed into one of in Scotland, producing bookbinding which production of foodstuffs same way, and the same itself in all the pro-Sometimes the share-pressed for enterprise, gave the lead, and some-shareholders alike were pressure of profiteers A soap firm insisted soap should be sold, the account and erected which now manu-products to the value a year. Similar dicta-to allow the manager of

accepting an order for thousands of uniforms, and undertaking to spin the yarn, weave the cloth, and make the suits under its own roofs. It made hundreds of thousands of uniforms for soldiers of our own and the allied armies. It has its own tannery, where it makes at least part of the leather used in its own boot factories. It owns (with the C.W.S.) substantial tea estates. It cures its own fish, and hopes, before long perhaps, to own its own fishing fleet. It builds motor vehicles for its distributive trade, and the trade of its shareholders. It has its own boxmaking department, in which it produces its packing-cases, and also manufactures cardboard boxes, paper bags, and tinware goods; and its own building department erects its factories and its warehouses and its offices. It owns land on which to produce some of its foods, but it has to own more. It has to obtain tin-mines and iron-mines and coal-mines, either alone or as a partner in the State. It has to breed its own cattle, and derive its milk and butter and beef supply from its own farms—at least, to as large an extent that is possible. There are many things it has to do; but, to be going on with, it has established productive centres that are supplying goods to the value of six millions annually. The departments which go nearest to the source of supply are those which have done best for the people during the past crisis, and the lesson has not been lost either upon shareholders or upon directors. It has found employment for 9,000 workers in its forty factories and its warehouses and offices; it has treated them generously in the matter of wages, as is shown by the eagerness of workers to enter its service; and the employés hold 25,000 shares in the business, and exercise their votes in its assemblies.

During the fifty years of its existence the society has done business which, up till the balancing period before the jubilee, amounted to a turnover of 216½ millions, which returned to the purchasers profits to the extent of 7½ millions; and in all these years its total losses from bad debts and investments have amounted to no more than 1¼d. per £100 of sales. It does not do banking, as the C.W.S. does, but it is a big financial concern which is not only at the service of co-operative societies, but at the service of public bodies. In that capacity it has stood between the public and the profiteer. When the city of Glasgow wanted a big sum of money on temporary loan, and the banks, prepared in advance as they often are, agreed to demand 6 per cent interest, the City Treasurer asked the help of the S.C.W.S., which, with the aid of other societies, furnished the money at the normal rate, thus breaking the bankers' ring and saving the ratepayers. The sense of public spirit and collective action for the public good keeps the Wholesale Society in the proper moral groove in all its business transactions; the sense of interdependence keeps the distributive societies of Scotland bound to the S.C.W.S., and makes it a tower of strength to the consumers who constitute these societies.

## SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

### Productive Works.

	Transfers, Year, Dec., 1916.	Transfers, Year, Dec., 1917.	Half Year ended June 29th, 1918.		
			Transfers.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	£	£	d.
Boot and Shoe Factory...	382,816	423,066	214,343	2,647	2·96
Clothing Factories.....	234,587	263,538	170,258	5,462	7·70
Cabinet, Brush, &c., Fac- tories.....	112,645	114,072	58,503	3,269	13·41
Printing Works .....	109,647	132,818	68,066	4,721	16·64
Tobacco Factories.....	353,376	402,347	211,370	6,399	7·26
Preserve and Grocery Productive Factories....	665,240	834,884	521,342	19,778	9·10
Tweed, Blanket, and Jute Mills .....	82,191	184,270	125,830	10,948	20·88
Flour and Meal Mills.....	2,291,130	3,154,136	1,361,152	60	...
Soap Works .....	211,694	250,599	143,885	3,638	6·06
Creameries .....	964,787	1,357,228	720,522	3,349	1·11
	5,408,113	7,116,958	3,595,471	60,271	4·02

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

# SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

Progress from Commencement, December, 1868, to December, 1917.

Year ended.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Societies.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Employés.	Capital—includes Share, Deposits, Reserve and Insurance Fund.			Net Sales.			Net Profit.			Average Dividend.
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Dec. 7, 1868	..	..	1,795	0	0	9,697	7	1	18	12	10	..
.. 5, 1869	..	..	5,544	17	4	81,094	2	6	1,303	15	0	3½d.
Nov. 19, 1870	..	..	12,542	17	9	105,219	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	..	50,133	3	5	384,489	4	0	7,415	19	1	4½d.
.. 14, 1874	24,651	..	48,981	15	6	409,917	7	9	7,553	5	2	4½d.
.. 13, 1875	27,112	..	59,750	16	0	430,169	7	11	8,232	11	6	4d.
.. 1, 1876	29,008	..	67,218	18	5	457,529	0	4	8,836	2	3	4d.
.. 3, 1877	31,915	..	72,568	12	9	589,221	9	3	10,925	8	3	4d.
.. 2, 1878	31,830	..	83,173	17	8	600,590	9	8	11,968	1	9	4d.
.. 2, 1879	36,008	..	93,076	18	9	630,097	11	10	14,988	19	6	4½d.
Oct. 30, 1880	41,584	..	110,179	2	11	845,221	15	6	21,685	4	8	6½d.
Nov. 5, 1881	49,073	..	135,713	7	10	986,646	13	8	23,981	9	0	6d.
.. 1, 1882	53,684	..	169,128	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	29,134	13	9	5½d.
Oct. 31, 1885	70,066	..	288,945	16	1	1,438,220	7	8	39,611	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	..	367,909	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	117,661	..	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, 1891	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	3,149,461	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	5,954	1,333,077	19	9	4,692,330	9	9	165,580	11	10	7d.
.. 30, 1899	240,873	5,929	1,457,615	4	10	5,014,189	0	5	213,896	15	3	8d.
.. 29, 1900	251,376	6,481	1,676,765	7	2	5,463,631	2	8	222,366	12	0	8d.
.. 28, 1901	270,920	7,959	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	304,179	8,187	2,314,955	11	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	280,134	12	6	8d.
.. 28, 1907	381,271	13,186	3,059,245	2	9	7,603,460	7	0	289,197	16	10	8d.
.. 26, 1908	393,519	14,206	3,292,015	14	7	7,531,426	8	0	263,577	6	4	8d.
.. 25, 1909	400,618	15,159	3,346,773	0	9	7,457,436	3	9	271,926	18	6	8d.
.. 31, 1910	415,526	15,704	3,455,627	16	6	7,738,458	16	5	273,563	18	7	8d.
.. 30, 1911	431,045	16,076	3,838,046	0	2	7,851,079	10	0	308,890	10	10	8d. & 1d. Sp'l.
.. 28, 1912	439,969	16,634	4,038,913	12	9	8,391,258	5	2	301,154	1	6	8d.
.. 27, 1913	451,041	17,824	4,468,463	2	11	8,961,033	12	3	340,739	8	2	8d.
.. 26, 1914	461,615	18,699	4,951,915	9	4	9,125,383	17	2	393,115	16	6	8½d.
.. 25, 1915	482,673	22,726	5,298,920	3	7½	11,368,075	12	1	456,516	12	4	9d.
.. 30, 1916	504,604	24,081	5,525,261	8	7½	11,499,037	2	3	501,531	13	10	8d.
.. 29, 1917	574,458	25,001	5,304,499	1	11	17,983,274	12	2	408,209	4	8½	5½d.

## S.C.W.S. WAR-TIME PURCHASES.

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Ground and buildings in Morrison Street, Dundas Street, and Clarence Street, extending to 3,879 square yards. Purchased for extension to grocery warehouse and storage.

Ground and buildings in Morrison and Dundas Streets, extending over 700 square yards. For extension to drapery warehouse.

Additional ground (two plots) at Fullerton Street, Bonnyton Road, over 1 acre, 3 poles. For warehouses. (Kilmarnock.)

Ground and buildings at Buckie, extending over 36 poles, 7 yards. Purchased for retail branch.

Additional ground at Galston, for extension to Blanket Mills, extending over 155.33 poles.

Additional ground at Links Place, Leith, for warehouses, &c., extending over 6,532 square yards.

Additional ground at Potterhill, Paisley, for dress shirt factory and laundry.

Additional ground at Shieldhall, for extension to factories, extending over 3.355 acres.

Ground and buildings at Great Wellington Street, Glasgow, extending over 7,3639 square yards. Purchased for extensions, but presently rented.

Ground and buildings, consisting of Taybank Jute Works, Dundee, extending over 1 acre, 32 poles, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  square yards.

Ground and buildings, consisting of Criche Mill (Oatmeal), Aberdeenshire.

Property at Dunbar, for retail branch.

Springside Estate, West Kilbride, comprising three farms extending over about 406 acres.

Ground at Crookston Street, Glasgow, extending over 1,957 $\frac{1}{2}$  square yards. Purchased for extensions to warehouses, &c.

Additional ground at Bladnoch, Wigtownshire, extending over 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres. For extension to creamery there.

Girtrig Oatmeal Mill, Drybridge, near Kilmarnock, extending over 2 roods, with buildings thereon.

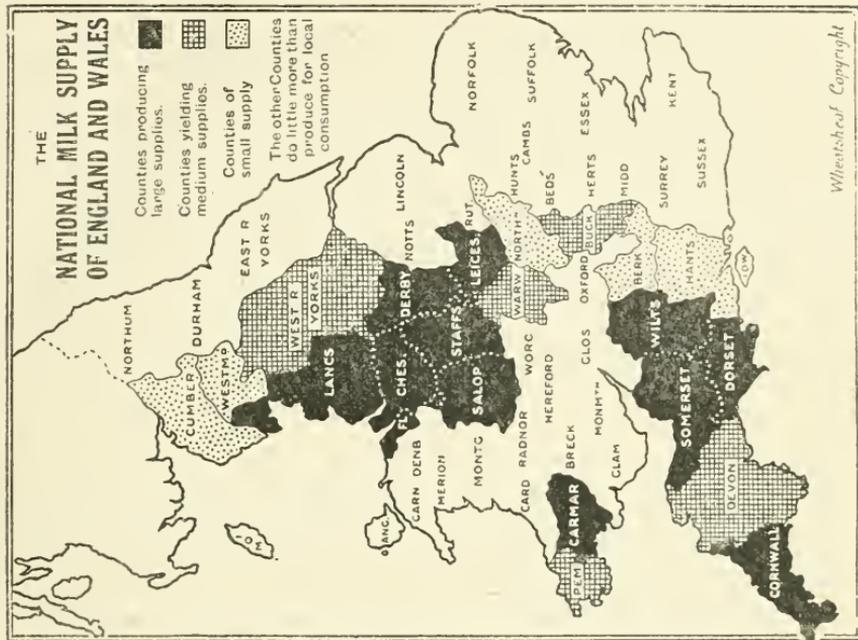
Creameries purchased from Wigtownshire Creamery Co., at Stranraer, Sandhead, and Drummore (Wigtownshire), and Ballymoney, Ireland.

Ground at Scotland Street, Glasgow, extending over 14,486 $\frac{5}{8}$  square yards.

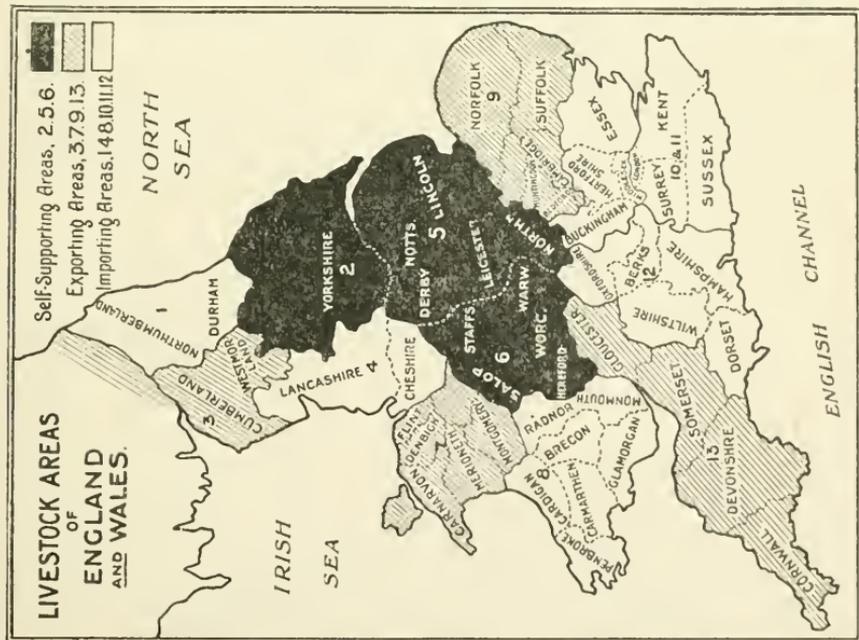
Ground at Auchinleck, Ayrshire, for erection of shirt factory.

Creamery at Kirkmichael, Maybole.

Creamery at East Kilbride.



Wheatcroft Copyright



## THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1918.

THE fiftieth annual co-operative Congress was held in the Central Hall, Liverpool, under the presidency of Mr. T. Killon, J.P. (chairman of the C.W.S.). The proceedings occupied three days (May 20th and 22nd), and the delegates numbered 1,368. France was the only country to send representatives: M. Daudé-Bancel appearing on behalf of the French Co-operative Union, and M. Waseige on behalf of the French Co-operative Wholesale, the kill-joy character of the war period being evidenced both by the absence of other continental representatives and by the preclusion of a befitting jubilee celebration.

The following passage constituted the core of the presidential address:—

There can be no form of reconstruction after the war that does not lead to the collective possession and control of the necessaries of life. . . . It is our co-operative object not to re-shuffle the existing state of society but to replace it. To do this we must extend our ownership of industry, and whilst supporting the increasing cry of "back to the land," we must do what we can to get the land back to the people.

Co-operative grievances and matters pertaining to re-organisation constituted the leading topics of debate. With regard to co-operative grievances the Congress passed three distinct resolutions of protest. The first dealt with the excess profits duty:—

This Congress re-affirms its previous resolutions as to the injustice of the excess profits duty to the ordinary operations of co-operative societies, expresses its profound dissatisfaction with the present position of the question and the attitude of the Government towards it, and strongly supports the Parliamentary Committee in the continuance of its efforts to obtain relief for the movement from the unfair burden of this duty.

The second dealt with the schemes of the Food Control:—

This Congress strongly protests against the continuance of the "datum period" in the schemes of control of foodstuffs adopted by the Ministry of Food; it declares that such a basis of distribution in the present crisis is contrary to the interests of consumers, and calls for its immediate abolition. Further, it demands that the control or rationing of any article of food shall be immediately followed by the registration of customers with retailers and the registration of wholesalers in order that available supplies may be equitably distributed.

In the third resolution the anti-co-operative policy of the Food Ministry was condemned:—

This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the practice of the Ministry of Food in scheduling certain channels of private trading enterprise as the only means of supply to the exclusion of co-operative organisations, thus compelling our societies to place their orders with private profiteers to the financial detriment of their own federations, and in direct conflict with their established principles as organisations of consumers.

Next with regard to schemes for the organisation of Parliamentary representation. In this connection it may be stated that the Congress directed the deletion of the section relating to sectional boards in the Central Board's scheme, and also rejected the resolution for a separate Scottish Parliamentary Representation Committee. Meanwhile the following resolution for the reconstitution of the Parliamentary Committee was passed:—

That the Parliamentary interests of the co-operative movement, as regards administration and legislation, should be delegated to a committee responsible to the Co-operative Union, and that the two Wholesale Societies and any other co-operative organisation, of which the Congress shall approve, and which is concerned with the work of the Parliamentary Committee, shall appoint special representatives on the Committee, and that the Central Board present a report within six months for circulation to the sections and district organisations in sufficient time for consideration previous to next year's Congress, as to the number and method of election of the Committee, and the organisations which should be represented thereon.

The Congress also decided that the party programme should embrace the promotion of a League of Nations and of the national care of maternity. The congress likewise called on the Co-operative Union to take prompt action to bring about the utilisation of the present machinery for dealing with the produce of agricultural co-operative societies.

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## SUPER-TAX INCOMES.

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A significant illustration of the golden harvest reaped by private and profiteering interests during war time is afforded by the report issued by the Inland Revenue Commissioners, which shows how the volume of super-tax income has increased, while the total recipients have diminished in number.

	1914-15. Persons.		1916-17. Persons.
£3,000 to £5,000 .....	15,624	£3,000 to £5,000 .....	14,463
£5,000 „ £10,000.....	9,404	£5,000 „ £10,000.....	9,847
£10,000 „ £15,000.....	2,561	£10,000 „ £15,000.....	2,579
£15,000 „ £20,000.....	1,034	£15,000 „ £20,000.....	1,084
£20,000 „ £25,000.....	537	£20,000 „ £25,000.....	606
£25,000 „ £35,000.....	495	£25,000 „ £30,000.....	326
£35,000 „ £45,000.....	229	£30,000 „ £40,000.....	330
£45,000 „ £50,000 .....	85	£40,000 „ £50,000.....	163
£50,000 „ £55,000.....	61	£50,000 „ £75,000.....	161
£55,000 „ £65,000.....	75	£75,000 „ £100,000 .....	69
£65,000 „ £75,000.....	47	£100,000 .....	95
£75,000 „ £100,000 .....	69		
£100,000 .....	90		
	30,211		29,723
With an aggregate income of £244,169,134.		With an aggregate income of £247,257,124.	

## THE WOMEN'S GUILD CONGRESS, 1918.

THE Women's Guild Congress of 1918 was held in the Central Hall, Bradford, on June 11th and 12th. The delegates mustered 800, and Mrs. Booth (the Women's Guild president) occupied the chair. After calling for the establishment of direct business relations between the British and Russian co-operative movements the Congress then acclaimed the enfranchisement of women and expressed its political faith in the following terms:—

That this Congress hails the enfranchisement of women with enthusiasm and calls on all co-operative women to join the Co-operative Political Party, which stands for the control of industry by the people for the people, and for the abolition of profit-making and profiteering. And in order to secure the return at the next general election of a people's government, pledged to place life before wealth and the common good before vested interests, thus urges local co-operative societies to join hands with labour forces and stand aside from any party whose programme does not include the replacement of capitalism by the democratic control of industry, and which does not publicly state the sources from which its funds are derived.

In the matter of financing the movement the Congress showed its interest by urging Guild branches to formulate schemes for increasing co-operative capital. As regards the question of the women's grant the Congress expressed its unwavering attitude in the following resolution:—

That this meeting urges the Co-operative Union to withdraw the conditions as regards the grant to the Guild laid down in the Dublin resolution and the Survey Committee's report, with a view to the renewal of the £400 grant, and desires that negotiations should be opened as regards the joint work that might be done effectively.

The Congress also declared for the principle of voluntary as opposed to paid service in the ranks of the Guild:—

This Congress considers that it is of the utmost importance to maintain the voluntary character of Guild work, and recommends that all honorariums and fees for Guild services be abolished after a year, and that the central funds set free be used for district work.

In addition to declaring in favour of a flat rate allowance to mothers of sons in the army or navy, and of a pension in case of their death, the Congress called for the total prohibition of alcohol in order to conserve the food resources of the country, and also showed its interest in education by resolutions declaring for the civic as opposed to the industrial aim of education, demanding equal pay for men and women teachers, and protesting "against the attempts now being made to introduce forms of military drill into the public elementary and secondary schools of this country."

The Congress also pronounced in favour of a League of Nations, but by a small majority rejected a resolution calling for an international conference of organised workers of all nations in order to obtain immediately a people's peace by negotiation.

## CO-OPERATIVE DIARY, 1918.

### JANUARY.

8. Deputation, representative of the Co-operative Joint Parliamentary Committee, interviews the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the questions of income tax and excess profits duty, but receives no satisfaction.
8. Conference at the C.W.S. premises in Leman Street, London, of representatives of the Labour Party Executive, the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the members of the Co-operative Parliamentary Representation Committee.
12. Death of Mr. George Brill (manager of the Crumpsall Biscuit Manufactory).
19. Press announcement of the award of the Committee on Production *re* advance of wages to C.W.S. employees. Men concerned to receive an advance of 5s. per week and juniors 2s. 6d. The advance to date from the first full pay in December, 1917.
19. The United Board allocates the annual sum of £50 for two research scholarships of equal value.
22. First co-operative Parliamentary candidature. Mr. H. J. May adopted as co-operative candidate for the Prestwich division.
26. Gallant rescue by the captain and crew of the C.W.S. s.s. *New Pioneer* in connection with the sinking of the Dublin Company's steamer *Cork* by a German submarine, the captain, mate, steward, passengers, and a number of the crew of the sunken vessel being saved.
31. Prestwich Parliamentary election. The co-operative candidate (Mr. H. J. May), fighting single-handed, secures 2,832 votes against the combined forces of Liberals and Tories, who elect the Coalition candidate (Lieut. Cawley) with 8,520 votes.

### FEBRUARY.

28. The United Board decides to hold the Co-operative Congress at Liverpool instead of Manchester) under the auspices of the Liverpool Society.
28. Death of Mr. J. Gledhill (manager of the C.W.S. Depot in New York, U.S.A., from its opening in 1876).

### MARCH.

1. Death of Mr. Wm. Kay, chief of the office staff of the C.W.S. Depot, Northampton.
1. Two deputations from the Joint Co-operative Parliamentary Committee interview the Ministry of Food during the first week in March.
7. The C.W.S. gives a fillip to the business men's week in Manchester by handing in at the Town Hall a cheque for £250,000 in exchange for War Bonds.
- 9-16. At the C.W.S. quarterly meetings

the serious character of the food shortage receives due emphasis. The motion of Warrington Society relative to election by districts and to the matter of canvassing is negatived by large majorities.

16. United Board Meeting. Matters in connection with the Co-operative Parliamentary Representation Committee occupy a conspicuous place.
18. Press announcement of the appointment of Mr. C. W. Dredge (of Belfast) as manager of the C.W.S. Crumpsall Biscuit Works in succession to the late Mr. George Brill.
18. The C.W.S. elections result in the re-election of Mr. T. Killon and Mr. T. E. Moorhouse (Manchester District), Mr. T. E. Shotton (Newcastle District), Mr. H. J. A. Wilkins (London District), and Mr. T. J. Baylis as auditor.

### APRIL.

1. Annual Meeting of the A.U.C.E. held at Birmingham. Conference adopts a resolution empowering the Executive Council to negotiate with kindred organisations with the object of forming one industrial organisation for all purposes, or alternatively an effective federation for trade and political purposes.
13. The Board of Inland Revenue announces that it is prepared to defer to the claims made on behalf of co-operative societies, and that in the application of the subsections of the Finance (No. 2) Act, 1915, regard should be paid to any *de facto* increase or decrease of capital rather than to an increase or decrease of capital per member.
13. Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union. The meeting discusses (*inter alia*) the Hours and Wages Boards, the new Man-power Bill, and the food shortage.
20. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union.
23. Death of Mr. C. J. Beckett, one of the auditors of the C.W.S.
27. Press announcement of the purchase of two more estates by the C.W.S.—the Midland Hall estate of 3,424 acres in Northumberland, and an estate of 1,100 acres at Down Ampney in the counties of Wiltshire and Gloucester.
27. First of a series of joint conferences between co-operators and trade unionists, held in Manchester. Resolutions approving of the formation of local advisory councils of representatives of the two movements to carry out the proposals of the National Advisory Councils, &c.
27. Nineteenth Scottish Co-operative Conference held in Glasgow, Mr. James Allen presiding. Strong protests made against the calling up of branch managers for military service.

## The People's Year Book.

27. Annual Meeting of the C.W.S. Health Insurance Section. Mr. Killon re-elected as chairman and Mr. Lander as vice-chairman.

### MAY.

11. Scottish Women's Guild Conference at Glasgow.
- 20-22. Fiftieth Co-operative Congress held in the Central Hall, Liverpool, under the chairmanship of Mr. T. Killon, the discussions and resolutions dealing with co-operative grievances and the food trouble, with the policy, programme, and problems of internal organisation, together with the support of the principle of a league of nations constituting an unmistakable sign of the times.

### JUNE.

8. Branch and Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S. Complaints raised with regard to food supplies, and announcement of a Government concession to allow co-operators who have registered outside to re-register at the stores. Grant to Women's Guild of £150 raised to £300; and a compulsory retiring age fixed for directors of the Wholesale, subject to the necessary alteration of rules. Re-elections as follows: Messrs. G. Thorpe (Dewsbury), W. Lander (Bolton), J. W. King (Newcastle), T. G. Arnold (Woolwich), and B. Tetlow (Newcastle) as auditor.
- 11-12. Co-operative Women's Guild Congress held in Bradford, the women's question being dealt with in resolutions demanding a larger share in co-operative administrative and political work, adequate allowances to the mothers of soldiers and sailors, equal pay for women and men teachers, the endowment of motherhood, and the repetition of the claim for the £400 grant; the outlook of the co-operative women's movement being indicated by a further series of resolutions.

15. First meeting of the United Board for the new Congress year.

### JULY.

24. Strike of the A.U.C.E. section of workers at the Longsight (Manchester) printing works of the C.W.S., followed subsequently by sympathetic strikes of the same section of workers at Pelaw, Warrington, and elsewhere.

### AUGUST.

3. C.W.S. purchase of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Co-operative Works and estate for £42,000.
24. Announcement of the purchase, by the C.W.S., of the Stoughton estate of 5,751 acres in Leicestershire.

### SEPTEMBER.

5. C.W.S. strike proclaimed.
14. C.W.S. Divisional Meetings. Great complaints re coal shortage. Amendments of various C.W.S. rules carried. C.W.S. election results as follows: C. Marshall (York) and G. Woodhouse (Derby) re-elected for Manchester District, J. English (Birtley) for Newcastle District, and J. E. Johns re-elected for London District. J. Smith (Middlesbrough) re-elected as auditor. Decision to alter rules in accordance with the compulsory retiring age of Directors adopted at the previous quarterly meetings.
21. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union.
25. Death of Dr. Henry Dyer, editor of the *Scottish Co-operator*.
30. The Joint Wholesales take possession of two London riverside wharves.

### OCTOBER.

2. Announcement of arbitrator's verdict re C.W.S. and A.U.C.E. dispute. Verdict given for the C.W.S.
12. Joint Conference at Newcastle of co-operative and trade union organisations to promote closer union.

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## ALLOTMENTS.

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According to the particulars collected by the Food Production Department there was on May 1st, 1918, an estimated total of about 1,400,000 allotments, of which 261,000, or about 18 per cent, were located in county boroughs, and in these there was an average of one allotment to every nine households. In Burton-on-Trent, which is at the head of the list, there was one allotment to every two households, and in Burnley and Oldham, which were at the bottom

of the list, there was one allotment to every 101 and 109 households respectively. As regards the largest aggregate area Leicester is at the top of the list with 1,539 acres, Birmingham coming next with 1,479 and Sheffield with 1,014. Bristol had 885 acres, Croydon 583, Hull 520, Middlesbrough 499, Leeds 492, Norwich 475, Liverpool 473, Southend-on-Sea 456, Walsall 428, and Cardiff 412, while other towns had less than 400 acres.

## WORKMEN'S CLUBS.

The following statistics relating to workmen's clubs have been compiled by the Club and Institute Union for the year 1917—the latest period for which returns are available:—

DISTRICT.	No. of Clubs in Union.		Clubs making Returns.				Clubs supplying Refreshments.				Clubs showing for Year.				Clubs Paying Club Tax.
	No.	Member-ship.	No.	Member-ship.	Amount Paid by Members.	Weekly Average per Member.	Profit.		Loss.		No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.	
							No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.					
							£	s. d.	£	s. d.					
METROPOLIS .....	164	39139	110	29784	258721	3 4	101	31168	7	298	110	3787			
HOME COUNTIES .....	79	13215	55	11830	85027	2 2½	52	7736	6	118	55	1302			
SOUTHERN COUNTIES .....	91	18949	75	18624	107869	2 2½	69	9528	6	267	75	1528			
SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES .....	15	6881	9	6617	9657	0 6½	9	4071	1	5	9	152			
EASTERN COUNTIES .....	21	6494	12	6494	24135	1 5½	10	2307	1	32	12	361			
EAST MIDLAND COUNTIES .....	111	30121	100	30121	152938	2 1	96	13230	3	64	100	2258			
WEST MIDLAND COUNTIES .....	169	26481	88	26481	143795	2 0½	81	17061	3	59	88	2259			
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE .....	246	50891	217	50891	270956	2 1	198	22910	11	248	217	1377			
YORKSHIRE .....	165	189785	409	181186	673148	1 5½	380	68335	26	655	409	10681			
NORTHERN COUNTIES .....	262	124542	238	124030	676282	2 1½	224	71308	15	1421	238	10653			
WALES AND MONMOUTH .....	68	11287	39	11287	103219	3 6½	31	6880	8	433	39	1632			
SCOTLAND AND IRELAND .....	5	1307	5	1307	9655	2 10	4	1207	1	1	5	153			
TOTALS UNITED KINGDOM	1638	521148	1358	501615	2511802	1 11½	1255	252801	88	3631	1358	39143			
AVERAGES PER CLUB .....	—	378	—	369	1853	—	—	201 8 8	—	41 5 3	—	28 10 6			

NOTE.—Assuming the average membership of the 259 clubs which failed to make returns is the same as in those which sent returns, the total membership of the 1,638 clubs in the Union is 619,056, an increase over 1916 of 13,263.

## DEATH DUTIES.

THE Death Duties, or Inheritance Duties, are now one of the leading sources of our public revenue, and yielded in the year ended March, 1916. £31,035,000, and in 1917, £31,232,000. The estimates for 1918 look for £31,500,000 from this source. *Officers and men killed in war.*— Their estates up to £5,000 are exempted from all death duties, and if the estate

### RATES OF ESTATE DUTY.

Where Principal Value of Estate Exceeds—		DEATH OCCURRED.			
		Before April 19, 1907.	Before April 30, 1909.	Before Aug. 16, 1914.	After Aug. 15, 1914.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
£100 but not	£500.....	1	1	1	1
£500	£1,000.....	2	2	2	2
£1,000	£5,000.....	3	3	3	3
£5,000	£10,000.....	3	3	4	4
£10,000	£20,000.....	4	4	5	5
£20,000	£25,000.....	4	4	6	6
£25,000	£40,000.....	4½	4½	6	6
£40,000	£50,000.....	4½	4½	7	7
£50,000	£60,000.....	5	5	7	7
£60,000	£70,000.....	5	5	7	8
£70,000	£75,000.....	5	5	8	8
£75,000	£80,000.....	5½	5½	8	8
£80,000	£100,000.....	5½	5½	8	9
£100,000	£150,000.....	6	6	9	10
£150,000	£200,000.....	6½	7	10	11
£200,000	£250,000.....	6½	7	11	12
£250,000	£300,000.....	7	8	11	13
£300,000	£350,000.....	7	8	11	14
£350,000	£400,000.....	7	8	11	15
£400,000	£500,000.....	7	8	12	16
£500,000	£600,000.....	7½	9	12	17
£600,000	£750,000.....	7½	9	13	18
£750,000	£800,000.....	7½	10	13	18
£800,000	£1,000,000.....	7½	10	14	19
£1,000,000	£1,500,000.....	8	10	15	20
£1,500,000	£2,000,000.....	8	10	15	20
£2,000,000	£2,500,000.....	8	10	15	20
£2,500,000	£3,000,000.....	8	10	15	20
£3,000,000 and upwards		8	10	15	20
On Settled Property an Additional Duty.....		1	1	2	Nil.

Small estates up to £300 pay 30s., and not exceeding £500, 50s.  
Real and personal property not exceeding £1,000, paying estate duty, is exempt from legacy and settlement duty.

exceeds £5,000, only on the excess, payable according to the expectation of life of the deceased on the value of that excess at 3 per cent. Officers and men of the merchant service and fishing fleets share in this provision.

Gifts, so as to be exempt from death duties, must be made a clear three years before the death of the donor.

The death duties, as on previous page, are now applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom; and corporation duty is still payable at 5 per cent of the annual value of corporations, and yielded £62,053 in 1915-16.

STATISTICS.—An exceedingly valuable series of statistics, bearing on the distribution of wealth especially, is got from the administration of the death duties, but only a few figures indicating that value can be given here. The last year of good statistics available is 1916-17. In that year £31,192,146 were taken in death duties, consisting

of £25,097,630 from estate, and £6,074,147 from legacy succession and corporation duties. In that year 84,998 estates paid death duty, and these estates ranged in value from those less than £300 to three estates exceeding £2,000,000 in value. But the most interesting fact of the analysis of the estates is that their number seems to be in inverse proportion, roughly, to their amount, *e.g.*: 28.8 were up to £300; 14.6 to £500; 7.7 to £500 net; 16.1 to £1,000; and 21.8 per cent to £5,000; so that 89.0 per cent of the number were not exceeding the £5,000 in value. Again, judging by the figures for 1914-15 (the latest available), these estates up to £5,000 did not aggregate to more than 21.6 per cent of the capital value paying death duties. In other words, the 11 per cent of estates above £5,000 outvalued the 89 per cent in capital value nearly five times.

## BRITISH INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL ART.

THE Board of Trade, in conjunction with the Board of Education, and with the advice of representative members of the Royal Society of Arts, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, the Art Workers' Guild, the Design and Industries Association, and various persons and organisations connected with manufacture and commerce, have framed a scheme for the establishment of a British Institute of Industrial Art, with the object of raising and maintaining the standard of design and workmanship of works of industrial art produced by British designers, craftsmen, and manufacturers, and of stimulating the demand for such works as reach a high standard of excellence.

### ORGANISATION OF THE INSTITUTE.

The Institute will be incorporated under the joint auspices of the Board of Trade, as the department dealing with industry; and the Board of Education, as the authority controlling the Victoria and Albert Museum; and

the methods by which it is proposed to achieve its objects include:—

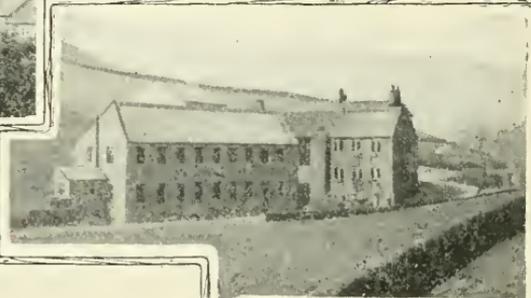
- (a) A permanent exhibition in London of modern British works of high artistic craftsmanship;
- (b) A selling agency attached to the exhibition;
- (c) A purchase fund for securing to the State exhibited works of outstanding merit;
- (d) The establishment of machinery for bringing designers and art workers into closer touch with manufacturers and distributors; and
- (e) The organisation of provincial and travelling exhibitions of a similar character.

The exhibition should be permanently opened to the public soon after the war. The Board of Trade confidently hope that a guarantee fund will be forthcoming to ensure the stability of the scheme in its initial stage. All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, British Institute of Industrial Art, Board of Trade, 7, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

# MINE, FARM & FACTORIES OF THE e.w.s



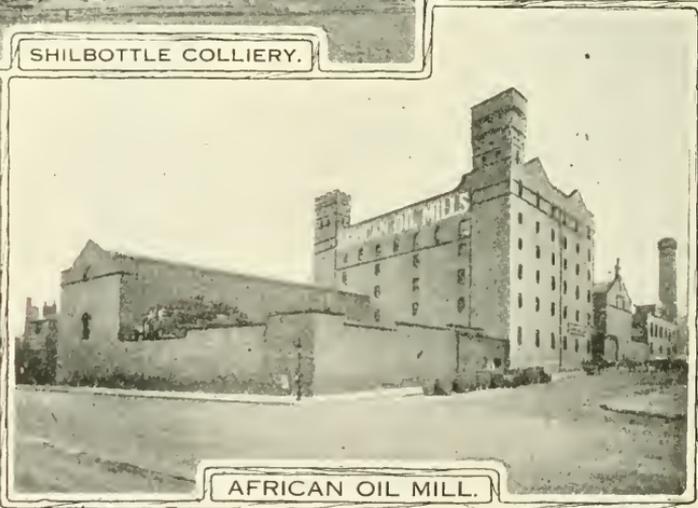
SCENE ON  
WESTON HALL  
ESTATE.



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SHILBOTTLE COLLIERY.



AFRICAN OIL MILL.

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## POPULATION STATISTICS.

**W**HILE the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself since 1821, the movement of the population in the three constituent parts of the kingdom has been characterised by strongly marked differences. In England and Wales the population has trebled itself; in Scotland it has more than doubled; whereas that of Ireland has sunk to nearly one-half of the figure recorded in 1841. In 1841 Ireland had a population half as large as that of England and Wales, and over three times that of Scotland. By 1911 Ireland had been so depleted by emigration that the population came below that of Scotland, and amounted to no more than an eighth and a fraction of the number of inhabitants possessed by England and Wales.

### THE UNITED KINGDOM CENSUS STATISTICS, 1821-1911.

The figures for 1821 and 1831 are exclusive of the numbers in the Army, Navy, and Merchant Service.

Date of Enumeration.	United Kingdom.			England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Persons.	Persons.
1821.....	20,893,584	10,174,868	10,718,716	12,000,236	2,091,521	6,801,827
1831.....	24,028,584	11,680,532	12,348,052	13,896,797	2,364,386	7,767,401
1841.....	26,730,929	13,060,497	13,670,432	15,914,148	2,620,184	8,196,597
1851.....	27,390,629	13,369,227	14,021,402	17,927,609	2,888,742	6,574,278
1861.....	28,927,485	14,063,477	14,864,008	20,066,224	3,062,294	5,798,967
1871.....	31,484,661	15,301,830	16,182,831	22,712,266	3,360,018	5,412,377
1881.....	34,884,848	16,972,654	17,912,194	25,974,439	3,735,573	5,174,836
1891.....	37,732,922	18,314,571	19,418,351	29,002,525	4,025,647	4,704,750
1901.....	41,458,721	20,102,408	21,356,313	32,527,843	4,472,103	4,458,775
1911.....	45,221,615	21,946,495	23,275,120	36,070,492	4,760,904	4,390,219

In 1821 there were 2,493,423 families or separate occupiers in England and Wales; in 1911, 8,005,290.

## BANKING IN 1917.

The operations of the London Bankers' Clearing-house during 1917, compared with the figures for the preceding year, were as follows:—

—	1917.	1916.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Grand Total .....	19,121,196,000	15,275,046,000	3,846,150,000
Town Clearing Total .....	15,699,528,000	12,328,568,000	3,370,960,000
Metropolitan Clearing Total .....	1,177,478,000	1,074,027,000	103,451,000
Country Cheque .. ..	2,244,190,000	1,872,451,000	371,739,000

## STATISTICS OF OCCUPATIONS.

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

### PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES.

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

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

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

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

THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF FEMALES.

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

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

## THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

THE fact that trade unionism, which before the outbreak of war mustered, in round figures, four million workers, has more than doubled its strength and made more recruits in 13 or 14 years than in the whole century preceding, speaks volumes as to the accelerated progress achieved since the dawn of the century; while the trend of consolidation, revealed by the reduction in the unions from 1,310 in 1899 to 1,135 in 1913, is a fact of further significance; a still further fact being the growth of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the same period. Add to this, also, the factor of the Labour movement as an independent force in the political arena, and we have all the signs and tokens that industrial democracy has entered on a new phase

On the other hand, what the labour movement has to contend with on the industrial plane is indicated by the statistics of employers' associations, which in October, 1914 comprised 496 in the building trades, 40 in the mining and quarrying industries, 246 in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades, 100 in the textile trades, 118 in the clothing trades, and 555 in the trades miscellaneous, all of which, together with three Parliamentary associations, made up a total of 1,555 for the United Kingdom, with all the financial resources of capitalism throughout the country at command, and with the House of Commons and House of Lords as its political strongholds for the time being.

### 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,\* 1899-1916.

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	1908 .....	1,218	2,388,727
1900.....	1,302	1,971,923	1909 .....	1,199	2,369,067
1901.....	1,297	1,979,412	1910 .....	1,195	2,446,342
1902.....	1,267	1,966,150	1911 .....	1,204	3,018,903
1903.....	1,255	1,942,030	1912 .....	1,149	3,287,884
1904.....	1,229	1,911,099	1913 .....	1,135	3,947,899
1905.....	1,228	1,934,211	1914 .....	—	3,937,728
1906.....	1,250	2,128,635	1915 .....	1,106	4,141,789
1907.....	1,243	2,425,153	1916 .....	1,115	4,399,696

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

THE FEMININE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

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

FEMALE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.
Textile Trades .....	257,281	251,115	269,797	289,224
Non-textile Trades .....	99,682	104,977	131,122	246,122
Total.....	356,963	356,092	*400,919	535,346

\* Later figures make the number 404,991.

THE TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS.

THE fiftieth annual Trade Unions Congress of the United Kingdom was held in the Central Hall, Derby, on Monday, September 2nd, and the five following days. The Congress was presided over by the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee (Mr. J. W. Ogden, J.P., of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association).

‡ The analysis into groups of trades given below shows the composition of the Congress compared with the corresponding figures for the Congress of 1917:—

Groups of Trades.	1917.			1918.		
	No. of Organisations.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	No. of Organisations.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.
Building .....	10	24	175,132	10	26	219,946
Mining and Quarrying.....	10	175	623,013	7	186	680,100
Engineering .....	12	29	137,806	13	42	429,982
Shipbuilding (including Boiler-making) .....	3	10	109,370	3	10	120,016
Other Metal Trades .....	26	74	162,770	33	96	238,297
Textiles .....	20*	123	357,365	23*	139	421,869
Clothing .....	6	21	119,546	7	32	168,684
Transport (Land and Water) ..	18	73	612,946	19	94	739,551
Chemical, Gas, and General Labourers .....	9	42	310,582	10	93	865,270
Printing, Bookbinding, &c.....	11	26	92,509	12	32	104,047
Pottery and Glass .....	5	6	17,363	7	12	24,280
Woodworking, Furnishing, &c...	10	14	54,579	10	14	65,104
Baking and Cigar Making.....	4	8	15,806	4	12	17,050
Enginemen .....	7	20	47,465	6	21	61,252
Post Office Employés.....	4	8	95,904	5	11	110,891
Miscellaneous .....	19	39	136,836	22	56	234,835
Total.....	174	692	3,068,992	191	876	4,501,022

\* 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 COURSE OF WAGES.

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

### Changes in Rates of Wages.

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

WAGES IN 1900=100.

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

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

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

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

Generally speaking, the war-time increases in the wages rates of cotton operatives amounted to 35 per cent up to December 15th, 1917.

#### INCREASE OF WAGES IN TWENTY-TWO YEARS.

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

Period.	Number of Years Included.	Net Increase or Decrease in Weekly Rates.	
		Increase in Periods of Rising Wages.	Decrease in Periods of Falling Wages.
1896-1900 .....	5	£ 437,641	—
1901-5 .....	5	—	228,909
1906-7 .....	2	258,809	—
1908-9 .....	2	—	128,093
1910-15 .....	6	1,058,000	—
1916 .....	1	637,000	—
1917 .....	1	2,183,000	—

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that the net increase in wages during the twenty-two years works out at something over £4,500,000 weekly, so far as the workpeople known to the Board of Trade are concerned. It may further be noted that the increases amounting to £677,700 in 1915, to £637,000 in 1916, and to £2,183,000 in 1917, have been the greatest recorded for single years during the period in question. These increases for 1915 and onwards are exclusive of changes in the earnings of police and of Government employes, whereas for previous years the figures are inclusive.

#### The Course of Wages in War Time.

The upward trend of wages in war time (forced on by the abnormal increase in the cost of living) is indicated by the figures in the following table, which shows a total increase during 1916-17 and down to the end of October, 1918, amounting to £4,804,500. Add thereto the increase of £677,700 during 1915 and the total increase per week for the four years 1915-18 comes to £5,482,200. In other words, the average increase per person amounted in 1915 to 3s. 10d., in 1916 to 3s. 6d., in 1917 to 9s. 3d., and in 1918 (down to the end of October) to 7s. 3d.; the total average weekly increase per person for the whole four years amounting to £1. 3s. 10d.; whereas the increase in the cost of food down to October, 1918, amounted to

133 per cent, which means that it required £2. 6s. 8d. to purchase the same amount of food that could have been bought for £1 immediately before the war.

Group of Trades.	Number of workpeople whose rates of wages were reported as changed in			Net increase in the weekly wages of those affected, as compared with the preceding year.		
	1916	1917.	1918, Jan.-Oct.	1916.	1917.	1918, Jan.-Oct.
Building .....	222,000	212,000	384,000	£ 36,400	£ 85,200	£ 222,800
Coal Mining .....	865,000	1,000,000	900,000	227,000	473,200	410,400
Iron and Other Mining.	22,000	27,000	33,500	8,000	15,100	11,700
Quarrying .....	15,000	12,500	22,500	2,600	4,400	7,200
Pig Iron Manufacture .	25,000	29,000	34,500	8,200	14,300	18,400
Iron and Steel Manu- facture .....	106,000	106,000	98,500	38,800	64,200	31,000
Engineering and Ship- building .....	580,000	1,230,000	1,312,000	89,500	841,600	333,400
Other Metals .....	135,000	210,500	393,000	25,300	103,000	109,600
Textile .....	857,000	844,000	774,000	79,600	260,300	191,500
Clothing .....	120,000	242,000	311,000	15,500	53,600	95,100
Transport .....	180,000	190,000	199,000	42,900	75,000	139,000
Printing, Paper, &c. .	90,000	88,000	94,000	11,500	30,000	59,500
Glass, Brick, Pottery, Chemical, &c. ....	104,000	174,000	255,000	14,000	62,700	82,700
Other Trades .....	142,000	215,000	514,000	24,700	65,200	206,700
Local Authority Services	130,000	110,000	145,000	18,000	35,200	65,500
Total.....	3,593,000	4,690,000	5,470,000	637,900	2,183,000	1,984,500

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES.

IN war time as in peace the list of industrial casualties has been an annual feature. For 1917 the Board of Trade figures recorded 3,357 workpeople as having been killed in the course of their employment, and for the ten months ended October, 1918, 2,864 as compared with 2,798 for the corresponding period in 1917; an increase of 66.

### DISEASES OF OCCUPATIONS.

As regards the cases of poisoning and of anthrax reported to the Home Office under the Factory and Workshops Acts, the figures are as follows:—In 1916, 679 cases, including 94 deaths; in 1917, 650 cases, including 82 deaths; in 1918 up to the end of October, 214 cases, including 22 deaths, as compared with 585 cases, including 76 deaths, during the corresponding period in 1917. To these figures must be added the following cases of lead poisoning among house painters and plumbers which came to the knowledge of the Home Office, viz.: 1916, 72 cases (20 deaths); 1917, 57 cases (18 deaths); and for the ten months ended October, 1918, 20 cases, including 18 deaths.

## UNEMPLOYMENT.

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

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

{ 1872 ..... 0.9	{ 1890 ..... 2.1	1913 ..... 2.1
{ 1879 ..... 11.4	{ 1893 ..... 7.5	1914 ..... 3.3
{ 1882 ..... 2.3	{ 1899 ..... 2.0	1915 ..... 1.1
{ 1886 ..... 10.2	{ 1904 ..... 6.6	1916 ..... 0.4
	1908 ..... 7.8	1917 ..... 0.7

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

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

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

### Labour Exchanges.

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

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

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

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

The number of workpeople on the registers of the Employment Exchanges (397 in number) at some time or other during the five

weeks ended October 11th, 1918, was 392,754 (men, 130,722; women, 197,629; boys, 33,543; girls, 30,860). These figures comprise workers in professional, commercial, and clerical, as well as in industrial, occupations, but exclude casual occupations.

The number of vacancies notified during the period was 201,331, and the number of vacancies filled was 153,486.

## LABOUR DISPUTES.

THE number of labour disputes causing a stoppage of work in 1917 was well below the average number for the nine previous years, but it was considerably in excess of the number in 1916. The total number of disputes recorded was 688, involving 820,727 workpeople, directly and indirectly, at the establishments concerned. The aggregate duration of these disputes amounted to 5½ million working days, or about one-half the average for the nine preceding years.

The following table summarises by trades the figures\* for 1916 and 1917 respectively:—

Groups of Trades.	1916.			1917.		
	No. of Disputes.	Number of Work-people involved.	Aggregate Duration in Working Days of all Disputes in progress.	No. of Disputes.	Number of Work-people involved.	Aggregate Duration in Working Days of all Disputes in progress.
Building .....	76	7,679	163,300	53	6,897	85,300
Coal Mining .....	67	61,611	310,600	116	267,045	1,098,400
Other Mining and Quarrying .....	7	1,159	16,000	12	7,100	72,400
Engineering .....	59	49,233	223,600	94	316,499	2,427,900
Shipbuilding .....	28	22,111	76,200	49	40,091	326,000
Other Metal .....	26	4,383	11,100	38	30,109	165,100
Textile .....	75	61,258	1,166,100	65	62,887	653,300
Clothing .....	14	15,774	156,700	42	13,042	145,800
Transport .....	60	34,578	152,000	40	26,740	188,400
Miscellaneous Trades and Employees of Public Authorities .....	139	26,510	324,200	179	50,317	351,300
Total .....	581	284,396	2,599,800	688	820,727	5,513,900

\*As officially stated, the figures are subject to correction.

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

## POOREST PAY THE MOST.

In our volume for 1918 we had a valuable contribution clearly showing how the percentage of taxation, under the Income Tax Act, falls heaviest upon the low wage earners.

Below we give a striking instance of how the increased cost of living has fallen with the greatest weight upon the lowest wage earners. Last year we showed how the small wage earners have to pay a larger percentage of taxation per £ than richer people have; this year we show how they have to pay a bigger percentage out of the family income for the increased cost of living.

To compile the undergoing table returns were obtained from 67 skilled workmen's families, 75 semi-skilled, and 81 unskilled families. The unskilled have been hit the hardest. See the table:—

	Skilled.		Semi-skilled.		Unskilled.		General Average.	
	1914.	1918.	1914.	1918.	1914.	1918.	1914.	1918.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Food .....	27 0	49 10	23 5	46 3	20 7	42 9	24 11	47 3
Sundries .....	1 2	2 6	1 2	2 6	1 2	2 6	1 2	2 6
Fuel and Light .....	2 4	4 2	2 4	4 2	2 4	4 2	2 4	4 2
Rent .....	7 3	7 5	6 3	6 5	5 7	5 9	6 7	6 9
Fares .....	1 0	1 2	0 9	0 11	0 8	0 10	0 10	1 0
Insurance .....	3 6	3 6	2 6	2 6	2 0	2 0	3 0	3 0
Clothing .....	7 0	13 9	5 3	10 3	4 0	7 10	5 6	10 9
Total .....	49 3	82 4	41 8	73 0	36 4	65 10	44 4	75 5
Percentage Increase.	—	67	—	75	—	81	—	70

## CRIME AND THE WAR.

AS shown by the official figures, the limitation of crime has been a conspicuous feature of the war period, the number convicted in 1916 being less than one-half of the number convicted in 1913.

### NUMBER OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS CONVICTED IN THE SUPERIOR COURTS.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1910 .....	11,987	1,225	1,373	14,585
1911 .....	11,338	1,121	1,496	13,955
1912 .....	11,668	1,189	1,443	14,300
1913 .....	10,779	1,056	1,483	13,318
1914 .....	9,277	1,012	1,410	11,699
1915 .....	5,088	822	1,084	6,994
1916 .....	4,149	872	920	5,941

## PAUPERISM.

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

### Number of Paupers—England and Wales.

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

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

Years ended March.	Paupers of all Classes, except Casual Paupers and Lunatics in County and Borough Asylums, Registered Hospitals, and Licensed Houses.				Total Paupers of all Classes. ‡	
	Indoor.		Outdoor.		Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.
	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population.		
1903.....	220,959	6·7	510,594	15·5	817,697	24·8
1904.....	229,035	6·9	516,036	15·5	832,454	25·0
1905.....	239,894	7·1	547,445	16·3	878,514	26·1
1906.....	247,758	7·3	549,796	16·2	891,637	26·2
1907.....	250,544	7·3	542,160	15·8	886,886	25·8
1908.....	255,958	7·4	540,098	15·6	892,972	25·7
1909.....	267,130	7·6	550,878	15·7	916,245	26·1
1910.....	275,075	7·8	539,642	15·2	916,377	25·9
1911.....	275,070†	7·7	507,921†	14·2	886,177†	24·8
1912.....	267,426	7·4	408,106	11·3	780,329	21·6
1913.....	265,410	7·3	411,575	11·3	783,916	21·5
1914.....	254,624	6·9	387,298	10·5	748,019	20·3
1915.....	252,526	6·8	391,915	10·6	752,041	20·3
1916.....	] Cannot be stated.					
1917.....						

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

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

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

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

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

With regard to pauperism during the war period it is officially stated that, as compared with December, 1915, the total number of paupers (indoor and outdoor) relieved on one day in December, 1916, in 35 selected urban areas in the United Kingdom showed a decrease to the number of 25,997 (or 8·6 per cent); that figures in December, 1917, as compared with the corresponding month in the previous year, showed a reduction to the number of 24,922 persons) or 9·0 per cent); and that in October, 1918, there was a further decrease of 20,739 (or 8·3 per cent) as compared with the same month in 1917.

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### OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

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

#### NUMBER OF OLD-AGE PENSIONERS.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911.....	613,873	91,805	201,783	907,461
1912.....	642,524	94,319	205,317	942,160
1913.....	668,646	96,239	203,036	967,921
1918.....	676,312	91,583	180,687	948,582

Of the 948,582 pensioners in 1918, 340,019 were men and 608,563 were women. Of the total, 888,628 were in receipt of the full 5s.; 19,515 were receiving 4s.; 22,342, 3s.; 11,460, 2s.; and 6,637 were receiving 1s. In addition, 938,123, out of the total of 948,582, were receiving the extra 2s. 6d. per week first granted in 1917 in view of the increased cost of living. The inadequacy of the extra 2s. 6d. is, however, quite obvious.

## LOCAL EXPENDITURE AND SOCIAL BENEFITS.

THE increase of local taxation expenditure and the benefits derived therefrom is shown by the following extract from the latest report of the Medical Officer (Dr. Arthur Newsholme) to the Local Government Board:—

“ In the year 1871–2 the total local taxation expenditure in England and Wales was officially given as £31,185,471; in the year 1911–12 the total aggregate expenditure of all local authorities (other than expenditure defrayed out of loans) was given as £134,073,327. In 1871 the outstanding loans of all local authorities amounted to £69,461,087; in 1911–12 they were £556,571,139. Of the 134 millions expenditure in 1911–12, roughly, 30 millions was for education; 15 millions for highways, bridges, &c.; 12 millions for poor-law relief, including institutions; 8 millions for police and justice; 4 millions for asylums; 2 millions for isolation hospitals; 4½ millions for electric lighting; 7½ millions for gasworks; waterworks, nearly 6 millions; sewerage, nearly 5 millions; tramways, nearly 9 millions, &c. Against many of these items receipts for services rendered need to be balanced.

“ More than a quarter of a million fewer persons die annually than would die if the experience of the decennium, 1871–80, continued. This implies an enormous annual saving of sickness and disability, of loss of wages, of the production of dependent widows and orphans, &c. One of the chief causes of poverty is sickness. The greater part of such poverty is outside the scope of the poor-law organisation; but within its range it is known that about 30 per cent of paupers are sick, and, according to the estimate of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws, at least one-half of the total cost of pauperism is swallowed up in direct dealings with sickness, to which, of course, must be added the indirect expenditure on those impoverished by the sickness of wage-earners or housewives.”

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## NATIONAL FORESTS.

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In view of the depletion of our forests during the last few years, the Government should promptly take in hand the question of re-afforestation—not in the interests of the private landlords, but for the future generations of these islands. The following statement of the areas of forest land under State control is suggestive—especially as our own country is, at

present, at the bottom of the list:—

	Forest Land. Acres.	Percentage Owned by the State.
Russia .....	516,000,000	... 61
Germany.....	34,490,000	... 33
France.....	23,530,000	... 12
Spain.....	20,960,000	... 84
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6,790,000	... 70
Greece .....	2,030,000	... 80
Rumania.....	5,030,000	... 47
Great Britain..	3,030,000	... 3

## THE WORLD'S COTTON MILLS

ACCORDING TO LATEST KNOWN ESTIMATES.

Country.	Year.	Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Con- sumption. Bales.	Hands Employed.
Great Britain .....	1918	1,951	57,685,841	787,679	3,121,964	650,000
U.S., North* .....	1917	729	20,107,535	443,726	3,323,200	290,000
U.S., South .....	1918	786	14,111,621	269,700	4,323,826	400,000
Canada.....	1918	44	1,367,941	31,954	258,887	18,965
Germany .....	1914	372	10,162,872	230,200	.....	.....
Russia .....	1917	97	7,992,503	213,179	1,850,000	370,000
Poland .....	1914	38	1,322,257	31,000	325,000	50,000
Finland .....	1917	6	262,192	5,607	39,163	7,212
France .....	1914	430	7,400,000	108,000	1,120,000	160,570
Austria-Hungary ...	1914	160	4,941,320	170,000	.....	.....
Switzerland .....	1917	64	1,454,494	22,586	110,000	21,000
Italy .....	1917	400	4,600,000	140,000	1,000,000	220,000
Spain .....	1917	263	2,250,000	55,000	455,000	75,000
Portugal .....	1917	35	428,000	12,000	80,000	28,000
Belgium .....	1914	53	1,775,000	24,000	250,000	11,000
Holland.....	1914	65	606,646	39,800	105,000	25,000
Sweden .....	1917	49	573,018	12,442	120,000	12,046
Norway .....	1917	12	79,652	2,786	12,130	2,843
Denmark .....	1917	5	88,700	4,350	27,500	1,150
Bulgaria .....	1914	5	19,539	350	.....	.....
Turkey .....	1914	9	70,000	.....	.....	.....
Cyprus .....	1916	1	1,574	.....	800	54
Greece .....	1914	19	73,898	1,160	23,250	3,503
Egypt .....	1914	1	20,000	525	7,000	550
Asia Minor .....	1914	7	41,000	.....	47,400	3,030
India .....	1917	263	6,738,697	114,621	2,198,164	276,771
China.....	1917	35	1,126,568	5,853	525,000	.....
Japan.....	1918	201	3,075,435	33,040	1,810,431	123,150
Indo-China .....	1917	5	700,000	500	27,000	3,000
Philippines .....	1916	2	7,440	352	1,560	300
Brazil .....	1918	240	1,512,628	51,234	336,139	106,200
Argentina .....	1914	6	9,000	1,200	.....	1,600
Uruguay .....	1911	3	.....	300	.....	.....
Chile .....	1916	3	5,000	400	.....	454
Peru .....	1917	7	67,900	2,293	15,000	.....
Colombia .....	1914	9	20,000	941	3,520	2,591
Ecuador.....	1911	4	5,000	200	.....	.....
Venezuela .....	1915	4	19,000	500	6,216	1,800
Guatemala .....	1911	1	8,000	250	2,000	550
Mexico .....	1913	139	762,149	27,019	160,000	34,500
Total (estimated) .....		6,523	151,492,420	2,844,747	21,685,190	2,900,839

\* Includes Western States.

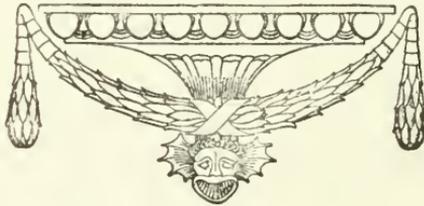
In the twenty-two years 1895-1917 the world figures show an increase to the extent of 1,076 mills, 59,742,000 spindles, 963,023 looms, and of consumption to the extent of 8,306,000 bales. For Great Britain the increase during the same period was 219 mills, 17,786,000 spindles, 200,958 looms.



DURING  
THE WAR

# *The C.W.S. Drapery Department*

Enabled Co-operative Stores to supply household needs and clothing requirements of the People. The Department is supplied with productions from the 17 Textile and Clothing Works owned by the C.W.S. and employing 5,880 workers.



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## The People's Drapery Stores

ARE CATERING  
FOR THE NEW  
DAYS OF PEACE  
—THANKS to The

# C.W.S.

## THE STORY OF CO-OPERATION.

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WITH Robert Owen the story of co-operation begins: with Robert Owen pre-eminent as the capitalist who taught working-men to abolish capitalism, as the captain of industry who inaugurated the first national trades union, as the anti-politician who inspired the great Chartist political movement with social ideals; as the factory master who was the pioneer of factory legislation and the eight-hours day; as the employer who first proclaimed the right to work of the unemployed; as the man who founded the first infant school, and the first Labour Exchange, and who advocated Free Trade and international peace in days when both were scouted as pestilent heresies; as the man, in short, who was the universal provider of social ideas for the hard-headed practical reformers who, after deriding the master-pioneer as a Utopian and a visionary, proceeded to gain name and fame by working out his ideas on homœopathic principles.

### IN THE DAYS OF ROBERT OWEN.

But with Owen as the projector of a new social order our main concern lies. In an age when the new factory system was crushing out cottage industries and reducing the erstwhile free workers to a condition of slavery he was the only one to realise the character of the social problem, and to proclaim that as the industrial revolution was the bane so the antidote was the social revolution. Hence Owen's plan to raise up an industrial democracy on the basis of organised co-operation throughout the economic sphere, and the co-ordination of all departments—production, distribution, and exchange.

And so began the great social experiment in which three phases are discernible. First, the phase of productive colonies, illustrated by those at Orbiston, near Glasgow (1825–1827), Ralahine, in Ireland (1830–33), Manca Fen, Cambridgeshire (1838), and Queenwood, Hampshire (1839–44), all founded by his followers in succession to that of New Harmony in the United States, established by Owen himself in 1825: almost contemporaneously with which commenced the phase of popular experiment in the establishment of co-operative workshops and stores—an experiment whose rapid extension may be gauged by the fact that of 266 societies which had come into existence by 1830, 53 of them were founded in the last three months of the year, while in Manchester alone the years 1826–30 saw the rise of no fewer than 17, *i.e.*, 16 distributive stores and one productive workshop. Furthermore, the number of co-operative periodicals and the congresses held in the thirties afforded patent evidence of the flowing co-operative tide.

Lastly came the national phase, signified by the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, initiated by Owen himself in the year 1834

with the dual object of raising the wages and shortening the hours of labour, and of organising co-operative enterprise on a prodigious scale. "Nothing in the annals of unionism in this country (says Sidney Webb) at all approached the rapidity of the growth which ensued. Within a few weeks the Union appears to have been joined by at least half a million members, including tens of thousands of farm labourers and women." And then came the thunderbolt in the shape of an organised lockout, reinforced with the artillery of the law, and the huge but fragile organisation was soon smashed to atoms. Built on insecure foundations also down toppled the distributive stores and co-operative workshops, one after another, till there were but a few left. And the productive colonies likewise all perished. The great architect had miscalculated the strength of materials, and hence the ultimate tragedy.

#### THE PIONEERS AND THE NEW MOVEMENT.

So the movement expired. But after death came the reincarnation, and co-operation, embodied in a more virile and puissant form, entered on a new life and a more auspicious career, thanks to the practical genius of the Rochdale Pioneers, which enabled them to surmount the obstacles (legal) and difficulties (financial) to which their precursors succumbed. The legal difficulties can best be recounted in Holyoake's words: "Societies were prohibited holding more than one acre of land, and that not as house or farm land, but only for transacting the business of the societies upon. . . . Co-operative farming was difficult. No society could invest money except in savings banks or national funds. No rich society could help a poor society by a loan. No member could save more than £100. The Act prohibited funds being used for educational purposes, and every member was practically responsible for all the debts of the society—enough to frighten any prudent man away. Besides these impediments there was no provision compelling any member to give up such property, books, or records that might have been entrusted to him by the society, so that any knave was endowed with the power and secured in the means of breaking up the society when a fit of larceny seized him."

But apart from all this, there were ample difficulties to begin with, and the idea of 28 poor flannel weavers, who had nothing to bless themselves with, starting a store might well strike the Philistines as superbly ridiculous. But daunted neither by ridicule nor poverty the weavers showed their mettle. By a scanty fund raised in weekly twopences they bought their first stock, and by leaving the dividend to accumulate till it reached £5 per man they raised their first capital. And so the pioneer ship was launched with a new plan of navigation, enabling the vessel to bid defiance to tempests and perils, and enabling co-operation at length to circumnavigate the globe. The principles whose success initiated the co-operative revival and

inaugurated a world movement may be summed up as the negation of loss and the automatic increase of trade—the first signifying the banning of credit, coupled with sound management and a strict attention to balance sheets; the second, the allotment of the surplus in proportion to purchases, an arrangement implying a tolerable insight into human nature. But in nothing did the founders show greater prevision than in the apportionment of an educational fund with the object of making members into genuine co-operators. And here again the crass stupidities of law makers raised up another obstacle. Up to 1846 apportionment for educational purposes was barred by the law. Then came a spasm of permission lasting nine years, and after that legislative bungling blocked the way for another seven. And if the Pioneers, finding education made contraband, contrived to smuggle the educational outlay into expenses of management, they were in a position to declare that the establishment of ignorance was a crime in which no one had a right to compel them to participate.

Meanwhile this launching out from distribution to production (clogging, shoemaking, and tailoring, and then to corn milling in 1850 and to cotton spinning four years after that) and from production to wholesaling in 1855 suffices to indicate the attention paid to the realisation of possibilities. True it is that in the case of the wholesaling venture anticipations were not fulfilled, but as the Rochdale Pioneers became promoters of the North of England Co-operative Society, founded in 1863, and which developed into the C.W.S., it will be seen that the pioneers fully justified their name.

As for the expansion of the movement the sum total of co-operative trade amounting to close on £3,000,000 (or to be quite specific £2,836,606) in 1864, affords sufficing evidence of the twenty years' growth of distributive co-operation—a growth all the more notable when contrasted with the non-success of the productive workshop movement inaugurated under Christian Socialist auspices. As events clearly proved, the trouble with the self-governing workshops was the difficulty of self-government—a difficulty which led in the course of time to a reorganisation on a copartnership basis: a circumstance signifying the promotion of success at the expense of self-government in contradistinction to the Christian Socialist system in which self-government was promoted at the expense of success.

For the rest, what helped the distributive movement was the removal of the legal shackles which had heretofore fettered it. Thus, by the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1852, co-operative societies for the first time in their history obtained legal protection for their funds and appurtenances, and secured legal validity for their regulations and rules. And ten years later the application of a little more pressure brought about the passing of the Act of 1862, and a further advance in co-operative freedom by members being enabled

to invest £200 instead of £100, and by societies being accorded the right to take up shares in others, as a result of which the movement gained a double advantage, first by the gain to societies in financial strength, and second, by the power to form co-operative combines for wholesale operations or otherwise. All the same the Acts were merely half measures: piecemeal methods of legislation being illustrated by the fact that these acts had to be supplemented by others in subsequent years—by the Act of 1871 before societies could hold and deal with land freely, and by the Acts of 1876 and 1893 which were necessary for the codification of co-operative law and for societies to start banking operations on condition of giving to depositors the security of transferable share capital.

#### THE ERA OF SUPER-ORGANISATION.

As the year 1844 saw the organisation of societies on the new model commenced, so with the year 1864 the era of super-organisation begins; the fact that in little more than half a dozen years the chief institutions of the movement were founded speaking volumes as to the constructive forces at work. Thus, in 1864, the English Co-operative Wholesale commenced operations. In 1869 the Scottish Wholesale started business, and in the same year the first Congress of the new movement was held and the Co-operative Union was established, and two years later the *Co-operative News* saw the light. Early in the following decade the Women's Guild was instituted, and the Productive Federation came into existence as well. And coincidentally with the work of super-organisation, and consequently also, the movement advanced at a tidal pace in comparison with former times, as is shown by comparative figures:—

	Number of Societies Making Returns.	Membership.	Sales in U.K.	Net Surplus.	Share and Loan Capital.
			£	£	£
1864.....	394	129,429	2,836,606	224,460	773,304
1884.....	1,291	729,957	30,424,101	2,434,996	9,498,442

In the promotion of co-operation the wholesale factor, signifying the concentration of forces and the advance from local to national and international operations in commerce, as well as the advance from distribution to production on an ever-increasing scale, is worthy of note. Henceforth the C.W.S. becomes the symbol and leading landmark of co-operation in the United Kingdom and throughout the world. Its career during the period 1864-1884 marks the first stage towards the pinnacle—a stage comprising the opening of establishments and depôts in Manchester, London, Liverpool, Garston, Goole, Leeds, and Bristol; productive developments signified by

biscuit-making at Crumpsall, boot and shoemaking at Leicester and Heckmondwike, soapmaking in Durham, coal production near Hindley, the commencement of banking, and the extension of operations further afield, shown by half-a-dozen depôts in Ireland, and others in Rouen, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and New York. Add thereto a fleet of four vessels, and the fact that in 1884 the funds of the C.W.S. already totalled over three-quarters of a million sterling, while its sales reached to £4,676,000, and it will be seen that the Wholesale had a career before it as well as behind it.

As for the Scottish Wholesale, started in 1869, its progress during the first decade of its existence is shown by the establishment of depôts at Leith, Kilmarnock, and Dundee, in addition to the Central premises, by the foundation of two manufactories, and by the annual sales amounting in 1884 to between one and two millions sterling per annum.

Vital also was the organisation of the psychological forces of the movement, represented by the establishment of the Co-operative Congress and of the Co-operative Union in the year 1869. The Congress, as everyone knows, possesses all the merits of a single chamber legislature minus the power to enforce its decisions, and therefore ranks as a deliberative assembly indispensable to the movement, whose mind it mirrors, whose policy it ratifies, and whom it guides through the medium of resolutions embodying a moral appeal and a moral obligation. As for the Union, with its all-important work of illumination and other manifold functions which have increased with the concurrence of years, the movement has yet to realise to the fullest extent the latent possibilities of its federal institution.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIRTY YEARS.

The thirty years' period, 1884-1914, constitutes a notable epoch in the history of co-operative democracy—an epoch characterised not only by the striking expansion in the distributive and productive spheres, but also by the internationalisation of co-operation by the foundation of the International Co-operative Alliance in 1895, and the promotion of co-operation in the field of agriculture, indicated by the formation of the Irish Co-operative Agency in 1893, the establishment of the Irish Agricultural Wholesale in 1898, and the institution of the Agricultural Association for England and Wales in 1904.

As to the scale of operations one need only point to the figures for 1914, showing a collective trade of £147,550,000, as compared with the turnover of £30,424,000 in the year 1884: the sweep of the Co-operative Union being proclaimed by its membership of close on 3,200,000, by the collective funds (shares, loan capital, and reserve funds) of its affiliated societies amounting to over £64,000,000, by

the total annual sales amounting to £138,500,000 (in round figures) and the net surplus to £15,200,000, and by the army of employé's mustering 148,000 and the collective wage bill to £9,200,000 for the year.

With regard to Wholesale operations the figures of the C.W.S., showing in 1914 a total turnover of £35,000,000 (in round figures) and net "profits" of £840,000, as compared with the sales of £4,675,000 and £54,500 net "profits" in 1884, constitute a revelation of progress both in trading and productive enterprise, and in the extension of ramifications at home, and in the opening up of sources of supply by the establishment of overseas depôts in Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Australia, Canada, the West Coast of Africa, and by the purchase of tea plantations in Ceylon and Southern India in conjunction with the Scottish Wholesale. In 1912 the C.W.S. absorbed the Co-operative Insurance Society, and in 1913 it signalised itself by the expedition of shiploads of food to Dublin at a critical period for the labouring masses of the Irish capital.

Furthermore, the institution of sick and burial and thrift funds for employé's may be noted, together with the extension of the minimum wage to all adult male employé's in 1907, and the adoption of the minimum wage scheme for girls and women workers, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress, later on.

As regards the Scottish Wholesale the extension of enterprise during the period is denoted by the figures for 1914, showing net sales to the amount of nearly £9,500,000 and a net surplus of £400,000 (in round figures).

As for the Women's Guild movement, dating from 1883, the reinforcement in 1892 by the Scottish Guild and in 1907 by the Irish, together with the numerical growth and its annual congresses, suffice to show how the co-operative women's movement has come into prominence with the efflux of time similarly to the women's movement in the country at large.

#### THE WAR PERIOD.

And so we come down to the war period and to the new turning point in co-operative history. Confronted with cataclysmic changes the movement has been impelled to the solution of problems hitherto held in suspense, has been forced to break with tradition and embark on new policies. Thus, confronted with the labour question in its most acute phase, the movement has established hours and wages boards and conciliation boards, local and national, with the object of settling disputes. Confronted with the evil of high prices in the most intense stage, the Central Board of the Union delivered an allocation against the abuse of the "divi." system, signified by the urgent recommendation not to increase dividends but to keep prices down. Confronted with the looting of surplus by the application

of the excess profits tax, the movement, in Congress assembled (at Swansea in 1917), cast aside its neutrality as a broken reed, and declared for co-operative politics and direct representation in Parliament, the response to this pronouncement being forthcoming in the shape of a coalition of parties on the occasion of the Prestwich election in 1917—a coalition whereby the first co-operative candidate met with defeat, and whereby the enemies of co-operation revealed themselves in unmistakable guise. To all these events must be added the adumbration at the Swansea Congress, of a national co-operative policy and a national programme (economic and educational both), together with a propaganda and advertising scheme, all serving to betoken the initiation of a policy of reconstruction which needs only to be put into operation to pave the way to the all-embracing measures which are necessary to enable the movement to cope with its tasks.

With regard to the C.W.S. the launching forth into a record-breaking policy of enterprise remains to be chronicled—enterprise in which the land-purchasing scheme occupies the first place. Strictly speaking, the land-purchasing policy antedated the war, as may be seen by its record, but the response to war difficulties is revealed by the amplification of resources both at home and abroad since war time began—amplification denoted by the purchase (in conjunction with the Scottish Wholesale) of 10,000 acres of wheat-growing land in Saskatchewan (Canada) and the purchase of estate after estate in England, the aggregate area of land purchases up to date amounting as it does to over 32,649 acres serving to open up a new vista of co-operative agriculture and of direct sources of supply. And last, but not least, comes the long list of manufacturing extensions, the acquisition of numerous manufactories, and the purchase of a Northumbrian coal-mine as the prelude to further developments.

With a brief reference to the amiable attentions of the profiteering fraternity this article may fittingly conclude—attentions manifested during the course of the Wholesale's career by such events as the boycott engineered against the infant institution in 1867, the soap trust conspiracy in 1906, and the tea market machinations of recent date. In this connection one may venture to surmise that the fact that the Wholesale fortifies its position by every attack constitutes the culminating offence in the eyes of its adversaries.

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## AUSTRALIAN WOOL CLIP.

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In June, 1918, it was announced that the Imperial Government had purchased the whole of Australia's wool clip for the period of the war and for one year afterwards, the first two clips involving a sum of £100,000,000. This is the largest wool transaction in the history of the world.

## LABOUR'S HUNDRED YEARS STRUGGLE.

**B**ETWEEN the era of Waterloo and the world war extends the great industrial struggle of the ages—the hundred years struggle between labour and capital, whereby the proletariat has become the potential master of its own destiny. In the era of Waterloo the sun looked down upon a pitiful helot—a Samson in bondage to the Philistines—chained to the mill wheels of industry, and vainly crying to heaven for redress. A hundred years pass, and Labour chieftains are sitting (temporarily) in the seats of the mighty amidst the rulers of the empire, and cheek by jowl with leaders of ancient parties and members of the *haute noblesse*, whilst Labour, massed in its millions, is being marshalled to secure the ultimate control of the State as a permanent insurance against the struggle for existence, and to procure for the worker an abiding place in the sun.

Such is the latest stage of the age-long struggle on behalf of the standard of living, in which the worker has had to fight for the right of organisation, the right of collective bargaining, and for protective legislation for man, woman, and child; a struggle in which he has had to fight against the capitalist, the blackleg, the law and the prophets, the economists, the press, public opinion, the law administrators, and the law makers as well. All methods he has tried, from the heroic to the unheroic, from the belligerent to the peaceful, from strikes to diplomacy and lobbying, and from voting for the capitalist to voting for himself. And every form of organisation he has experimented with in turn, from the ephemeral to the powerful, from the fighting to the friendly, and from the craft union to the industrial; separatism he has tried and renounced for consolidation, whilst trade unionism he has developed into a political force in process of permeation with social principles as opposed to the old-time gospel of individualism, which happens to have been found out.

Beginning now with the industrial labour movement as it arose in the days when combinations were banned by the law, let us trace its development from the régime of terror down through the successive periods, *i.e.*, the era of industrial upheaval, the period of reorganisation, and of the old unionism, and also that of the new.

### THE REGIME OF TERROR.

The movement at the outset was propelled into existence by two forces: first, by the combination laws of 1799–1800, and second, by the factory system, the latter especially bringing together aggregations of workers, whilst the former made it a penal offence to combine. In the words of Lord Jeffrey: “A single master was at liberty at any time to turn off the whole of his workmen at once—100 or 1,000 in number—if they would not accept of the wages he chose to offer.

But it was made an offence for the whole of the workmen to leave that master at once if he refused to give the wages they chose to require." And what deepened the irony of the situation was the fact that while the law nominally applied to combinations of employers and workmen, it was the workers who were punished, while the employers were left completely scot free. "During the whole epoch of repression (says Sidney Webb), whilst thousands of journeymen suffered for the crime of combination, there is absolutely no case on record in which an employer was punished for the same offence. To the ordinary politician a combination of employers and a combination of workmen seemed in no way comparable. The former was, at most, an industrial misdemeanour; the latter was in all cases a political crime. Under the shadow of the French Revolution the English governing classes regarded all associations of the common people with the utmost alarm. In this general terror lest insubordination should develop into rebellion were merged both the capitalist's objection to high wages and the politician's dislike to democratic institutions. The combination laws, as Francis Place tells us, were considered as absolutely necessary to prevent ruinous extortions of workmen, which, if not thus restrained, would destroy the whole of the trade, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture of the nation. . . . This led to the conclusion that the workmen were the most unprincipled of mankind. . . . Justice was entirely out of the question; they could seldom obtain a hearing from a magistrate, never without impatience or insult; and never could they calculate on even an approximation to a rational conclusion. . . . Could an accurate account be given of proceedings, of hearings before magistrates, trials at sessions and in the Court of King's Bench, the gross injustice, the foul invective, and terrible punishments inflicted would not, after a few years have passed away, be credited on any but the best evidence."

Such were the methods of barbarism employed for a quarter of a century for the purpose of crushing the movement out of existence—methods which served to drive combination underground, to generate a sense of solidarity, and to evoke a spirit of resistance both active and passive, which saved the movement from being blotted out, and which served also to give an impetus to the agitation for legislative reform, which was met by the culminating stroke of malignance in the shape of the Six Acts of 1819, which proved sufficiently effective to stamp out the spontaneous movement for the repeal of the combination laws, whose abolition in 1825 must be accredited to the strenuous efforts and political ingenuity of the Radical reformers, Francis Place and Joseph Hume, who likewise played a conspicuous part in that tumultuous agitation for a sweeping political change, which eventuated in the demi-semi-Reform Bill of 1832, previous to the passing of which the industrial movement had already become signalled by the efforts made to transform trade unionism into trades

unionism whose culmination is seen in the huge agglomerations and belligerent operations which characterised the era of the industrial rebellion.

#### THE ERA OF THE INDUSTRIAL UPHEAVAL.

In the original enterprise of organising trade clubs into federations, and next into giant national combinations of trades, Lancashire, in 1830, led the way, first by the establishment of a general union for all the male spinners and piecers in the United Kingdom, and second, by the foundation of a National Association for the Protection of Labour, which, in a brief period, succeeded in mustering unions in great variety, and with a collective membership, it is stated, of 100,000 at least. But while the vanishing, ultimately, of both from the scene proclaimed the ephemeral character of these organisations, built up on microscopic subscriptions and devoid of legal protection for funds—the militant policy adopted both by the General Union and the contemporary General Trade Union of Builders bore witness both to the methods and to the spirit of the age, which achieved its most striking embodiment in the general union of all trades, or Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, founded in 1833 by Robert Owen; the enrolment of half a million members (including farm labourers and women in tens of thousands), revealing a movement of abnormal proportions established with the dual object of securing better conditions of labour and of founding productive workshops for the workers themselves.

Then the Government showed its might and the law its majesty in the arrest and condemnation to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay of a group of Dorsetshire labourers for the "crime" of administering the oath of initiation to the union; the outrageousness of the act clearly indicating that the union might expect neither justice nor mercy from either law or authority. The union abolished the quasi-masonic ceremony of initiation for members, which was the custom of the age. But if rid of one peril the union found itself confronted with another, more formidable still, in the campaign of smashing trade unionism, engineered by employers as a counter-stroke to the strike campaign for shorter hours and better conditions, which terminated in speedy disaster owing to shortage of funds; the employers following up this victory by presenting an ultimatum in the shape of "the document," or pledge, to abandon their unions; the penalty for refusal to sign being the lockout. And with the submission of the workpeople to this arbitrary decree the Grand Consolidated Trade Union dwindled as rapidly as it had grown.

In justice, however, to the executive of the "Grand National" it must be stated that the strike campaign which terminated so ingloriously was discountenanced early on, and that the affiliated unions were urged to turn their attention to co-operative production

for the purpose of ridding themselves of the capitalist altogether; but as the record of co-operation shows, productive workshops, though less ephemeral than the "Grand National," lacked the stamina to survive the afflictions incident to the period of childhood, as was the case with no small number of other organisations in those days.

Meanwhile, trade unionism, doomed to further disintegration by a period of severe trade depression, sank from the high water-mark of 1833-4 to the low water-mark in 1839-42. Then came the failure of Chartism extinguishing all hope of success by heroic measures politically, just as the failure of the trade union upheaval had destroyed all confidence in the efficacy of such measures in the industrial sphere, and so, turning away from the exciting but fruitless task of building castles in the air, the workers began to concentrate their efforts on something a little more substantial, and so the trade union revival began; and contemporaneously therewith begins the revival of co-operation also. Henceforward, for nearly half a century the lot of trade unionism is cast in the palmy days of the individualist era—that era in which free competition and free exploitation were regarded as the immutable factors of social salvation, and in which to "buy cheap and sell dear" was promulgated as the golden rule of political economy, whose observance signified the attainment of terrestrial happiness. In this era we see labourism beginning as the new unionism and ending as the old, and we note its three separate stages—the stage of revival, the stage of fruition, and, lastly, the stereotyped stage.

#### THE REVIVAL OF TRADE UNIONISM.

As significant of the new spirit at work one may note, to begin with, the methods of the National Association of United Trades and of the National United Trades Association for the Employment of Labour founded in 1845, the former for the purpose of industrial mediation and of lobbying in the House of Commons and the latter with the object of finding work for the temporarily unemployed. While the association of collective aims with fragility of organisation is suggestive of the period of upheaval the methods stand out in distinct contrast. Passing from these one may note the renewal of activity in a growing number of unions (including that of the cotton spinners) combined with the work of reorganisation, which constitutes one of the outstanding features of the forties and fifties of last century. Henceforth the first object with the leading spirits of trade unionism is to build up strong and enduring trade unions on solid foundations—unions with trained and salaried officials, unions endowed with permanence of membership and strong in financial resources, unions, in short, capable of facing the blast and weathering the storm like the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which for nearly forty years ranked as the supreme model in the trade union world, but whose

policy of exclusiveness, copied by other unions, proved a factor in the formation of a type of trade union aristocracy, permeated with individualistic principles, placing self-interest first and foremost, and adopting the economic and political gospel of the profiteering class.

Meanwhile, the steady growth in numbers proved the prelude to further developments, indicated by the formation of the Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners in 1853, of the North-East Lancashire Association of Weavers' Societies in 1858, and the revival of the Miners' organisations in 1858-63.

#### THE STATE OF FRUITION.

After this comes the greater development shown by the rise of Trades Councils in the sixties, the institution of the Trade Unions Congress in the early seventies, when the prodigious increase of membership from 375,000 to 1,191,000 in the course of a couple of years (*i.e.*, 1872-1874) marked the high tide of trade union prosperity again. Add to this the gain of household suffrage for towns in 1867, the legalisation of trade unions in 1871 and the legalisation of their methods by the Employers and Workmen Act in 1875, and the significance of this concatenation of events becomes patent. Labour, after long struggle, has achieved its legal emancipation, and in part measure its political enfranchisement also. The movement has become a force, and its leaders—such as Allan and Applegarth of the old group and Broadhurst and Burnett of the new—have become men of mark in contrast with the leaders of former times who were all marked men.

The change of status of trade unionism, in fact, amounted to a revolution. "In 1867 the officials of the unions were regarded as pot-house orators, 'unscrupulous men, leading a half-idle life, fattening on the contributions of their dupes, and maintaining by violence and murder a system of terrorism which was destructive not only of the industry of the nation, but also of the prosperity and independence of character of the unfortunate workmen who were their victims. The unionist workmen, tramping with his card in search of employment, was regarded by the constable and the magistrate as something between a criminal vagrant and a revolutionist. In 1875 the officials of the great societies found themselves elected to the local School Boards and even to the House of Commons, pressed by the Government to accept seats on Royal Commissions and respectfully listened to in the lobby. And these political results were but the signs of an extraordinary expansion of the trade union movement itself."\*

#### THE STEREOTYPED STAGE.

And thereafter the movement enters the next phase, which shows trade unionism put to the proof. Following on the expansion in fair

\* "History of Trade Unionism." By Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

weather comes the contraction in foul; and the movement in the second half of the seventies finds itself powerless to maintain the standard of living attained in the first half, and after that it takes it years to get on its feet again. And though having succeeded in getting a small group of Trade Union representatives elected to Parliament the one outstanding measure—the Employers' Liability Act of 1880—serves but to emphasise the barren record of after years. Industrially and politically the movement has reached the stage of sterility, while trade unionism, chiefly, has come to signify the self interest of a labour aristocracy with whom labour is regarded as a mere commodity to be sold for the best price obtainable.

#### THE NEW UNIONISM.

Clearly all things proclaim the need of a change, and the change begins in 1889 with the rise of the new unionism, heralded by the great Dock strike whose success (proving the possibility of organising unskilled labour) arouses a new spirit, under whose influence a multiplicity of new unions spring up and a new labour democracy comes into being, with leaders such as John Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillet. Further evidence of the resurgence being afforded by the formation of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the same year as the great Dock strike. With the dawn of the new century arise new political developments which ultimately lead to the formation of a Labour Party owing no allegiance but to the cause, and whose influence is manifested in the social legislation which follows its advent. And what developments the war time has brought about we already know.

As for the growth of trade unionism the figures of membership represented at Congresses for a series of years speak plainly enough. In 1896 the Trade Unions Congress represented a little over a million members, in 1900 over a million and a quarter, in 1910 over 1,600,000, in 1914 over 2,800,000, and in 1918 some 4½ millions. At the same time the pronouncements at the Congress of 1918, coupled with industrial unionist developments in the railwaymen's and miners' organisations, betoken the trend towards consolidation, while the shop stewards' movement constitutes the latest phase in the organisation of trade unionism on democratic lines.

#### TO GUARD AGAINST FATALITIES.

Both industrially and politically the trend of development bespeaks (*inter alia*) the determination to safeguard the movement from that fatality which has dogged its footsteps at every stage of its past career. Thus no sooner had the Combination Laws been repealed when the worker had to endure four years of distress. When the great upheaval took place it was smashed by "the document." When the movement betook itself to the task of reorganisation on the

basis of the new model then came the attempt to smash it by the lockout. In the seventies, after a pæan of jubilation, came the wail of affliction due to lowering of wages and the smiting of unions in a period of industrial disaster. Later on, when the movement had recovered, it was to discover a continuous rise in the cost of living and wages vainly chasing behind. Lastly comes the world war and therewith the orgie of private profiteering whilst labour tumults by the multitude reveal the difficulties encountered in maintaining the standard of living at its common or garden level.

“SCRAPS OF PAPER.”

Turning to the political side the whole record serves to show the characteristics of a capitalist parliament and capitalist-made law. The repeal of the combination laws was secured only by the political ingenuity of labour sympathisers. Then, for thirty years, Parliament kept the unions destitute of legal protection. In 1855 the unions, by great effort, contrived to secure the insertion of a clause in the Friendly Acts, giving them legal protection as regards the embezzlement of funds, but twelve years later a judge's decision in the law courts swept away this protection; and it took another four years of agitation to get Parliament to protect the unions again. But whilst the Parliament of 1871 gave with one hand it took away with the other; whilst guaranteeing them justice if defrauded it passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act, making striking to all intents and purposes a legal offence. Then the unions in their wrath went in for politics, and by making the repeal a test question at the general election of 1874, and running thirteen candidates and getting a couple returned, they succeeded in persuading the Government to do something, and the Master and Servants Act was repealed the very next year. For a quarter of a century the unions dwelt in fancied security, then came the Taff Vale verdict in 1901, whereby judge-made law rendered them liable to be sued as corporate entities and placed their funds in peril by sweeping away the immunity from attack. Then, when the Labour Party had been returned to Parliament, came the Osborne case and more judge-made law, by which trade unions were shorn of the right to use their own funds for political purposes. What the law-makers are prevailed on to concede by long and arduous struggle the law interpreters take away. All this shows to what extent Acts of Parliament gained by long struggle have turned out to be ultimately mere scraps of paper.



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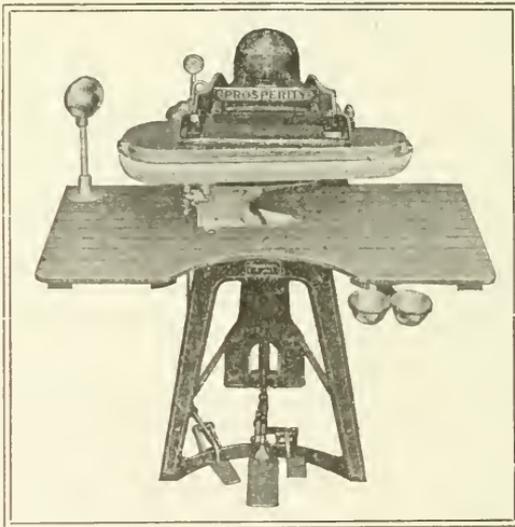
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## A CENTURY OF FACTORY LEGISLATION.

THE fact that the centenary of the Factory Act, deriving from Robert Owen, falls in 1919 makes it befitting to celebrate the occasion with a review of that factory legislation which has ever been the pride and boast of politicians, and which constitutes a striking illustration of legislative methods.

### THE FIRST FACTORY ACT (FOR PAUPER FACTORY CHILDREN).

The first Factory Act takes us back to the beginning of the last century, and to the days when the factory pauper-apprentice system offered a picture of organised slavery of a character unsurpassed in the annals of negro bondage. The character of the cruelties inflicted on the miserable victims by factory masters of the baser sort may be gauged by the fact that they even turned the stomach of a squirearchical government to the extent that in 1802 the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act was passed to limit the working hours of factory apprentices to twelve per day, to compel the institution of separate sleeping apartments for the sexes, to prohibit the packing together of more than two apprentices in a single bed, to cause them to be sent to church at least once a month, and to have them provided each with a fresh suit of clothing at least once a year. At the same time the genius for statesmanship may be gauged by the injunction to provide instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, coupled with a complete absence of any provision of schoolmasters and by the administration of the Act being left to the justices of the peace, who as often as not were mill owners themselves.

### ROBERT OWEN AND THE FIRST FACTORY ACT FOR FREE CHILDREN.

Absorbed in caring for the welfare of pauper apprentices, the Government had forgotten to remember that even "free" factory children were little better than slaves—a circumstance which brought Robert Owen on the scene. Through his untiring efforts and instrumentality, the first Factory Act for "free" children was passed in 1819, but it was an Act which showed that the Government had proceeded to improve upon Owen in the manner of Mr. Thomas Bowdler improving on Shakespeare; for whereas Owen's Draft Bill would have provided for fixing the minimum age at ten (a concession of two years on his part), would have established a ten and a half hours working day for all under eighteen, would have embraced factories of all descriptions containing twenty hands and upwards, and would have ensured the effective carrying out of the Act by the appointment of qualified and paid inspectors, the Government, on the contrary, fixed the minimum age at nine, the working hours at twelve for all

under sixteen, and embraced cotton and woollen mills only, while the administration of the Act was entrusted to the magistrates to play with.

And having improved on Owen, the Government next proceeded to improve on itself by passing, the very next year (1820), an amending Act granting the owners of "water" factories free scope to work the children in excess of the stipulated twelve hours on various pretexts (such as the making up for lost time through accidents, &c.); factory masters, moreover, being endowed with full liberty to check any tendency to gluttony on the part of the children by the permission to fix the dinner hour at any time between 11 in the forenoon and 4 in the afternoon, instead of between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m., as had been previously ordained.

#### GIVING AND TAKING.

Five years later (1825) the Government again revealed its prowess by cutting down the meal times by half an hour, and permitting employers to fix the dinner hour any time between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. instead of 4 p.m.; and so that the children might have a good holiday on Saturdays the hours on that day were limited to nine, although they might be worked any time between 5 a.m. and 4-30 p.m. Six years later (1831) the scope of the twelve-hours working day was extended to persons under eighteen (instead of sixteen as previously); night work was also prohibited, and registers were to be kept; but this time the Government forgot to include woollen mills, the children and young persons in which were left entirely out in the cold. Two years later, however (1833), the Government signalled itself by an Act embracing cotton, woollen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen, and silk mills, but which expressly omitted lace factories. No person under eighteen was to be employed for more than twelve hours a day or sixty-nine per week; and no child under nine was to be employed *except* in silk mills, while the working period for children was to be nine hours per day, or forty-eight per week, for all under eleven years of age in the first year, all under twelve in the second, and all under thirteen in the third year after the passing of the Act. And in addition to this the administration of the Act was taken out of the hands of justices and handed over to four Government inspectors. If it be asked what momentous circumstances moved the Government to a measure like this, the answer is the ten-hours agitation, of which more anon. For the moment let us follow the four inspectors, and note how the Government had imposed upon them administrative tasks which, owing to legislative omissions, even forty inspectors would have failed to accomplish. Thus, for instance, as the mills were kept going from 5-30 a.m. to 8-30 p.m. for the benefit of adults, while there was no legally fixed period in the day for the working time of the youngsters, employers with a well-

regulated conscience could shuffle the youngsters' working-time about, while the hours during which meal hours could be taken offered also a big margin for manœuvres. Hence employers were enabled to kill two birds with one stone—could work the younger hands over time and evade detection as well.

#### MORE THOUGHTFULNESS.

But that was not all. There was also the matter of education. By the Act of 1833 legislators had thoughtfully authorised the new inspectors to establish or provide for the establishment of schools where necessary, and with equal thoughtfulness had left the means and methods of starting the schools to Providence. As for the factory schools in existence, they can be better described than imagined, witness Mr. Baker: "Factory schools are of many kinds, from the coalhole of the engine-house to the highest grade of infant education. The engineman, the slubber, the burler, the book-keeper, the overlooker, the wife of any of these, the small shopkeeper, or the next-door neighbour, with seven small children on the floor and on the lap, are by turns found teaching 'the young idea how to shoot' in and about their several places of occupation for the two hours required by the law."

#### THE TEN-HOURS MOVEMENT.

After the exertion of turning four inspectors loose to achieve the impossible, legislators naturally considered that the factory question might be allowed a well-earned repose; but, fortunately, there were others of opposite opinion, and of influence commanding enough to make the matter a public question. These were the leaders of the ten-hours movement, started in 1830 by Richard Oastler, of Fixby Hall, Yorkshire, a Tory in politics, but a humanitarian in principle. On the local short-time committees extremes met, Socialists and Chartists sitting cheek by jowl with ultra-Tories—men who in politics were as far apart as the poles, but who were firmly united on one solitary question. As for the Parliamentary group, the fact that it comprised full-blooded aristocrats like Lord John Manners and Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), the titular chief of the movement, together with a Tory M.P. in the shape of M. T. Sadler, Liberal M.P.'s such as Joseph Brotherton (member for Salford) and Charles Hindley (member for Ashton), and last, but not least, John Fielden, whose transformation from a Conservative into a Liberal qualified him to be the link between two sides, served to crown the movement with the triple halo of affluence, influence, and supreme respectability such as the short-time advocates of an earlier date had to dispense with.

The agitation, it is hardly necessary to say, was not ostensibly conducted for the sake of male adults. Wise in their day and generation, the agitators made it their object to secure a ten-hours

day for young persons, and the inclusion of women along with them, factors which would, nevertheless, have a limiting effect on the hours of male factory operatives as well. Thus the agitators, in the long run, gained a double advantage, besides capturing public opinion also.

#### HOW THE TEN-HOURS BILL WAS PASSED.

In the long run the Government rose to the occasion with the usual alacrity. After the agitation had been carried on with vigour for fourteen years, the Government in office (that of Sir Robert Peel) brought in a Factory Bill bracketting women with young persons and fixing the working time, as of old, at twelve hours per day, while the majority in the House of Commons, not to be behindhand, relieved its emotions by voting both ways with regard to Lord Ashley's ten-hours day amendments, first of all carrying an amendment which involved a ten-hours day and then rejecting the amendment which explicitly expressed it. And so to give the House another chance to distinguish itself, the Government brought in another Bill containing the twelve-hours clause again, and the House, good as gold, passed it.

A further indication of the mentality of the House is afforded by the other provisions of the Bill, which, whilst including women, actually reduced the work-starting age for children from nine to eight, and which, whilst declaring for a half-time system, omitted to establish a normal half-time day.

All the same, the inclusion of women, the strengthening of inspectors, and so forth, constituted sufficient encouragement for the agitators to go on with. In 1846 the Ten-Hours Bill was brought forward again, and the House of Commons rejected it; and so having signified its disapproval to the uttermost limit, next year (1847) the House passed the Bill on the third reading by a majority of over three score. Great was the jubilation of the operatives at the triumph which had taken seventeen years of strenuous agitation to achieve, but which in reality represented thirty years of hope and endeavour. And the jubilation was by no means lessened when the Act came into full operation in 1848, and brought the counter-agitation, started in the interval by the chagrined die-hards, to an ignominious close.

#### THE NORMAL WORKING DAY.

On the other hand, the Government had taken care to leave the ten-hours advocates with a grievance by omitting to make any regulations for preventing the juggling with working hours and meal times for the purpose of working the hands overtime and baffling inspectors. Three years later, however, the factory reform advocates had the satisfaction of seeing this infliction abolished by the Act of 1850, which established a definite normal working day, extending from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. or 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., with one and a half

hours for meals on five days of the week; the closing hour on Saturdays being fixed at 2 p.m. Yet, incredible as it may seem, while women and young persons were put in the Act, children were entirely left out; and it took three more years to induce Parliament to put them in and fix a normal working day of six and a half hours on their behalf. But not content with satisfying the factory reformers by abolishing the surreptitious cribbing of overtime, Parliament, in its overflowing generosity, also gratified the owners of water-mills by granting them the privilege of employing the children an extra hour per day to make up for lost time.

#### NULLIFYING EXCEPTIONS.

After a lapse of ten years, Parliament was again induced to put its hand to the plough. This time bleach works and dye works were brought under the Factory Acts, but, having laid down a definite rule, the legislators carefully appended the nullifying exception in the shape of permission to work abnormal hours on one pretext or another, while open-air bleaching was left entirely off the list. To what extent Parliament had distinguished itself may be gauged by Inspector Baker's report: "That the Bleach and Dye Works Act was most uncertain, and that the Print Works Act was a failure."

And so the process went on. When in 1864 home industries (to the number of six) were brought within the scope of the Acts, the penalty for breaking the law was fixed at the crushing figure of twenty shillings; and when the Factory Acts Extension Bill, in 1867, was passed to apply the law to furnaces and forges and metal works and workshops of various kinds, the list of exceptions occupied twice as much space as the sections themselves. When in 1870 the Acts relating to print works and dye works were consolidated, young persons were again consoled with the privilege of working beyond normal hours.

#### AFTER FIFTY-FIVE YEARS.

In 1874 the Conservative Home Secretary (Mr., afterwards Viscount, Cross), greatly daring, brought in a Bill giving an extra half hour for meals and enabling young children to start work at the ripe age of nine years instead of eight, and at the still riper age of ten instead of nine in a year after the passing of the Bill. It had taken two Houses of Parliament, comprising some 1,200 individuals, including the leading statesmen of the age, no less than fifty-five years to raise the age-limit of poor little factory children by a single year, and to realise Robert Owen's proposal made in the year 1819.

How brilliant was the chaos produced by all this piece-meal legislation of practical politicians may be seen from the report of the Commission of 1876. In textile factories and manufactories there was a ten-hours working day and two hours for meals; in

other factories the working day was ten and a half hours and the meal hours one and a half. In workshops and non-textile factories children might be employed at eight, while children in textile factories went to work at ten years of age. In workshops also, though children might not work more than six and a half hours, those six and a half hours might be worked any time between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m., whilst women and young persons could put in their ten and a half hours any time between 5 in the morning and 9 o'clock at night—a circumstance signifying difficulties for the factory inspector, who was likewise debarred from inspecting the sanitary arrangements of such workshops by the fact of the matter being left to the local authority to attend to if it so cared.

#### “COMPASSION” FOR SHOP ASSISTANTS.

In the year 1886 we find Parliament in a burst of compassion for young shop assistants, fixing their weekly limit of work at seventy-four hours per week, adults being left to take care of themselves, and no notice being taken of the glaring evidence as to the serious derangement of women's health caused by standing interminable hours at a time. Furthermore, the Act itself remained to such an extent a dead letter that six years after its passing Parliament handed over the administration of the Act to local authorities, at the same time empowering Town and County Councils to appoint inspectors. Five years later Parliament put in another brief spell of work at mending and patching the factory laws. By a characteristic oversight, however, the children's question would have been left untouched but for a gentle reminder in the shape of an amendment from the opposition ranks, as a result of which the age-limit was raised to eleven years. A number of previous exceptions applying to women workshops were also repealed; but while this was done the evils connected with domestic workshops were left to remain. Besides this, it was ordained for the first time that the occupiers of factories and workshops should not knowingly employ a woman within four weeks after child-birth; but as women had still to get a living, the dread of losing a place prompted them to return prematurely to work, and so—there being no fear of complaint to the inspector—the Act was largely inoperative.

#### THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR.

Coming next to the Act of 1895 we find another exemplification of the deep regard of politicians for the dignity of labour. \* “In the Standing Committee on Trade, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour voted for extending laundry women's hours to fourteen a day; Lord Salisbury and Mr. Jesse Collings pleaded pathetically in

\* “History of Factory Legislation,” by B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison.

Parliament against the crushing out of the small laundry. The result was the miserably inadequate protection afforded by clause 22 of the Act of 1895, which fixed the weekly limit of hours at thirty for children, sixty for young persons and women; but allowed children to work ten hours a day, young persons twelve, and women fourteen."

In 1901 the factory legislation of the present century was inaugurated with an Act in which the minimum age of employment for children was raised to twelve; but how far the Government was prepared to go was shown by the fact that extension of the Saturday half-holiday by one hour for textile workers was the outcome of an amendment from the opposition ranks, which the Government opposed, and on which it was defeated; while as regards the oppressively long hours in laundries nothing whatever was done to mitigate the affliction. And all this despite a Government majority overwhelming enough to carry any constructive measure it chose.

Between then and now Governments have remained as faithful to the olden traditions as circumstances would allow. For a hundred years Parliaments have been passing Factory Acts off and on, and to what purpose? The answer is supplied by the reference of the Prime Minister at Manchester in September, 1918, to the revelations made by the medical boards: "You have the three grades—your A1, your B2, and your C3—and all I can tell you is this, that the results of these examinations are sufficiently startling—I do not mind using the word appalling. I hardly dare to tell you what it is in some parts of Lancashire. . . . What does it mean? When you look at it it means this—that we have used our human material in this country prodigally, foolishly, cruelly. I asked the Minister of National Service how many more men we could have put into the fighting ranks if the health of the country had been properly looked after, and I was staggered at the reply. It was a considered reply. He said at least a million. If we had only had that number this war would have ended triumphantly for us. . . . And yet you had a million men who, if the State had taken proper care of the fitness of the people, would have been available for the war. And the vigour and strength of the workers of this country have been unsatisfactory even in pursuits where all conditions are favourable to the development of a fine physique—agriculture. The results in agriculture have been almost as disappointing as in almost any other industry—a thoroughly healthy occupation of that kind. Everywhere a virile race has been wasted by neglect and want of thought for it. It is a danger to the State and the Empire."

## A CENTURY OF POLITICAL HISTORY.

THE fact that manhood suffrage has taken a full century to attain points to the expediency of casting a glance at the political history of the people, whereby we may note the antagonists labour has had to contend with and mark the procession of phases and the characteristics of each; to wit:—

The struggle of the early Radicals for franchise reform.

The struggle of the Chartists to obtain power for the people.

The period of torpor ending in semi-enfranchisement.

The rise of labour as a dependent entity in the House of Commons.

The rise and struggle of Labour as an independent force.

### THE EARLY RADICAL STRUGGLE AND HOW IT ENDED.

Entering the time machine, a flight through a hundred years takes us back to the good old times when the merits of the British Constitution had sufficed to separate the nation into two opposite camps, one comprising the Crown, peerage and squirearchy, and the other everybody else; the former declaring that a constitution which made the House of Lords all powerful, the House of Commons a dependency, and the nation a cypher was the master-piece of creation; that rotten boroughs were an ornament of the realm, that pocket boroughs, selling at the tariff price of £5,000 a piece, with a £1,000 a year as a "refresher" gave distinction to politics, and that a House of Commons composed of nominees of the Land Trust, to the extent of two-thirds, constituted the consummation of collective wisdom.

Such was the system which the British junkerdom swore by and the people swore at; the fact of its evoking resentment in two opposite quarters at once bearing witness to its surprising effects. For while it galled the kibe of the *nouveaux riches* (particularly in the new industrial regions in the Midlands and North) by excluding them from political power and trammelling trade as well, on the working-classes it weighed like a nightmare of oppression and wrong. While the Corn Laws robbed them of daily bread, the Combination Laws robbed them of wages, the Paper Laws robbed them of knowledge, the Poor Law robbed them of *morale*, and the Franchise Laws robbed them of the right to political representation, and all this in a time when multitudes seeking work and finding none, owing to the combined effects of trade depression and new machinery, stood face to face with starvation and misery.

And thus amidst travail and suffering the first democratic movement of the century was born—born to survive Peterloo massacres, and strangulation acts, and all the malignant measures by which Herod the Oligarch sought to cut short its life. Local leaders might be

clapped into gaol, agitators like Orator Hunt might be gagged by imprisonment, but still the movement, gathering force with every act of oppression, marched on, whilst Cobbett the leader, from the columns of the *Weekly Register*, kept up a scorching fire of diatribes, and the philosophical Radicals unmasked their batteries in the *Westminster Review*, the oligarchy being thus raked fore and aft.

Then, in 1830, came the thunder-clap of the second French Revolution pealing across the Channel, and the political atmosphere became more electric than ever. In fact the country was worked up to such a pitch that the Whigs who had been debarred from the sweets of office for a whole generation saw the chance of a lifetime and took it. Motions for reform were tabled, and despite the Duke of Wellington's dictum that the British constitution couldn't be improved, and shouldn't be altered so long as he could prevent it, the Duke (defeated on a civil list question) found himself forced to go out to let Earl Grey come in.

To make a long story short, the House of Landlords, led by the Duke, fought for their privileges to the very last ditch, and to avert a popular uprising, and to save the throne, the King at last empowered the Whig premier to create sufficient new peerages to swamp the opposition, whereon their lordships caved in. On the third reading in the House of Lords in June, 1832, the Duke gave vent to his feelings in the following Jeremiad: "Reform, my Lords, has triumphed, the barriers of the Constitution are broken down, the waters of destruction have burst the gates of the temple, and the tempest begins to howl. Who can say where its course should stop? Who can stay its speed?"

And what was the Bill which evoked this terrifying prediction. It was a bill which enfranchised the solid middle class, and shut out the workers, and this by the simple device of a re-jerrymandering of seats and a £10 rental qualification for townfolk (at a time when the overwhelming mass of working-class householders couldn't afford to pay a £10 rent), and in the rural districts a qualification so high that none but the wealthier leaseholders and copyholders got a vote.

#### THE TUMULTUOUS ERA OF CHARTISM.

Thus the sole reward of the people for a decade and a half of struggle in forcing the gates of the political Zion was to see them shut, bolted, and barred after the middle class had passed in. If the outcome proved as sweet as victory to the latter to the former it proved as wormwood and gall; the irony of the position being doubled by the fact of a coalesced oligarchy which, whilst treating the masses as a beast of burden to be bridled and bullied and packsaddled, overworked and half starved, was twice as powerful as the old, as the Chartists discovered in the course of that memorable struggle for the political independence of labour which was waged for an entire decade, and

which constituted the leading landmark in the political history of the people for the whole of the century.

The special significance of the struggle may be realised by two circumstances. First, the combination of social with political aims, and second, the union of forces arrayed against it. As regards the former it must be pointed out that in the minds of the Chartist leaders the ultimate remedy for social evils was the abolition of the private monopoly of land, transport, and machinery; the preliminary means thereto being the democratic control of the state to be secured by the enfranchisement of the masses. Thus in the Chartist movement the reader will discern the anticipation of the labour movement of our own time, as well as the difference between Chartism and early Radicalism, with its individualistic principles and its reformatory aims—a difference due to the fact that Chartism owed its inception and its leadership to men imbued with the Owenite ideal of a nobler manhood and a higher life, but who in contradistinction to Robert Owen looked to the transformation of the State into an organ of social welfare when Owen's attempts to inaugurate a transformation in the economic sphere had been shorn of success.

The fact that it was a singlehanded fight against the combined powers of landlordism and capitalism serves also to denote the abnormal forces arrayed against Chartism as compared with those against early Radicalism, in whose days both workers and middle class were arrayed against the landed oligarchy, whereas now the twin oligarchy of landlordism and capitalism were massed against the Chartist labour movement whose constitutional appeals were treated with callous contempt by the House of Commons, while the Government strove to crush the agitation by brute force and terrorism. Consider, to begin with, the treatment of the People's Charter with its well-known six points: universal suffrage, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, annual Parliaments, equal representation, payment of members, and vote by ballot—all now recognised as absolutely unexceptionable, save that of annual parliaments. In the short space of twelve months the Charter had become the rallying cry of a huge popular movement, including the elite of the working-class, and a National Convention had drawn up a petition which had been signed by one and a quarter million people. Presented to the House of Commons, the House, on July 12th, 1839, decisively refused to consider the petition, whilst Lord John Russell had the nerve to deny the need for any extension of the franchise despite the fact that 86 male adults in every hundred were devoid of a vote; and even went so far as to deny the existence of much misery in the land, although circumstances proclaimed a period of distress as great as had ever been known. Furthermore, when in 1842 the House of Commons was petitioned again, the House signified its implacable attitude by 287 votes to 49, Macaulay declaring universal suffrage to be "incompatible

with property," and "consequently incompatible with civilisation." If you grant universal suffrage," he said, "the country is lost." And Macaulay was a House of Commons oracle.

Synchronously with the refusal to consider the first petition began the steam-rolling process applied to the movement, showing the attempts to flatten it out. If a Chartist speaker used impassioned language, it was a case of "off to gaol with him!" If a hunger-bitten mob started a riot, or if the overbearing conduct of the police succeeded in provoking one, then the fault was fastened on the Chartists. In 1839 Henry Vincent, the Chartist orator, was sent to gaol for sedition, the sedition consisting in the utterance: "When the time for resistance arrives, let your cry be, 'To your tents, O Israel!'" while William Lovett and John Collins received a similar sentence for the "crime" of signing a protest against the brutal conduct of the police. And all these were moral force Chartists. Needless to say, physical force Chartists, like Bronterre O'Brien and George Julian Harney, got no better treatment. It was a case of no quarter, as shown by the example made of John Frost, the Chartist draper of Newport, who, after being removed from the bench for his Chartist opinions, was afterwards, along with two others, condemned to death for high treason, and then sentenced to transportation for life, in connection with the affray at Newport (in which 20 Chartists were killed by the military and many others maimed and wounded), although one part of the evidence was shown to be false and the other part inconclusive.

All this serves to explain how the movement was goaded into what has been styled Physical-force Chartism, and how Fergus O'Connor became the ultimate leader. How intolerable became the state of affairs may be realised by the starvation prevalent in "the hungry forties," the desperate strikes of 1842 in the Midlands and North, the great coal strike of 1844 when 30,000 miners joined the Chartists, the potato famine and railway bubble of 1847. Then, in 1848, came the news of the revolutionary earthquake abroad, toppling down thrones, and causing monarchs like Louis Philippe and arch-reactionists like Metternich to scuttle off for their lives. And then, by the irony of fate, what should have been the crowning Chartism demonstration of all was turned into the crowning fiasco. And the movement never looked up again.

#### POLITICAL TORPOR AND SEMI-ENFRANCHISEMENT.

To the thirty years period of tumult succeeded the era of political torpor. As the collapse of the Chartist movement had the effect of causing the people to turn from political agitation and social idealism to the task of building up trade unions and co-operative societies, so the triumph of the Manchester School, with its gospel of individualism and *laissez-faire* had the effect of permeating the minds of the new generation with anti-social ideals and with the

political and economic creed of the dominant class; and, under these circumstances, it began to dawn on the leaders of the political parties that the question of utilising the worker as a pawn in the opportunist game was entitled to consideration. And so began that series of tentative proposals, first by one party and then by the other, in the fifties and sixties which showed that the idea was at work, and that the parties were feeling their way. Thus, there was Lord John Russell's Bill of 1854; Mr. Disraeli's Bill of 1859, intended to enfranchise about 200,000; Lord Palmerston's proposal in 1860 for the enfranchisement of a similar number; Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill of 1868 for a rental qualification, and Mr. Disraeli's Bill in 1867, the only one of the lot that was passed. And how was it passed? The Conservatives had taken office with a Liberal majority in opposition. The result was that the opposition, which, when in office, had tried to pass a rental franchise bill without success, now retaliated by urging household suffrage for towns on the Government, which the Government at last accepted in defiance of its previous declarations that it would have nothing to do with household suffrage on any consideration. And that's how the townspeople came to be enfranchised, the rural inhabitants being left to vegetate in the wilderness till 1884, when, under Gladstonian auspices, their case was attended to at long length.

#### LABOUR AS A DEPENDENT ENTITY.

The masses in the towns being enfranchised, preparations then began for the representation of labour in Parliament, the formation of the Labour Representation League in 1868 and the Labour Electoral Association in 1886 denoting the era of labour union advocacy in the House of Commons; but labour as a dependent entity was not a particularly welcome one, as was shown by the manner in which the "boys of the old brigade" had to fight their way into Parliament. Thus, in 1870, the defeat of George Odger, the first labour candidate, was secured by his being placed second on the poll as the result of opposition in the shape of two orthodox party candidates. At the election of 1874 thirteen Liberal-Labour candidates were put forward, four of whom only were allowed a straight fight, and only two out of the whole fourteen being returned: Thomas Burt (for Morpeth) and Alexander Macdonald (for Stafford), who, as miners' representatives, became the first trade union advocates in Parliament. At the 1880 election the two became three by the addition of Henry Broadhurst (elected for Stoke-on Trent); in 1885 eleven were returned; in 1886 thirteen candidates were run, and ten only got in; in 1892 sixteen put up, and fifteen were returned; in 1895 sixteen put up, and twelve were returned; in 1900 sixteen put up, and eleven were returned; but two of the eleven were elected under the auspices of the newly-formed Labour Representation Committee, which

signified a new orientation in labour politics, indicating the dissatisfaction with the exiguous numbers of the old Parliamentary brigade and its conspicuous absence of growth, and dissatisfaction also with the Parliamentary record, which showed the achievement of two comprehensive measures in the course of twenty years, *i.e.*, the Employers' Liability Act of 1880 and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, the latter (which had to be amended in 1890 and 1906) being an amendment of the defects of the former. How far the old labour group had become an appendage of a capitalist party, and had adopted its political and economic creed, is indicated by Sidney Webb:—\*

“To the front bench of 1875–85 democracy appeared in the guise of the codification of the criminal law, the reform of the jury system, the creation of a court of criminal appeal, and the regulation of the summary jurisdiction of the magistracy. . . . When the Congress dealt with electoral reform it got no further than the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, already a commonplace of middle-class Liberalism. The student of Continental labour movements will find it difficult to believe that, in the representative Congress of the English artisans, amendments in favour of manhood suffrage were, even as late as 1882 and 1883, rejected by large majorities. Nor did the Parliamentary Committee put even the county franchise into their own programme until it had become the battle-cry of the Liberal Party at the General Election of 1880.”

Add to this the advocacy of peasant proprietorship instead of land nationalisation, and the fact that such demands as the payment of Members of Parliament, payment of election expenses, and free education were only added to the draft by the Congress of 1883-4, after their omission by the Parliamentary Committee, and the wide gulf separating the labour parliamentarians of the eighties, both from the campaigners of the old times and the new, becomes clearly outlined. What brought a new current into the labour ranks was, as every well-informed person knows, the rise and growth of socialism in the eighties and onward, and the consequent rise and growth of new leaders, under whom the old ideal of political independence and Parliamentary control, and of the State as an organ of public welfare, became objects to be realised under new and superior conditions.

#### LABOUR AS AN INDEPENDENT FORCE.

So arose the Labour Representation Committee, symbolising the advent of a new movement, to which the Taff Vale decision of 1901 (which swept away the guarantees for immunity of trade union funds) served to rally trade unionists with results which became visible at the election of 1906; the permanence of the Labour Party

\* “History of Trade Unionism,” p. 352.

being proclaimed by the elections of 1910; the figures of the three elections being as follows:—

1906.—Fifty-two labour candidates returned, thirty one belonging to the Labour Party.

1910 (January).—Forty-six returned, forty belonging to the Labour Party.

1910 (December).—Forty-eight returned, forty-two belonging to the Labour Party.

The redressing in 1906 of the injustice inflicted by the Taff Vale verdict, and the subsequent measure for the payment of members in compensation for the Osborne judgment, together with the impetus to social legislation, signified by the granting of Old Age Pensions in 1908 and the institution of National Industrial Insurance in 1911, suffice to indicate the turn of affairs due to the advent of the Labour Party, whose transformation of status since then has been proclaimed by the establishment of a Labour Ministry, the designation of a Labour Minister of Pensions, of a Labour Minister to the War Cabinet, of a Labour M.P. as Food Controller, together with minor appointments. Most significant of all is the realisation of the historical aspiration for manhood suffrage, which has been made to embrace womanhood partially though not impartially—measures which point to the considered verdict that civilisation may possibly survive in defiance of the Jeremiads of the wiseacres of the early Victorian era. As to the future of the Labour Party, the fact of its increase of membership amongst the rank and file from 353,070 in 1900–1 to approximately 2,750,000 in 1918 is sufficient to dispel all doubts as to the flow of the tide. Meanwhile, one may rest assured that the movement will never be left in want of a stimulus so long as capitalism can contrive to provide it, as the course of events down to the latest orgie of profiteering clearly shows.

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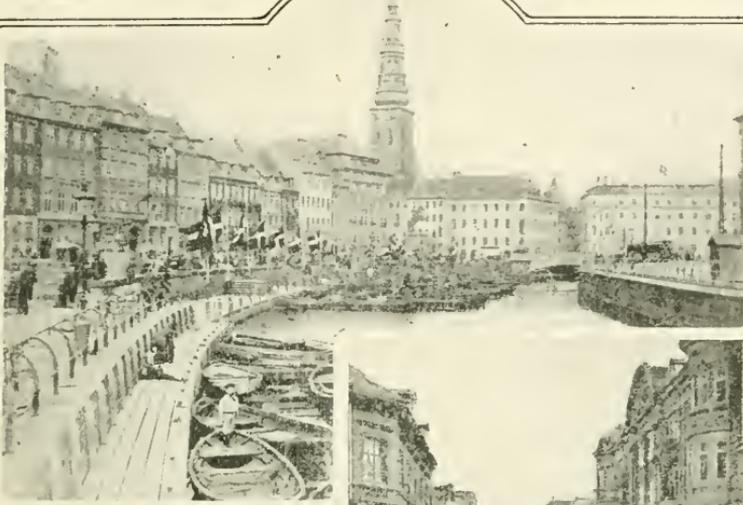
## THE GENERAL ELECTION IN DENMARK.

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In April, 1918, took place the first general elections for the Danish Folketing, or Lower House, since the passing (on June 5th, 1917) of the electoral law extending the suffrage to women and servants; there being 1,214,000 electors on the lists, and 140 members in the new Folketing, as compared with 491,433 electors and 114 members at the elections of 1913. The new Folketing comprises 71 ministerialists (32 Radicals and 39 Socialists) and 68 opposition deputies (22 Conservatives, 45 members of the Left, and one of the Trade Union Party). In the old Folketing the Radicals numbered 31, the Socialists 32, the Conservatives 8, and the party of the Left 43.

# TOWNS IN DENMARK

# IN WHICH THERE ARE C.W.S DEPÔTS



COPENHAGEN : TOWER OF RIGSBANKEN AND CANAL



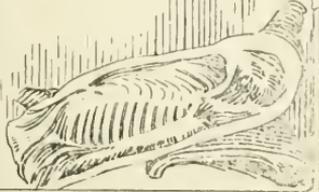
ESBJERG : MAIN STREET



AARHÛS : CANAL



ODENSE : MAIN STREET



## THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

AMONG the outstanding episodes of the war period is that political enfranchisement for which women have struggled for over half a century and pleaded for over a hundred years. What led to the sudden and unexampled conversion of anti-suffragist politicians *en bloc* was, according to their own declarations, the rally of an army of women to the national service in the hour of a national crisis; politicians thus signifying by this that the preservation of the nation in war time entitles women to a vote, but that the preservation of the nation in peace time does not. And then, to show there was no nonsense about it, Parliament went and fixed the minimum voting age of women at thirty, and so the very women who have rallied to the national service have, most of them, been debarred from the vote. Thus the end is not yet, and votes for women is a watchword likely to be heard of once more.

A glance at the history of the women's movement from first stage to last reveals the advance from the pioneering stage to that of sweet reasonableness or quiet endeavour, and from that to the stage of militant agitation and demonstrations in force. The political franchise movement of women may thus be contrasted with the franchise movement of men, which, after an era of turbulent tactics and semi-revolutionary speeches, finally subsided into the temperate zone of peaceful persuasion.

### THE ERA OF DIVINE RIGHT.

- Going back to the beginning of the pioneering stage we find ourselves in the good old times when man was the monarch of all he surveyed and woman his "man Friday." Those were the days when George the Third was King, and ruled by the grace of God and by divine right, and everybody who was anybody did just the same. As the squirearchy rule by divine right in Parliament so the factory masters and others of that ilk ruled over their workpeople. In the domestic sphere it was even more so. There the man was not merely lord and master but proprietor as well. The wife's person, property, and children all were his to command. Such was the law as he made it, he and his ancestors. True it is that right-minded husbands would not condescend to take advantage of the law. But the trouble was that husbands of the right-minded type hardly sufficed to go round. They seldom do.

### THE FIRST "UNWOMANLY WOMAN."

There came at last a voice from the vasty deep proclaiming the dawn of women's awakening—the voice of Mary Wollstonecraft vindicating the rights of women as against the wrongs inflicted by men.

It was the plaint of the first "unwomanly woman," of the primal ancestress of the "shrinking sisterhood" of the Victorian age and of the suffragettes of the twentieth century. True it is that she didn't shriek any more than the patient dames of last century. She left that to Horace Walpole, who vindicated the rights of men in robustic style by calling her a "hyena in petticoats." On the other hand her husband wrote of her as "a worshipper of domestic life." But then, as her husband, he was only likely to know what he was talking about, whereas Horace Walpole knew how to draw an inference and also the long bow. Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in 1792, a circumstance showing how far she was ahead of her time. Like all first pioneers she initiated not a movement but an inspiration. Her voice was that of one crying in the wilderness, but its echoes were heard by the women of a later generation, while other women in various walks of life were gaining distinction and indirectly preparing the way: Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, by her work in the cause of prison reform; Mrs. Somerville and Miss Caroline Herschell, in the paths of astronomy; Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë and her sisters, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and George Eliot, in the sphere of literature, demonstrated, as others did before and since, that mental endowment is not altogether the monopoly of one sex, while the enlistment of women as auxiliaries in the Anti-Corn Law agitation, to say nothing of others, proved a stepping stone to higher things. Meanwhile, the "new woman," who was coming to the front, saw quite clearly how entirely the zenana conception of women's sphere failed to correspond with the facts of real life. Though no inconsiderable number of women had to support themselves yet the avenues to all the professions were iron-barred. Though Florence Nightingale might save the Crimean army from a devastating peril, yet a regiment of legislators could muddle away lives by the multitude. Then came the Divorce Act of 1857 proclaiming one law for man and another for woman by granting dissolution of marriage to a husband for a single act of infidelity on the wife's part, but keeping a wife tied up to her husband howsoever unfaithful he might be so long as he abstained from going to the last extreme and adding cruelty to vice.

#### THE MOVEMENT BEGINS.

All these things added fuel to the flame of discontent which became the motive force of organised action in the sixties of last century, when a propitious fate furnished a fitting opportunity and provided a leader as well—the opportunity being the project of the second Reform Bill, and the leader John Stuart Mill. With the leading thinker of the age at their head the suffragists, with the leading women of the kingdom amongst them (Mrs. Somerville, Frances Power Cobbe, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, and Mrs. Josephine Butler), began that siege of Parliament which lasted for the next fifty years. John Stuart Mill's amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867 was, of course,

rejected. The women stood no earthly chance of enfranchisement from a Mandarin government which also excluded agricultural labourers from the vote, while enfranchising town's artisans. It was considered that the political emancipation for the first time in history of a fraction of the working-class was an evil quite sufficient for the day thereof. To all the rest of the unenfranchised it was a case of "keep off the grass."

With the passing of Mr. Mill from the parliamentary scene in 1868, owing to the vagaries of the Westminster electors, the budding movement lost its first parliamentary advocate, whose mantle then fell on Mr. Jacob Bright, who stood at the affirmative pole of women's rights as his brother John did at the negative; the divergence between John Stuart Mill and his father affording a parallel case. The appearance, in 1869, of Mill's *Subjection of Women*—the classic of the women's rights movement—revealed the author as the literary champion of the forlorn hope which he had first inspired by his work on *Representative Government* eight years before. Mill it was who made the women's question a matter of practical politics, in virtue of which his name holds the most distinguished place in the annals of women's suffrage.

#### THE FORLORN HOPE'S ACHIEVEMENTS.

Meanwhile, the forlorn hope was showing its mettle: The gain of the Municipal franchise for women in 1869, and the School Board and Poor Law Guardian franchise in 1870, together with an Act passed in the same year giving married women a right to their earnings—all distinctly coming as an early reward for the entrance of the feminine pioneers into practical politics. But beyond granting the secondary things the Government refused to budge an inch. When, in 1870, the first Women's Suffrage Bill (introduced by Jacob Bright) succeeded in passing the second reading by 124 votes to 91 the Government brought up its horse, foot, and artillery, and pulverised the motion to go into committee by 220 votes to 94, and left the suffragists, like Peris at the gate of heaven, to stand disconsolate. All the same, the suffragists had gained a footing in public affairs by the election of some of the leading spirits at the first School Board contests—Miss Elizabeth Garrett, M.D., and Miss Emily Davies in London, Miss Lydia Becker in Manchester, and Miss Flora Stevenson in Edinburgh, while the election of women to other School Boards later on, and to Poor Law Boards also, helped to familiarise the public with the fact that picked women could be better administrators than unpicked men. Furthermore, the foundation of societies in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Birmingham, and Bristol, combined with arrangements for organised action, signified the inauguration of a movement whose task was the preparation of an argument sufficient to convince the most hardened legislators—that is the creation of a volume of public opinion which

no government could withstand. It will be seen that the advance guard had its work cut out to persuade the obtuse, to move the apathetic, to confront the Philistine host and to bear the clownish jibes, which, after the manner of comic valentine coruscations, once did duty for wit. Still the women managed to survive all this and very much more, and eventually, when the movement had been caricatured in *Punch* and gravely banned by *The Times*, the cause might fairly consider itself decorated with the order of merit.

Meanwhile, the years and the women went on. During the seventies the women's suffrage debate figured as one of the hardy annuals of Parliament. In 1880 the women freeholders in the Isle of Man were enfranchised (a measure preludeing the enfranchisement of the women householders of Manxland some years later). And when a new Reform Bill loomed on the horizon and various associations had passed exemplary resolutions, and 110 stalwart M.P.'s had informed Mr. Gladstone, through the medium of a collective memorial, that nothing less than the inclusion of women in the new Reform Bill would content them (the M.P.'s that is), the suffragists began to expect something to happen. And something did. When the Reform Bill of 1884 was brought in (to enfranchise the agricultural labourer) the women were left out, and when the suffrage amendment came on the Government brought up its big battalions and annihilated the motion by 271 votes to 135, and more significant still, amongst the 271 massacres of the innocent were 104 of the Government's supporters who had previously pledged themselves to vote for women's suffrage. In the innocence of their hearts the women had supposed that politicians would vote as they promised. It showed that the women had still something to learn, and after the Reform Bill further happenings served to broaden their education.

#### AS POLITICAL SATELLITES.

Thus the foundation of the Primrose League and the Women's Liberal Federation showed both parties (after successively rejecting the women's claim to the vote) now with equal vehemence pressing them into party service to replace the paid canvassers recently abolished by law, and to do a share of the hack work necessary for the election of M.P.'s. As much as to say: "We can't let you vote, ladies, because that's most unfeminine; but you may canvass, wheedle, cajole, and talk politics by the yard on our behalf and thus demonstrate your true womanhood." That this is no caricature is shown by the dual attitude of Mr. Gladstone as noted by feminine historians. In his Midlothian campaign in 1879 the Liberal chief appealed to the women of Dalkeith to bear their own part. "We are making," he said, "no inappropriate demand, but are beseeching you to fulfil the duties which belong to you, the accomplishment of which would serve to gild your future years with sweet remembrances and to warrant you in hoping that each in your own place and sphere has raised your voice

for justice, and has striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind." The other attitude is illustrated by Mr. Gladstone's letter to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., in 1892, when Sir Albert Rollit's Women's Suffrage Bill was before the House, in which letter Mr. Gladstone expressed his fear that voting by women would "trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, the elevation of their whole nature." The Government opposition resulted in the defeat of the Bill by 23 votes, a small majority, but quite effectual. Five years later came the test for a Conservative Government, when, in 1897, the Women's Suffrage Bill, sponsored by Mr. Faithfull Begg, passed the second reading by 228 votes to 157.

#### MORE EXPERIENCE.

The fact that further progress was blocked served to show the hand of the government. Ample experience thus effectually proved that it was the deliberate intention of both parties to make use of women as political instruments, but not to give them the vote. And so things went on till 1905, when the annals of the House showed how fully the matter had been discussed during 35 years, viz., in 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1892, 1897, 1904, and 1905. Three times also Women's Suffrage Bills had passed the second reading (*i.e.*, 1870, 1886, and 1897), and then been blocked. And most exasperating circumstances of all was the fact of a majority pledged to support women's suffrage since the year 1897, but whose promises were never redeemed and never seemed likely to be so long as governments remained hostile, majorities shifty, and anti-suffrage politicians, accomplished in all the arts and devices of bill-blocking, barred the way to the suffrage on the ground that women had no right to a vote because they couldn't fight, and this in face of the notorious fact that the rank and file of the fighting forces of the realm were themselves shut out from the franchise. Close on 40 years of quiet endeavour on the suffragists' part demonstrated conclusively the determination of politicians to maintain the parliamentary polling booths as a holy of holies, not to be desecrated by feminine feet. Unquestionably the suffragists had done their best in more ways than one. They had secured the first Married Women's Property Act as well as the Act for the guardianship of children, they had been instrumental in enabling women to obtain a university education, they had made an entrance for women to the medical profession, and their efforts in the way of establishing secondary schools for girls had been crowned with success. But all this could not obscure the fact that, so far as the parliamentary franchise was concerned, suffragist affairs had now reached an *impasse*.

#### THE MILITANT STAGE.

The position was galling, intolerable, and then came the establishment of the Women's Social and Political Union, under the

auspices of Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, whereon the era of quiet endeavour passed away, and the era of militancy began. How the campaign was fought all the world knows: all the episodes of the period from 1906 down to the outbreak of war—the heckling of ministers and the raids on Parliament; the ejection from meetings; the imprisonments and hunger-strikes—are now ancient history as well as the outcome—that is to say the making of “votes for women” the talk of the time, the galvanisation of the whole women’s movement into activity, and the holding of mass meetings on so imposing a scale that the biggest football crowds the country could boast were completely outclassed. Under the impetus given by the W.S.P.U. the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies waxed larger than ever before, and took to agitating on a scale it had never before dreamt of. And whereas the suffrage debates in Parliament which had been an annual feature in the seventies and had then dwindled down to three in the eighties and to two in the nineties, now became a hardy annual again. And whereas the suffragists had formerly been denied the vote when they had agitated quietly, now they were told they weren’t fit for the vote because they agitated too hard. To cabinet ministers “votes for women” became the bogey of their lives; a mischievous and merciless bogey popping up at their meetings, sitting on their doorsteps, haunting them here, there, and everywhere, peeping out of the letter bag, peering from the newspaper, lying in wait as they stepped into the taxi-cab, and button-holing them when they stepped out. And the height of topsy-turvyness was reached when potent, grave, and reverend seigniors took to playing the role of injured innocents and barricading themselves in the House of Commons. And all the while the parliamentary juggling went on as shown by the suffrage bills which passed their second reading in 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1911, but which were never allowed to reach the third; though the Conciliation Bill of 1910 (providing for the extension of the franchise to women householders) passed its second reading by a majority of 110 (a majority greater than the Government obtained for any measure of its own), and the Conciliation Bill of 1911 passed the second reading by the still greater majority of 167, the Government continued its policy of passive resistance in defiance of representative principles, right down to the war period, when the leading opponents of women’s suffrage advanced to the penitent form and publicly proclaimed their conversion. But while women’s enfranchisement reveals the revolutionary change effected in the parliamentary mind, the fixing of the minimum voting age at 30 for women shows by the adherence to half measures how difficult it is for the lion to change its skin or the leopard its spots.

#### THE MOVEMENT ELSEWHERE.

Meanwhile, the women’s suffrage movement has attained to world-wide dimensions, the enfranchisement of women in various countries

clearly indicating the spirit of the age. In New Zealand women gained the vote in 1893, and in the Commonwealth of Australia women have been voters since 1902, and in Tasmania since 1903. In Europe three countries have given the lead to Great Britain: Finland\* in 1907, Norway in 1908, and in Denmark since then. In America also the trend of state enfranchisement, inaugurated by Wyoming in 1869, is shown by the extension of votes to women in Colorado in 1893, in Utah in 1895, in Idaho in 1896, in Washington in 1910, in California in 1911, in Arizona, Oregon, and Kansas in 1912, and in Nevada and Montana in 1914. As to the work of America's women suffragists the testimony of Mark Twain will suffice: "For forty years they have swept an imposingly large number of unfair laws from the Statute books of America. In this brief time these serfs have set themselves free—essentially. Men could not have done as much for themselves in that time without bloodshed; at least they never have, and that is an argument they didn't know how." As to how women's suffrage has worked at the Antipodes may be seen from the resolution unanimously adopted by both Houses of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament in 1910: "That this House is of opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal elections the women's vote in the majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defence and imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women."

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## AMERICA'S WAR-TIME REVENUE.

In 1916-17 the revenue of the United States amounted to £161,878,600; in 1917-18 to £800,000,000; and for 1918-19 the object has been to raise it to £1,600,000,000. The greatest proportion of the £800,000,000 raised in 1917-18 came from income and excess profits tax, which brought in £567,816,600; while the intoxicating liquor taxes brought in £88,600,000, and the smokers' taxes £31,237,600. Increased railway charges brought in £12,600,000, while death duties brought in £9,490,400, and a 10 per cent levy on places of amusement £5,271,400.

\* In Finland a band of women representatives has been a distinguishing feature of the legislature.

## DIARY OF LABOUR EVENTS, 1917-18.

### 1917. DECEMBER.

31. Two thousand engineers strike work at the Great Central Railway Company's Gorton works on the question of the payment to semi-skilled and unskilled men of the 12½ per cent wages advance conceded by the Ministry of Munitions. The trouble spreads to Dnkinfield, where another 2,000 railway engineers also down tools.

### 1918. JANUARY.

1. Steel trade of Sheffield and District at a standstill, and 10,000 men on strike owing to the Government's refusal to sanction the 12½ per cent bonus on the lines recommended by the Sheffield Employers' Association.
3. Workers in the iron and steel industries conceded a 20s. advance on pre-war rates, plus 12½ per cent for all time workers, as the outcome of a conference of delegates at the Ministry of Munitions.
7. Miners' grievances with regard to the drastic comb-out discussed at conferences (at Manchester and Liverpool) between representatives of the Lancashire Miners' Federation and the military authorities, and an assurance obtained that only men of military age who have gone into the mines since the war will be taken to whatever category they belong.
9. The War Cabinet Labour Committee sanctions an advance of wages to all female munition workers: 3s. 6d. per week to women and 1s. 9d. to girls, the rise to be retrospective, dating from the first pay after December 15th.
15. British Labour message to the Russian people (proclaiming the principle of no annexations and the self determination of peoples) sent by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress and the National Labour Party Executive.
16. Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P. (member of the War Cabinet), explains his Glasgow reference animadverting on the 12½ per cent bonus to time workers in munition works and shipyards.
18. Strike of over 10,000 employees engaged mainly in the aeroplane industry in the Birmingham district: an alleged case of victimisation having brought discontent to a head.
19. Appointment of the Committee on Production as a special arbitration tribunal to deal with differences arising out of the 12½ per cent bonus.
21. Clyde ironworkers, after a week's strike (for an equivalent to the 12½ per cent bonus granted to time workers), begin to return to work; the policy of peaceful negotiation having been determined on in conference.

23-25. Annual Labour Party Conference at Nottingham refers the proposed reconstitution scheme back for the consideration of affiliated societies, and in regard to peace appeals to the working-class organisations of Germany and Austria, and asks the Allied Governments to make a joint statement of war-aims, and to accord facilities for an international conference when required. The conference also denounces profiteering and calls for a proper regulation of food distribution. Other resolutions call for the release of conscientious objectors, an improved education scheme, a levy on capital, the extension of the franchise to all adults, a six-hours working day, higher old age pensions, the abolition of the House of Lords, Home Rule for India, a soldier's charter, and a Ministry of Health. The continuance of Labour members in the Government is likewise discussed, but a decision is avoided by the conference.

26. An advisory committee of iron and steel and kindred trades employers is appointed by the Ministry of Labour.
26. New arrangement for cardroom apprentices adopted by the card and blowing-room operatives.
26. The A.S.E. challenges Sir A. Geddes's statement that the Government had entered into special agreement with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
28. Conference of Sir Auckland Geddes (Minister of National Service) with the Clyde workers who, after hearing his case, pass a resolution pledging themselves "to oppose to the very uttermost the Government in its call for more men."
31. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party (Mr. Arthur Henderson M.P.) issues a dual appeal to the Government to meet the delegates of the A.S.E. in a separate conference, and to the workers to realise the gravity of threatening a strike to enforce the demand for the Government to declare an armistice and enter into negotiations with the Central Powers.

### FEBRUARY.

1. Government statement issued with regard to the position between itself, the A.S.E., and the other trade unions in relation to the man-power proposals. The Government declares itself willing to meet the A.S.E. if the other unions will consent.
2. A meeting of the Manchester and District Engineers' Federation (representing between 50,000 and

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- 60,000 workers) expresses by resolution its disapproval of the down-tools policy with regard to the Man-power Bill.
13. Sir Auckland Geddes holds conference with 450 delegates of the trades unions affected by the man-power proposals under the new Military Service Act. The delegates pass resolutions objecting to separate meetings with any section, and proposing that an informal conference should be held to which the A.S.E. should be invited.
  19. The A.S.E.'s ballot with regard to the Government's man-power proposals declared: 121,017 votes being recorded against acceptance, as compared with 27,470 favourable votes, the majority being 93,547. A conference of representatives of other trades unions with those of the A.S.E. breaks up without coming to any definite decision.
  - 20-23. Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conference in London formulates its peace aims and declares that an international conference of Socialist and Labour Parties of all belligerent countries should be held.
  25. Labour Party conference deals with the reconstitution and reorganisation of the party.
  28. Textile workers demand for an all-round advance of wages announced.
  28. Delegates of the A.S.E. and Prime Minister have a mutual interview and expound their views to each other.
- ### MARCH.
2. Threatened national strike of the 'bus and tramway workers if the extension to them of the Aswith award of £1 to commercial workers is not conceded.
  7. At a joint conference held at the Ministry of Labour between employers and employes in connection with the threatened strike an agreement is arrived at that the men's demand shall be dealt with on a national basis and referred to the Committee of Production for decision.
  9. Tramway workers awarded an advance equivalent to £1 per week over pre-war rates for the grades concerned. Women excluded from this decision to receive an advance of 4s. per week subject to a maximum of 20s. over pre-war rates. Girls, boys, and youths also to receive advances.
  11. The National Executive of the Labour Party by resolution condemns the *maisons tolérées* for British soldiers in France as "an absolute outrage."
  19. Miners' Comb-out. The ballot results on the question of approval or disapproval of the comb-out show a division of opinion. In Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, Lancashire and Cheshire, Wales (north and south), and Leicestershire, the collective votes amounting to 127,772 for the comb-out and 135,932 against; or majority against, 8,160.
  20. In view of the miners' ballot having failed to show a two-thirds majority, a meeting of miners' federation delegates recommends the conference "to advise the men not to resist taking 50,000 men from the mines for the army."
  21. Engineers' comb-out and threatened strike. An "unofficial" conference in Manchester of representatives from all parts of the country decides to give the Government notice of a cessation of work on April 6th as a protest against young engineers being taken into the army "while dilutes, &c., fit for military service are retained in the workshops."
  26. Shell makers' strike at Leeds (at three shell factories) settled on the understanding of an inquiry into the original grievance.
  28. Farm labourers' strike in Mid-Cheshire for a decrease of hours and an increase of wages.
  - 31-April 1. British Socialist Party Conference at Leeds. The conference declares its sympathy with the Russian Bolsheviks, its advocacy of industrial unionism as a class conscious weapon, calls for the co-operation of all active forces to secure the restoration of civil liberties, and refers the question of severance of the B.S.P. from the Labour Party to a referendum.
- ### APRIL.
- 1-2. I.L.P. Easter Conference at Leicester. The conference condemns secret treaties and "declares for peace by negotiation," for the restoration of civil liberties, and for a soldier's charter.
  3. Farm labourers' strike in Mid-Cheshire collapses.
  10. Textile workers declare against the abolition of the half-time system. At a conference at Westminster, convened by the Textile Factory Workers' Association, to discuss the various clauses of the new Education Bill, the figures of the operatives' ballot on the abolition of half-time under 14 are announced as follows: 81,449 against the abolition; 32,932 in favour; majority 48,517.
  11. The engineers accept comb-out. The figures of the second ballot, 58,650 in favour of the Government proposals and 46,332 against, show by the favourable majority of 12,318 a reversal of the ballot results of the preceding February.
  11. By 28,204 votes to 5,812 the members decide for re-affiliation to the Trades Union Congress.
  21. Death of Charles Fenwick, miners' Parliamentary representative (Liberal-Labour) for the Wansbeck Division of Northumberland since 1885.
  29. The American Labour delegates meet in conference with the executive of the Labour party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress.

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### MAY.

6. The Prime Minister receives a deputation of Irish trade unionists.
- 20-21. National Union of General Workers Biennial Conference held at Blackpool. 270 delegates present, representing 330,000 members.
22. Wages settlement in the cotton industry; an all-round advance of 25 per cent on standard rates being the compromise agreed on between the representatives of employers and employees at a joint conference. The original demand was for a 30 per cent increase.
27. Increase of wages for woolcombers and wool warehousemen; the award of the Committee on Production being an advance of 3s. per week to those receiving 39s. 6d. or over, and 1s. 6d. per week increase to those rated below the amount stated.
28. Thirty thousand South Wales colliers on strike as the outcome of a local dispute affecting 20 men.

### JUNE.

3. The comb-out of miners; announcement of an agreement that miners and coalowners' representatives in the Lancashire and Cheshire area should co-operate with the object of restricting the comb-out to men between the ages of 17 and 43.
12. Miners' Federation Executive interviews the Coal Controller (Sir Guy Calthrop) with regard to an advance of wages.
23. Labour Minister issues a manifesto protesting against the "incessant sniping on the part of anti-national factionists."
- 26-29. Labour Party Conference at Westminster. A resolution declaring for the ending of the party truce at by-elections carried by 1,704,000 votes to 951,000; and the problem of reconstruction dealt with in 27 resolutions embracing the whole territory of social and industrial life. The dramatic introduction of Gospodin Kerensky, chief of the late Provisional Government of Russia, was the great surprise of the opening day.
29. New Trade Union party (of dissentients) inaugurated at a special conference at Westminster, the secretary for the brassworkers presiding.

### JULY.

4. The General Federation of Trade Unions holds its conference at Leicester.
4. General strike of workers in the Isle of Man in progress as a protest against the withdrawal of the flour subsidy and the increase in the price of the loaf from 9d. to 1s., as the outcome of the Manx legislature and the Treasury being at loggerheads. Steamship services suspended.

5. Manx strike ends on the Governor's announcement of the re-establishment of the ninepenny loaf.
9. Projected formation of an international trade union bureau in England; a private conference, representing the leading British Trade Unions, being held in London to promote the scheme.
- 9-12. Miners' Federation Annual Conference held in Southport. Resolutions passed demanding the nationalisation of the mines, "with joint control and administration by the workmen and the State," amendments of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, a six-hours working day, provision for the continuation of all war advances in wages, a stipend of 6s. per day for soldiers and sailors, extension of (wives) £25 income tax rebate to mothers, increase of old age pensions to 15s. per week, and lowering of age limit to 60 years, and smaller classes in elementary schools. The question of a new minimum wage was remitted to the Executive Committee.
10. Settlement of air-craft workers dispute in London. Air-craft establishment taken over by Government.
12. Threatened deadlock and stoppage over the demands of the National Councils of Mineworkers. A deputation and Prime Minister confer.
16. J. R. Clynes, M.P., again re-elected as the member for N.E. Manchester after his appointment as Food Controller.
22. Settlement announced of dispute affecting 12,000 men in the building trade in Merseyside.
23. Twelve thousand skilled workers suspend work at Coventry.
24. Strike of Munition workers at Birmingham.
29. Coventry and Birmingham strikes end.

### AUGUST.

1. Announcement of strike of 3,000 tailors in London.
9. Executive of Miners' Federation issues a manifesto appealing to miners for an increase of output.
10. Rota system in cotton factories abolished.
16. Settlement of Manchester Scavengers strike.
19. Announcement of operative spinners' strike threat. Ballot obtains the necessary 80 per cent in favour of a strike to enforce the continuance of the rotary system of employment and to secure payment from the Cotton Control Board's Fund for the weekly stoppages of 15½ hours, and for all subsequent stoppages of this character.
19. Over 1,000 workers engaged in the building trade strike work in Dublin for an increase of 34d. per hour.
19. Strike of London Tram and Bus Workers for the extension of the 5s. increase to women conductors.

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19. Strike of railwaymen at Swansea. Part through dissatisfaction with wages award.
21. Strike in the Yorkshire Coalfield as the outcome of a dispute with regard to the interpretation of a recent award. Over 160,000 men out.
22. Miners' strike settled.
22. Miners' Federation Conference at Southport discusses grievances constituting hindrances to output—grievances include malnutrition owing to food conditions, unreasonable treatment by colliery officials, and the character of the effecting compensation for colliery accidents.
22. London Tram and Bus workers decide to return to work pending the consideration of the women's claim by the Committee on Production.
23. Strike of day school teachers for higher pay at Accrington settled.
26. London "tube" strikers decide to return to work on the promise of an immediate consideration of claims.
28. Announcement of Monmouthshire miners resolution to cease work unless larger supplies of food are available.
28. American Labour Mission arrives in England.
29. Strike of Dublin hotel and restaurant staffs for higher wages.
29. London police strike. Nearly 12,000 men out.
- 30-31. Biennial Conference of National Federation of Women Workers held in Manchester.
31. London police strike settled. The Premier's award. The Metropolitan Police Commissioner (Sir Edward Henry) resigns and is made a baronet.

### SEPTEMBER.

- 2-8. Jubilee Trade Unions Congress at Derby endorses action of C.W.S.; declares for industrial unions comprising separate crafts, for a 48-hours week after the war, for national kitchens and restaurants, for £1 a week for old age pensioners at 60, for Free Trade, Irish Home Rule, a new educational programme and complete adult suffrage; protests against the proposed increase in the price of meat, and against the suppression of freedom of speech; and defines the Labour attitude in relation to peace.
- 4-6. Strike of attendants, &c., at Prestwich and Whittingham Asylums for better wages and conditions.
- 10-11. Strike of 2,000 coalheavers in Liverpool Port.
- 16-21. Lancashire operative spinners on strike: about 40,000,000 spindles stopped. Strike pay embargoed by Government. Premier promises tribunal of inquiry.
17. Inter-Allied Labour Conference in London.
18. Strike of Clyde shipwrights for a £5 minimum wage.
18. Award of 25s. per week war advance to men in the carting industry.
18. Joint Industrial Bakers' Council fixes minimum at 60s. per week for industrial districts, and at 55s. for rural districts.
19. Railwaymen's wages. Men's executive accept Government's offer of .5s. advance for male and female over 18, and 2s. 6d. for juniors with arrangements to be made for automatic increase. Terms accepted by engineers and firemen under protest.
20. Committee of inquiry on the embargo strike at Coventry recommends the institution of a Joint Labour Advisory Committee in connection with the Admiralty and Ministry of Munitions, and also recommends a greater degree of communicativeness in labour matters on the part of the Government.
- 23-25. Railway strike in South Wales, combined with sympathetic strikes of engine drivers and firemen in numerous English towns.
23. Liverpool coalheavers strike again owing to dissatisfaction with award.
28. Clyde strike proclaimed by Government.

### OCTOBER.

3. New Labour Advisory Committee set up by Ministry of Munitions.
3. Miners' war wage settlement. War wage to be paid to both piece and day-wage men on all overtime worked.
- 3-5. Postmen's Federation's Annual Conference held at Derby.
9. Joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party discuss the German peace proposals and the reply issued to President Wilson.
15. Award of Committee on Production *re* the demand for a minimum wage of £5 per week for shipwrights in the Clyde, Barrow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Leith districts; the claim rejected.
18. Announcement of Committee on Production's awards of wages advances in the woollen and worsted trades (Bradford), textile flannel trade (Rochdale), and in certain retail co-operative societies in the West Riding of Yorks.
25. The Sailors' and Firemen's Union prevents Mr. Arthur Henderson from crossing the Channel.
25. Tribunal appointed to inquire into the grievances of operative spinners in connection with the operatives strikes, gives its award. The tribunal justifies the Cotton Control Board in not continuing the rotation system of employment, and rejects the claim of the spinners to payment for the 15½ hours' compulsory unemployment.
25. The Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation decides to apply for an advance of 50 per cent on current wages.

## PROGRESS OF TRADES UNIONISM.

BY FRED BRAMLEY (ASSISTANT SECRETARY, PARLIAMENTARY  
COMMITTEE OF THE TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS).

IN reviewing the progress of trade unionism under the disadvantages of limited space, only the main outlines of development can be taken into consideration. In Great Britain the growth of trade union membership during the war has in many respects been remarkable, as indicated by the following figures representing the affiliated strength of the Trade Unions Congress.

Year.	Place of Meeting.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Societies.	Membership Represented.
1913.....	Manchester.....	560	207	2,232,446
1914.....	<i>No Congress</i> .....	—	—	—
1915.....	Bristol.....	610	215	2,682,357
1916.....	Birmingham.....	637	227	2,850,547
1917.....	Blackpool.....	697	235	3,082,352
1918.....	Derby.....	881	259	4,532,085

The increase, as indicated by the figures for 1918, is due to two causes:—

- (1) The affiliation of additional unions, such as the Engineers' and the Workers' Unions;
- (2) A substantial increase in trade union membership.

The main cause, however, is the growth of unions affiliated to the Congress for a number of years. This growth in the membership of trade unions represented by the Trade Unions Congress may be taken as a fairly reliable barometer indicating general progress in trade unionism. The increased membership is mainly due to the influx into war industries of thousands of workers (mostly women) who before the war were employed in scattered groups, and in many cases in remote districts outside the range of ordinary and effective trade union activity.

In addition to this development of individual unions during the war there has been a rapid pulling together of various trades and occupations into forms of amalgamation or federation, viz., the Transport Workers' Federation, the Triple Alliance, and the National Federation of General Workers, the latter organisation bringing under one banner for national wage movements the principal unions representing labour alleged to be unskilled, and securing for them recognition by the employers and Government departments to an extent not exceeded by the strongest craft unions in the country. These are notable examples of a general tendency.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

Regarding the international position of trade unionism, for obvious reasons nothing like a complete statement can be produced. It can safely be assumed, however, that the growth of trade union membership in the countries engaged in the war has been, with the exception of the United States of America, almost confined to Great Britain. From information received the trade union movement in Germany appears to have suffered a great reduction in membership. Prior to the war the total number of trade unionists in the nineteen countries represented at International Trade Unions Conferences and affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions was 12,368,103, made up as follows:—

Great Britain .....	3,023,173
Germany.....	3,317,271
United States.....	2,496,000
France.....	1,064,413
Italy.....	860,502
Austria .....	534,811
Belgium .....	231,805
Holland .....	169,144
Denmark .....	139,012
Sweden.....	121,866
Hungary .....	111,966
Spain.....	100,000
Switzerland .....	86,313
Norway.....	60,975
Finland .....	23,839
Roumania .....	9,708
Croatia-Slavonia .....	6,783
Bosnia-Herzegovina.....	5,522
Servia.....	5,000
Total .....	<u>12,368,103</u>

In view of the world war and the problems of economic readjustment which the consequences of war will make necessary, and the many problems of an international character of vital interest to the organised workers which will present themselves for solution during the reconstruction period, the most important point to be noted, as indicated by the foregoing figures, is the relative strength of the trade unions in the Allied countries and the countries represented by the Central Powers. Hungary, Germany, and Austria represented 3,964,048; Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and the United States of America represented 7,675,895.

It may safely be stated that the international trade union movement was, before the war, almost entirely controlled by Germany. Thirty-two international trade union sections were in existence in 1912. Out of this total twenty-seven of the secretariats were located in Germany, thirteen of them in Berlin. This state of affairs was entirely due to the fact that trade union leaders in Germany were

more alive to the necessity for international control than the leaders in any other country.

When peace is declared the revival of the international trade union movement (especially in view of the League of Nations idea becoming a dominating factor in international politics) will be a question of paramount importance to the trade union movement. The difficulties of securing this revival from Germany appear at present to be almost insurmountable. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress, now representing over four million and a half British workers, realising the importance of the international influence of organised workers, has already taken steps to establish an international bureau. The principal unions and federations have been called together, and the following British sections affiliated to international organisations have approved the committee's scheme for international activities:—

Miners' Federation of Great Britain .....	650,000
National Union of Railwaymen .....	402,000
Transport Workers' Federation .....	262,300
Metal Workers' Federation .....	400,000
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners.....	96,000
Textile Factory Workers' Association .....	300,000
Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union.....	78,000
Amalgamated Musicians' Union .....	12,000
Shop Assistants' Union.....	21,000
National Union of Bookbinders.....	7,000
Furnishing Trades' Association .....	16,000
Lithographic Printers' Society .....	5,000
Joint Committee Post Office Employees.....	112,000
Printing and Paper Workers' Union.....	32,000
Amalgamated Tailors .....	21,000
Total .....	<u>2,414,300</u>

This agreement amongst British unions has been further strengthened by the decisions of an Inter-allied Trade Unions Conference, called for the purpose of explaining the policy of the Parliamentary Committee, and to secure the support of trade union leaders representing the allied countries. Delegates representing the United States, France, Belgium, and other countries are reporting to their respective organisations, and in all probability a strong inter-allied trade union centre will be created as a result of developments now taking place.

Trade unionism, nationally and internationally, is and must be an important factor in moulding national and international relationship so far as the workers are concerned. The League of Nations may to others mean nothing more than a League of Governments. To trade unionists it must mean a League of Peoples. A world safe for democracy can be secured, but only by the united determination of democracy. International working-class solidarity has not yet

failed. All governments depend upon the working class for the men, munitions, and all the material resources of aggression or resistance. By a more thorough and businesslike method of conducting their national and international affairs the workers may become the power to determine the issues of peace and war. When peace comes, the problems of national and international reconstruction will be many and varied; they will affect the lives of millions of organised workers in all parts of the world. Government of the people by super-men drawn from the ranks of the propertied and exploiting classes has proved a disastrous failure. The European war should represent the final chapter of class rule and economic slavery.

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## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

BY C. T. CRAMP.

INDUSTRIAL Unionism is a term which to-day is capable of more than one interpretation, and in order to avoid confusion it may be well to outline its positions (firstly) in the land of its origin—the United States—(its position being much the same in Australia) and, (secondly) in this country, where it has developed upon somewhat different lines. In the United States Industrial Unionism is represented by an organisation known as the “Industrial Workers of the World,” which is definitely anti-political, revolutionary, and Marxist. In the preamble to its constitution the I.W.W. declares that “The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common,” and that “between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labour through an economic organisation of the working class without affiliation with any political party.”

It might be thought that the latter clause commits the I.W.W. to political action as we understand it in this country, but its advocates are emphatic in their assertion that, were a majority of its disciples returned to Congress, their function would be immediately to adjourn, *sine die*, and to leave it to the industrial organisation to “take and hold” all the means of production; in other words, working-class political action must be purely destructive.

The I.W.W. does not believe in merging the existing Craft Unions or in any way adopting their form of organisation. It declines to provide any form of benefits other than those needed for fighting purposes; its whole aim being the dispossession of the capitalist class by revolutionary means. To this end its apostles urge upon the workers the great importance of a knowledge of the technique of the

various industries and of the methods of running them. Strikes, as generally understood, are not held to be of supreme importance; the tendency being to advocate "the lock-out of the capitalist class from the means of production." It is impossible to say with any degree of accuracy as to how many of the American or Australian workers are represented by the I.W.W., but it is probable that it comprises a fairly large number in the Western States, and also in Australia, and in both countries it wages a relentless warfare against the older forms of unionism.

In Great Britain (except in the case of a very tiny movement) Industrial Unionism has taken rather a different form. In this country, the workers have rather built up their industrial organisations with a view to meeting economic developments and the changing outlines of the various industries from time to time; and this, not by creating entirely new organisations, but by merging existing unions into larger units, by drafting constitutions for the new unions thus created, and by endeavouring to inspire them with a more vigorous, and indeed a revolutionary philosophy.

The theory of Industrial Unionism as expounded in America is well understood by the men who have taken part in the building up of the new movement here, and many of them accept it as the correct one; but trades unionism developed earlier here than elsewhere, and some millions of unionists to-day have vested interests in the Craft Union type of organisation which it would be difficult and undesirable to disturb. The British Industrial Unionist therefore endeavours to conserve those interests, and to incorporate them in the new form of organisation, and in this he has up to now been entirely successful. The British Industrial Unionist also does not discard political action; in fact those unions which are organised on industrial lines are at present the most active in promoting such, and owing to their size and influence have in a number of cases been more successful than the older unions in securing representation. In another and more important matter Great Britain differs from America in the constitution and methods of Industrial Unionism. In the latter country, the underlying theory of its constitution is that all the workers of the world shall be in one, all-embracing union, with separate sections for the various industries, and with a General Executive Council to administer for the whole. In this country, however, the organisation takes the form of a separate union, self-contained and self-governed for each industry.

The main distinction between Craft and Industrial Unionism in Great Britain is that the latter holds that the most effective form of organisation, *i.e.*, the form best qualified to assist the workers in their battles against the employing class, is that which is based, not upon the technical operation performed by the worker, which may be repeated throughout many industries, but upon the various industries

as industries; the definition of each industry being determined by its product, and by the fact of the owners of the various undertakings having a monopoly of the special product under consideration. Perhaps it would be well to illustrate from example. The National Union of Railwaymen is probably the best known of the Unions which organise on industrial lines in this country. The railways have a monopoly of rail-borne traffic, they are owned by about 50 companies, all of whom exist to produce one class of commodity—transport. Now the railway companies employ thousands of men (and at the present time women) who are engaged in many diverse technical operations. Many of them have no connection with the actual manipulation of traffic at all. There are engineers and carpenters, painters, masons, smiths, electricians, and many others who are entirely engaged upon similar operations as those performed by other craftsmen in other industries throughout the country. But the N.U.R. throws open its doors to all the foregoing, because that Union claims that the product of the railway industry is transport, and that therefore the labour of all the men and women engaged in these operations of building or repair of the rolling stock or plant necessary to a railway, are in effect ancillary to the main purpose of the companies, which is of course the transportation of goods and passengers, for the purpose of earning profit. Now if the companies employed fitters, wagon-builders, and the like, for the purpose of building engines, wagons, &c., for the purpose of sale, in order to make a profit as constructors, the workpeople employed would not be engaged in the railway industry, and would not therefore be organised by the N.U.R. As a case in point, the women now working in some railway shops upon the manufacture of munitions, are refused membership in that union.

From this it will be seen that those industries most promising for organisation on industrial lines appear to be those of a national character. The Industrial Unionist will not admit that either technique or employer should be the basis of organisation (save where in the latter case the employer has a monopoly of the commodity produced), and he claims that the evolution of industry with the continuous elimination of special skill has rendered his form of organisation necessary in all industries which are ripe for its application.

In this country the controversy between the Craft and Industrial Unionists, though animated enough at times, does not exhibit the bitterness displayed in the States and elsewhere.

The Trade Unions Congress now passes resolutions designed to smooth the way for a gradual application of the principle of Industrial Unionism of the British type on the lines I have here indicated.

## I.—THE BUDGET FOR 1918-19.

THIS article may be regarded as one of three dealing with the Finance—the public finance—of the United Kingdom for 1918-19; and, first of all, a general account of the "Budget" is submitted.

It will be instructive to note these comparative figures before using those for 1918-19. In the year 1913-14 (before the war) the *expenditure* was £197·5 millions; in 1914-15 (first year of war) it was £560·5 millions; in 1915-16 it was £1,559 millions; in 1916-17, £2,198 millions; and in 1917-18, £2,696 millions. Of course, it must be recollected that war existed

only from August to March in 1914-15, but even then the growth of expenditure since is only too evident. Contrast with that statement the following figures representing the *revenue* for the same years—1913-14, £198·2 million; 1914-15, £226·7 millions; 1915-16, £336·7 millions; 1916-17, £573·4 millions; and 1917-18, £707·2 millions. It is at once evident, therefore, that we have plunged into debt, heavily—a subject dealt with more largely elsewhere. But the following statement shows that we continue to plunge in that morass:—

### Balance Sheet of the Budget for 1918-19.

#### ESTIMATED REVENUE, 1918-19.

	£	£
Customs.....	71,650,000	
Add—Proposed additional taxation .....	22,850,000	
	<hr/>	94,500,000
Excise.....	35,350,000	
Add—Proposed additional taxation .....	17,850,000	
	<hr/>	53,200,000
		<hr/>
		147,700,000
Estate, &c., Duties.....		31,500,000
Stamps .....	8,500,000	
Add—Proposed additional taxation .....	750,000	
	<hr/>	9,250,000
Land Tax .....		650,000
House Duty .....		1,950,000
Income Tax (including Super-Tax) .....	267,500,000	
Add—Proposed additional taxation .....	22,950,000	
	<hr/>	290,450,000
Excess Profits Duty, &c. ....		300,000,000
Land Value Duties.....		700,000
		<hr/>
		634,500,000
		<hr/>
TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM TAXES .....		£782,200,000
		<hr/>
	£	£
Postal Service .....	24,600,000	
Add—Proposed increase in charges .....	3,400,000	
	<hr/>	28,000,000
Telegraph Service .....		3,500,000
Telephone Service .....		6,500,000
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		38,000,000

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BALANCE SHEET OF THE BUDGET FOR 1918-19— <i>continued.</i>		£
Crown Lands .....		650,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans, &c. ....		6,000,000
Miscellaneous .....		15,200,000
	TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM NON-TAX REVENUE .....	£59,850,000
	TOTAL REVENUE.....	£842,050,000
	DEFICIT .....	£2,130,147,000
		£2,972,197,000
Borrowings to meet Expenditure chargeable against Capital.....		£710,000
ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1918-19.		
CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.		
National Debt Services:		£
Inside the Fixed Debt Charge .....		19,150,000
Outside the Fixed Debt Charge.....		295,850,000
		315,000,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, &c. ....		9,700,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services .....		1,714,000
	TOTAL CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES .....	£326,414,000
SUPPLY SERVICES.		
		£
Army .....		15,000
Navy .....		17,000
Air Force.....		7,000
Ministry of Munitions (including Ordnance Factories).....		1,000
Civil Services:—		£
Old Age Pensions .....	12,085,000	
Ministry of Labour, Insurance, &c.....	9,619,000	
Other Civil Services (including Public Education)...	42,325,000	
		64,029,000
Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments .....		5,573,000
Post Office Services .....		26,141,000
	TOTAL SUPPLY SERVICES .....	£95,783,000
Votes of Credit .....		£2,550,000,000
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE .....	£2,972,197,000
Expenditure chargeable against Capital.....		£710,000

That is a "prodigious" statement, to use the catchword of a light opera in the light times several years before the war. In this place, leaving some details of taxation to the following article, it will suffice to draw attention

to the larger features of that balance sheet.

First, among comparisons preceding the balance sheet, a comparison of revenue *from taxation* was omitted. Here it is now, and it deserves close

attention on account of the policy which it involves. Taxes yielded £163 millions in 1913-14, £189·3 millions in 1914-15, £290 millions in 1915-16, £514 millions in 1916-17, £613 millions in 1917-18, and now, in 1918-19, we expect £782·2 millions from the taxes, and will get that large sum. To raise the amount drawn from taxes within five years from £163 to £782 millions is a bold measure; but it should be remembered that in 1913-14 there was a *surplus* of £750,000, whereas in 1918-19 Mr. Bonar Law anticipates a deficit of £2,130 millions, not to speak of deficits already realised meantime. The man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one used to be produced has been celebrated often since Sidney Smith conceived of him; but what shall we say of him who raises £5 in taxation for every £1 before the war!

Yet the knowing ones are discussing not the weight of taxation during war, which is great, but whether we are raising a satisfactory portion of the cost of the war. Everybody should be able to see the special danger of waging war—without any increase of cost—instantly. It may be concluded safely that a satisfactory amount of the cost of war is being raised, a larger amount might be felt keenly, and interfere with the resolution required to wage the war. Revenue from *non-taxes* (Post Office, Crown Lands, loans, and miscellaneous departments) in 1913-14 was £35·2 millions, but in 1914-15, £37·3 millions; in 1915-16, £46·7 millions; in 1916-17, £59·3 millions; in 1917-18, £94·195 millions; and we see an estimate in 1918-19 for £59·8 millions. But, as in the previous year, the “miscellaneous” far exceeded expectation: so, already in 1918-19, though this revenue is put down at £15·2 millions for the whole year, by August 18th (not five months of that year) the receipts from miscellaneous were £24·7 millions. It is probable, therefore, as is the case at the moment, that the yield of this source will be quite as great, or more, than the previous year. Like much else of the financial kind during the war, if we look at appearances only we might fancy ourselves getting

richer, whereas we know that we are “eating our heads off,” though revenue seems so elastic. On the other hand, it is but right to record how readily and courageously the taxpayers have paid up demands made upon them by the war.

The real state of things is disclosed by the other side of the balance sheet—the *expenditure*. However great the unexampled revenue, the expenditure was, and is, still more unexampled. Mr. Bonar Law, in his quiet peroration to his Budget speech on the 22nd April, 1918, was quite right when he said that he felt sure the country would bear that financial burden as it has “submitted to sacrifices far more heavy than anything measured by mere money value.” Still, the increase, the constant increase of expenditure, an increase from £197 millions before the war to an estimated £2,972 millions in 1918-19, is so serious, and especially as no prudent person will pretend to know when the war will end, that it cannot help attracting, and it should require, attention. After all, strong finance supports the finest and most heroic spirits in sacrifice. Though the Debt will receive attention formally in the third of these articles, the note on the expenditure of this balance sheet may well begin with the comparison and contrast between the cost of the debt service, which was only £24·5 millions in 1913-14, but the estimate for 1918-19 is seen to be £315 millions, and as we have seen, and shall see by March, 1919, the service of the debt, interest and sinking fund, will require a much larger sum—£450 millions a year: a sum nearly three times our whole revenue in pre-war days. The sum shown as paid to “Local Taxation Accounts” is now a fixed sum, and is paid from the Treasury, out of the taxes, to the various local authorities in the United Kingdom, toward the reduction of rates. The “Other Consolidated Fund Services” of the next item include chiefly the “Civil List” paid to the Sovereign, and the Salaries and Pensions of the Judges and others, which sums are not voted annually by Parliament.

Special attention should be paid

to the items Army, Navy, Air Force, and Ministry of Munitions, because it is evident that the sums put against them are only "token" votes, and not the immense number of millions known to be spent now by these departments. Thereby hangs a tale, of which Parliament, the ultimate source of responsibility, will not be proud, and of which it is beginning to blush already. No one really knows what our war expenditure is. Connect these small nominal sums put into the balance sheet, as spent by the fighting services, with the £2,550 millions lower down as the anticipated expenditure from "Votes of Credit." There are various opinions respecting this method of dealing with war expenditure, but this writer ventures to say that Parliament ought to have, and even now might have, a better check on it by means of a Finance Committee working rapidly, and sanctioning every estimate of expenditure. As things are, parliamentary control is almost

wanting during war, all save the above small sums are withdrawn from the direct and early cognisance of Parliament, everything required for war purposes is paid for from the "Votes of Credit," which Parliament grants in huge sums, like £500 or £700 millions, with the result that (as may be seen from the reports of the Samuel Committee on National Expenditure) the waste and wickedness during war has been much beyond what might have been pardoned, and men without conscience and honour have plundered the public, both directly, and by undue profiteering.

\* No special note, probably, is required on the proposed cost of the Civil Services for the year. Of the Budget as a whole it may be said that it was the heaviest and most serious ever placed before Parliament, but the "Man from Mars," were he to visit us now, would not readily find evidence of solicitude about our national finance.

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## II.—THE NEW TAXATION, 1918-19, AND ITS EFFECT.

LOOKING to the revenue side of the balance sheet on page 161, it will be seen that it was proposed, and since then has been enacted, that new or additional taxation shall be imposed under customs, excise, stamps, income tax and super-tax, and by postal charges. Let the reader consult the following tables on this matter, but remembering that all "proposed" changes are now law, except that letters to the troops abroad go at the old rates. The changes shown are in much detail, which will be required frequently by various classes of people. The only details omitted are those of the graduations of the sugar duty, which will be found in the third schedule to the Finance Act, 1918. The standard sugar duty—i.e., of sugar polarising over 98°, is seen to be raised from 14s. to 25s. 8d. a cwt. in customs duty, and from 11s. 8d. to 23s. 4d. in excise duty. The graduations of this standard are from 76° to 98°,

and range from 12s. 4d. and 11s. 2d. to £1. 3s. 7-3d. and £1. 1s. 5-6d. respectively for customs and excise. [We shall have to bear as best we can this differentiation between the duty on imported and that on home-produced sugar, which difference was brought in a few years ago.] Those having to do with the import and export of sugar and sugar goods will also consult the Act for *drawbacks and allowances*, which for molasses are 4s. 9½d. and 5s. 8½d. per cwt., excise and customs respectively, and the same rates are allowed on molasses used for *food for stock*. Drawbacks on other goods are allowed "according to the amount of duty paid."

The Changes in Taxation and in Postal Rates, &c., &c. 1918-19 (including those on income tax and super tax, on the yield expected, and on the yield expected from increases of various articles on the customs and excise list).

Changes in Taxation and in Postage Rates.

A.—CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

	Existing Duties. 1917-18.			Proposed Duties. 1918-19.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Spirits—						
*Brandy, the proof gallon.....	0	15	1	1	10	4
*Rum                   "           ".....	0	15	1	1	10	4
*Geneva               "           ".....	0	15	2	1	10	5
*Unenumerated, sweetened, &c., the proof gallon .....	0	15	9½	1	11	6½
"           not sweetened,           "           ".....	0	15	2	1	10	5
*Liqueurs, Cordials, &c., not sweetened, if tested, the proof gallon.....	0	15	2	1	10	5
Liqueurs, Cordials, &c., in bottle, not to be tested, the liquid gallon .....	1	1	5	2	1	11
*Perfumed Spirits, the liquid gallon .....	1	4	1	2	8	4
*If imported in bottle, extra per gallon .....	0	1	0	0	1	0
Additional duties are charged on immature spirits. The duty on articles containing or made with spirit will be increased in proportion.						
Beer—Mum, Spruce, or Black Beer—						
Of a specific gravity not exceeding 1215°, for every 36 gallons .....	5	2	0	10	2	0
Of a specific gravity exceeding 1215°, for every 36 gallons .....	5	19	6	11	16	8
Other sorts at gravity of 1055°, for every 36 gallons.....	1	5	6	2	10	6
And so in proportion for any difference of gravity.						
Tobacco, unmanufactured, if unstripped or unstemmed—						
Containing 10lbs. or more of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof .....	0	6	5	0	8	2
Containing less than 10lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof .....	0	7	1½	0	9	0½
Tobacco, unmanufactured, if stripped or stemmed—						
Containing 10lbs. or more of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof .....	0	6	5½	0	8	2½
Containing less than 10lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof .....	0	7	2	0	9	1
Tobacco, manufactured, viz.—						
Cigars .....	0	12	3	0	15	7
Cavendish or Negrohead .....	0	9	4	0	11	10½
Cavendish or Negrohead, manufactured in bond .....	0	8	2	0	10	4½
Other manufactured tobacco, viz.—						
Cigarettes .....	0	9	11	0	12	7
Other sorts .....	0	8	2	0	10	4½
Snuff containing more than 13lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof.....	0	7	8½	0	9	9½
Snuff containing not more than 13lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof.....	0	9	4	0	11	10½
Sugar, exceeding 98 degrees of polarisation.....the cwt.	0	14	0	1	5	8
And at other degrees in proportion. The duties on Glucose, Molasses, Saccharin, and other articles containing sugar will be increased proportionately.						
Matches—						
On any number in a box not exceeding 80, per 10,000...	0	3	6	0	5	2
On any number in a box in excess of 80, per 10,000.....	0	1	9	0	3	5

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CHANGES IN TAXATION AND IN POSTAGE RATES—*continued.*

	Existing Duties, 1917-18.			Proposed Duties, 1918-19.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>EXCISE—</b>						
Beer, the standard barrel .....	1	5	0	2	10	0
Spirits, British, the proof gallon .....	0	14	9	1	10	0
(Additional duties are charged on immature spirits.)						
Sugar (home-grown), at a polarisation exceeding 98 degrees, the cwt. ....	0	11	8	1	3	4
Other polarisations at proportionate rates.						
The duties on Glucose, Molasses, and Saccharin will be increased proportionately.						
<b>Tobacco (home-grown), unmanufactured—</b>						
Containing 10 per cent or more of moisture.....the lb.	0	6	3	0	8	0
Containing less than 10 per cent of moisture..... ..	0	6	11½	0	8	10½
<b>Tobacco, manufactured—</b>						
Cavendish or Negrohead, manufactured in bond ..	0	8	2	0	10	4½
<b>Matches:—</b>						
On any number in a box not exceeding 80, per 10,000	0	3	4	0	5	0
On any number in a box in excess of 80, per 10,000	0	1	8.	0	3	4
Luxuries.—An excise duty of one-sixth part <i>ad valorem</i> .	(not			passed).		

**B.—INLAND REVENUE.**

**INCOME TAX AND SUPER-TAX.**

(1) *Rates.*

It is proposed to increase the standard rate of income tax from 5s. to 6s. in the £, with the corollary of a revision of the differential rates applicable to "unearned" income where the total income does not exceed £2,000, and to "earned" income where the total income does not exceed £2,500. Details of the present and the proposed graduation are shown in the following table:—

	Existing Rates, 1917-18.		Proposed Rates, 1918-19.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Rate on "earned" income, where total earned and unearned income—				
Does not exceed £500.....	2 3 in the £		2 3 in the £	
Exceeds £500 and does not exceed £1,000	2	6	3	0
.. £1,000 .. .. £1,500	3	0	3	9
.. £1,500 .. .. £2,000	3	8	4	6
.. £2,000 .. .. £2,500	4	4	5	3
.. £2,500 .....	5	0	6	0
Rate on "unearned" income, where total earned and unearned income—				
Does not exceed £500 .....	3	0	3	0
Exceeds £500 and does not exceed £1,000	3	6	3	9
.. £1,000 .. .. £1,500	4	0	4	6
.. £1,500 .. .. £2,000	4	6	5	3
.. £2,000 .....	5	0	6	0

It is proposed to lower the limit of super-tax exemption from £3,000 to £2,500, and to increase up to a maximum of 4s. 6d. in the £ the rates of super-tax payable under the graduated scale.

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CHANGES IN TAXATION AND IN POSTAGE RATES—*continued.*

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

	Existing Rates. Incomes Exceeding £3,000 Chargeable. 1917-18.	Proposed Rates. Incomes Exceeding £2,500 Chargeable. 1918-19.
	s. d.	s. d.
On the first £3,000 of the income	on the first £2,000 ....	...
	on the next £500 ....	1 0
	on the next £500 ....	1 6
„ fourth £1,000 (£3,000 to £4,000) .....	0 10	2 0
„ fifth £1,000 (£4,000 to £5,000) .....	1 2	2 6
„ sixth £1,000 (£5,000 to £6,000) .....	1 6	3 0
„ seventh £1,000 (£6,000 to £7,000).....	1 10	3 6
„ eighth £1,000 (£7,000 to £8,000).....	2 2	3 6
„ ninth £1,000 (£8,000 to £9,000).....	2 6	4 0
„ tenth £1,000 (£9,000 to £10,000) .....	2 10	4 0
„ remainder (above £10,000).....	3 2	4 0
	3 6	4 6

Below a statement is given showing the amount of tax payable on certain incomes and the virtual (*i.e.*, effective) rates payable in the £.

(2) *Increase of Charge under Schedule B.*

It is proposed to increase the charge under Schedule B in respect of the occupation of land. The present measure of liability is the rental value, and the measure of liability proposed is double the rental value. Farmers, who occupy land for the purpose of husbandry only, are entitled to appeal for relief at the end of the year if their profits for the year fall short of the standard.

(3) *Double Taxation.*

With regard to income which is chargeable to a Dominion income tax as well as to British income tax, it is proposed to continue the provision under which relief from double taxation is allowed at the expense of the British Exchequer subject to the retention, as at present, of British income tax at a rate not less than 3s. 6d. in the £.

(4) *Children Allowance.*

The allowance of £25 in respect of children under 16 years of age at present applies to taxpayers whose total income does not exceed £700. It is proposed to extend this relief to incomes not exceeding £800.

(5) *Allowance for Wives and Dependent Relatives.*

In the case of a taxpayer whose total income does not exceed £800, it is proposed to grant an allowance of £25 in respect of his wife, and an allowance of like amount in respect of any dependent relative (incapacitated by old age or infirmity) whom he maintains.

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### CHANGES IN TAXATION AND IN POSTAGE RATES—*continued.*

#### (6) *Collection by Instalments.*

It is proposed to allow the duty payable on property chargeable under Schedule A. to be paid in two equal instalments.

#### STAMP DUTIES.

It is proposed to raise to 2d. the duty on all bills of exchange (including cheques) and promissory notes at present charged with the duty of 1d.

#### EXCESS PROFITS DUTY.

It is proposed to amend the law so as to ensure the due assessment of profits derived from the sale in bulk of stock-in-trade on the occasion, for instance, of a business changing hands or being wound up.

### C.—POSTAGE RATES.

#### *Inland Letter Rate and Book Packets.*

1. It is proposed to revise the existing scale as follows:—

	Present Scale. 1917-18.	Proposed Scale. 1918-19.
1oz. ....	1d.	1½d.
1oz. to 2oz. ....	2d.	1½d.
2oz. to 4oz. ....	2½d.	1½d.

with an additional ½d. for each succeeding 2oz.

The charge for book packets (including circulars, notices, &c.) under 1oz. will remain unchanged at ½d.; for packets exceeding 1oz. an extra charge of ½d. will be levied, with the result that after 2oz. the book rate will merge in the letter rate.

The additional revenue, allowing for some decrease in correspondence resulting from the increased charge, will be £2,700,000 in a full year.

#### *Letters to the Troops (unaltered).*

#### *Letters for the British Empire and the United States of America.*

2. A similar increase will be applied to these letters, the rate for which is at present 1d. per oz. This will bring in £140,000 in a full year.

#### *Inland Postcards.*

3. It is proposed to raise the ½d. postcard to 1d., and the yield is estimated at £750,000 in a full year.

#### *Parcels.*

4. It is proposed to replace the present scale, which progresses generally in steps of 1lb. from a minimum of 4d., by a triple scale of not exceeding 3lbs., 6d.; 3lbs. to 7lbs., 9d.; 7lbs. to 11lbs., 1s. Allowing for a reduction in business, the increase is expected to produce about £500,000 in a full year.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNT OF TAX PAYABLE ON CERTAIN INCOMES, AND THE VIRTUAL (*i.e.*, EFFECTIVE) RATE CHARGED IN THE £ UNDER THE EXISTING LAW AND UNDER THE CHANGES MADE BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER ON APRIL 22ND, 1918:—

A.—INCOME TAX.

Income.	At Existing Rates—(Maximum 5s.).				At Proposed Rates—(Maximum 6s.).			
	Where Income Wholly Earned.		Where Income Wholly Unearned.		Where Income Wholly Earned.		Where Income Wholly Unearned.	
	Amount of Tax.	Effective Rate.	Amount of Tax.	Effective Rate.	Amount of Tax.	Effective Rate.	Amount of Tax.	Effective Rate.
£	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.
131	1 0 0	0 2	1 0 0	0 2	1 0 0	0 2	1 0 0	0 2
150	3 7 6	0 5	4 10 0	0 7	3 7 6	0 5	4 10 0	0 7
200	9 0 0	0 11	12 0 0	1 2	9 0 0	0 11	12 0 0	1 2
250	14 12 6	1 2	19 10 0	1 7	14 12 6	1 2	19 10 0	1 7
300	20 5 0	1 4	27 0 0	1 10	20 5 0	1 4	27 0 0	1 10
350	25 17 6	1 6	34 10 0	2 0	25 17 6	1 6	34 10 0	2 0
400	31 10 0	1 7	42 0 0	2 1	31 10 0	1 7	42 0 0	2 1
450	39 7 6	1 9	52 10 0	2 4	39 7 6	1 9	52 10 0	2 4
500	45 0 0	1 10	60 0 0	2 5	45 0 0	1 10	60 0 0	2 5
550	56 5 0	2 0	78 15 0	2 10	67 10 0	2 5	84 7 6	3 1
600	62 10 0	2 1	87 10 0	2 11	75 0 0	2 6	93 15 0	3 1
650	72 10 0	2 3	101 10 0	3 1	87 0 0	2 8	108 15 0	3 4
700	78 15 0	2 3	110 5 0	3 2	94 10 0	2 8	118 2 6	3 4
800	100 0 0	2 6	140 0 0	3 6	120 0 0	3 0	150 0 0	3 9
900	112 10 0	2 6	157 10 0	3 6	135 0 0	3 0	168 15 0	3 9
1,000	125 0 0	2 6	175 0 0	3 6	150 0 0	3 0	187 10 0	3 9
1,500	225 0 0	3 0	300 0 0	4 0	281 5 0	3 9	337 10 0	4 6
2,000	365 13 4	3 8	450 0 0	4 6	450 0 0	4 6	525 0 0	5 3
2,500	541 13 4	4 4	625 0 0	5 0	656 5 0	5 3	750 0 0	6 0

B.—INCOME TAX AND SUPER-TAX.

Income.	At Existing Rates. (Income Tax, 6s. Super-tax, Maximum 3s. 6d.)				At Proposed Rates. (Income Tax, 6s. Super-tax, Maximum 4s. 6d.)								
	Income Tax.		Super-tax.		Income Tax.		Super-tax.		Effective Rate.				
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.					
2,750	687	10 0	.....	687	10 0	825	0 0	43	15 0	868	15 0	s. d.	6 4
3,000	750	0 0	.....	750	0 0	900	0 0	62	10 0	962	10 0	s. d.	6 5
4,000	1,000	0 0	79 3 4	1,079	3 4	1,200	0 0	162	10 0	1,362	10 0	s. d.	6 10
5,000	1,250	0 0	154 3 4	1,404	3 4	1,500	0 0	287	10 0	1,787	10 0	s. d.	7 2
6,000	1,500	0 0	245 16 8	1,745	16 8	1,800	0 0	437	10 0	2,237	10 0	s. d.	7 5
7,000	1,750	0 0	354 3 4	2,104	3 4	2,100	0 0	612	10 0	2,712	10 0	s. d.	7 9
8,000	2,000	0 0	479 3 4	2,479	3 4	2,400	0 0	787	10 0	3,187	10 0	s. d.	8 0
9,000	2,250	0 0	620 16 8	2,870	16 8	2,700	0 0	987	10 0	3,687	10 0	s. d.	8 2
10,000	2,500	0 0	779 3 4	3,279	3 4	3,000	0 0	1,187	10 0	4,187	10 0	s. d.	8 4
11,000	2,750	0 0	954 3 4	3,704	3 4	3,300	0 0	1,412	10 0	4,712	10 0	s. d.	8 7
12,000	3,000	0 0	1,129 3 4	4,129	3 4	3,600	0 0	1,637	10 0	5,237	10 0	s. d.	8 9
13,000	3,250	0 0	1,304 3 4	4,554	3 4	3,900	0 0	1,862	10 0	5,762	10 0	s. d.	8 10
14,000	3,500	0 0	1,479 3 4	4,979	3 4	4,200	0 0	2,087	10 0	6,287	10 0	s. d.	9 0
15,000	3,750	0 0	1,654 3 4	5,404	3 4	4,500	0 0	2,312	10 0	6,812	10 0	s. d.	9 1
20,000	5,000	0 0	2,529 3 4	7,529	3 4	6,000	0 0	3,437	10 0	9,437	10 0	s. d.	9 5
25,000	6,250	0 0	3,404 3 4	9,654	3 4	7,500	0 0	4,562	10 0	12,062	10 0	s. d.	9 8
30,000	7,500	0 0	4,279 3 4	11,779	3 4	9,000	0 0	5,687	10 0	14,687	10 0	s. d.	9 9
40,000	10,000	0 0	6,029 3 4	16,029	3 4	12,000	0 0	7,937	10 0	19,937	10 0	s. d.	10 0
50,000	12,500	0 0	7,779 3 4	20,279	3 4	15,000	0 0	10,187	10 0	25,187	10 0	s. d.	10 1
100,000	25,000	0 0	16,529 3 4	41,529	3 4	30,000	0 0	21,437	10 0	51,437	10 0	s. d.	10 3
150,000	37,500	0 0	25,279 3 4	62,779	3 4	45,000	0 0	32,687	10 0	77,687	10 0	s. d.	10 4

NOTE.—The figures in the foregoing Table (A. and B.) take no account of the allowances in respect of life assurance premium, children, &c., which, in many cases, would substantially reduce the tax payable and the effective rate.

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TABLE SHOWING THE ESTIMATED YIELD OF THE ALTERATIONS IN TAXATION AND POSTAGE RATES.

	Estimate, 1918-19.	In a Full Year.
CUSTOMS—	£	£
Spirits .....	3,400,000	3,600,000
Tobacco.....	7,490,000	7,990,000
Sugar .....	11,960,000	12,740,000
TOTAL CUSTOMS .....	22,850,000	24,330,000
EXCISE—		
Spirits .....	7,100,000	7,550,000
Beer .....	9,700,000	15,700,000
Tobacco.....	10,000	10,000
Sugar .....	440,000	460,000
Matches .....	600,000	600,000
TOTAL EXCISE.....	17,850,000	24,320,000
TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE .....	40,700,000	48,650,000
INLAND REVENUE—		
Additional Stamp Duty on Bills of Exchange (including Cheques) and Promissory Notes	750,000	1,000,000
Increased Income Tax.....	*35,750,000	†46,700,000
Increased Super Tax .....	9,200,000	14,150,000
	45,700,000	
<i>Less—</i>		
Postponement owing to payment of Income Tax, Schedule A, by instalments.....	22,000,000	
TOTAL INLAND REVENUE .....	23,700,000	61,850,000
Postage Rates .....	3,400,000	4,000,000
GRAND TOTAL .....	67,800,000	114,500,000

\* Includes £2,500,000 in respect of doubling Schedule B assessments—Farmers' profits.  
 † Includes £5,300,000 " " " " " " " " " " " "

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TABLE SHOWING UNDER THE SEVERAL HEADS OF DUTY THE ESTIMATED REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS AND EXCISE IN 1918-19 AS COMPARED WITH THE APPROXIMATE RECEIPTS IN 1917-18.

	1917-18. Receipts (approximate).	1918-19. Estimated Receipts.
<b>CUSTOMS—</b>		
	£	£
Spirits .....	3,485,000	6,900,000
Beer .....	.....	.....
Wine .....	781,000	970,000
Tea.....	12,518,000	14,000,000
Cocoa .....	1,922,000	1,700,000
Coffee and Chicory.....	1,037,000	800,000
Sugar, &c. ....	15,070,000	27,260,000
Dried Fruits .....	235,000	300,000
Tobacco.....	33,285,000	40,490,000
Motor Spirit .....	1,647,000	1,300,000
Cinema Films.....	146,000	150,000
Clocks and Watches.....	452,000	450,000
Motor Cars and Cycles .....	120,000	100,000
Musical Instruments .....	56,000	50,000
Matches.....	24,000	10,000
Table Waters .....	9,000	10,000
Other Items .....	*474,000	10,000
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS .....</b>	<b>71,261,000</b>	<b>94,500,000</b>
<b>EXCISE—</b>		
	£	£
Spirits .....	7,127,000	14,350,000
Beer .....	19,097,000	25,700,000
Sugar, &c.....	337,000	940,000
Tobacco.....	34,000	40,000
Motor Spirit .....	51,000	50,000
Entertainments .....	4,995,000	6,000,000
Matches .....	1,219,000	1,840,000
Table Waters.....	1,466,000	1,440,000
Liquor Licences .....	2,411,000	1,100,000
Monopoly Values .....	18,000	20,000
Motor Car and Carriage Licences .....	257,000	250,000
Motor Spirit Licences .....	253,000	240,000
Other Licences .....	424,000	400,000
Railway Passenger Duty .....	4,000	.....
Medicines, Playing Cards, Coffee Mixtures.....	846,000	800,000
Other items .....	*233,000	30,000
<b>TOTAL EXCISE.....</b>	<b>38,772,000</b>	<b>53,200,000</b>
<b>TOTAL CUSTOMS AND EXCISE .....</b>	<b>110,033,000</b>	<b>147,700,000</b>

\* Including balance of duties under all heads collected in 1916-17, but not paid to Exchequer till 1917-18.

That formidable list, as has been said, does not give all the additions to taxes in detail, but it will be seen from the table *showing the yield* expected from the *new taxation and postal rates* that for 1918-19 an additional £67·8 millions are looked for, and afterwards as much as £114·5 millions a year. Of this large increase £40·7 or £48·6 millions are expected from customs and excise, and £23·7 or £61·8 millions from direct taxes, as we regard first or subsequent years, while £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 more are anticipated as the yield from the higher *postal rates*. [In all these computations the "luxury duty" is not included, for when Parliament adjourned in the autumn that duty was still a mere proposal.] The way in which this additional burden is imposed will be seen from the foregoing details and tables, but the chief ways are the doubled spirit and beer duties, the raised tobacco duties, the doubled sugar duty, and the further increase of the income and super-tax. Below, an estimate of the policy shown in these increases will be attempted. It will be observed that an increase was *not* made in the rate at which excess profits duty is charged, but the selling of a stock-in-trade is made amenable to this duty, from which £300,000,000 are expected in 1918-19. There are indications already that this very large yield will be exceeded. It will be remembered that the rate of charge for excess profits duty was raised in 1917 from 60 to 80 per cent, and some were of opinion that this rate might have been raised higher still in 1918, justly, but it was not. On the other hand, the other mainstay of war revenue, the income and super-income tax, was raised from 5s. to 6s. in the £ as a standard, and, as will be seen on page 166, the graduations were made more severe on all incomes above £500, both earned and unearned. To find the true effect of these changes the facts on page 169 should be read carefully. In the case of Schedule B (the "farmer's" schedule), the assessment is raised to *double* the annual value, but on land not used for husbandry mainly the assessment may be on the (single) annual value as before. [The

way in which this is put in the foregoing official statement, page 167, is misleading, and does not seem in accord with clause 21 of the Finance Act.] Farmers may still elect to be assessed under the general schedule, D, if they prefer, instead of under Schedule B. Colonials and others liable to pay income tax in Britain and in Colonies will mark that their rate may be fixed in Britain at not over 3s. 6d. in the £. Then there are some special allowances, chiefly on smaller incomes, designed to soften the rigour of a high tax, such as raising the amount to (or at) which £25 is allowed on the assessment for each child under 16 from £700 to £800, making that allowance to apply also to a wife or relative whom the taxpayer maintains, and allowing payment of the tax under Schedule A (property) by two equal instalments.

The raising of the 1d. stamp to 2d. on bills, cheques, and promissory notes, and the increase in the postal charges (see page 168) will be discussed, in effect, later on, but it may be stated that there was much opposition to them, especially to the former, the extra 1d. on cheques, &c. The new postal charges were imposed by an Act apart from the Finance Act for the year.

What is meant here by the effect of the new taxes is the effect on our system of taxation as a whole. The more general effect of raising an additional £67,000,000 or £114,000,000 by taxes, and especially during a war involving very great burdens in many other ways, is serious, and the effect upon our fortunes more remotely must not be forgotten; but here the question is of the method adopted, and its fairness and wisdom, to secure so much additional revenue.

Let it be observed that, in effect, the increase in postal rates, though charged on services rendered, are, in effect, an addition to indirect taxation. Then, note that of the £67·8 millions more expected in 1918-19 £40·7 millions are to come from customs and excise, and £23·7 millions from the direct income and excess profits taxes. Now, omitting the increases on cheques and on postal rates, if we compare the receipts for 1917-18 with the figures in the balance

sheet for 1918-19, we find that last year, 1917-18, indirect taxes brought £110,000,000, or nearly 18 per cent of the £613,000,000 received from taxes that year; whereas the balance sheet of Mr. Bonar Law's budget for 1918-19 looks for £147,000,000 from the same source out of a total of £782,000,000 from taxes, or a little above 16½ per cent. Still, that tendency to get war expenses out of the consumption of the people cannot be regarded as a step forward (even though in this case much of the new revenue is charged on strong drink and tobacco).

The policy and the effect thus shown may be looked at from another point of view, touching collection of taxes and interference of taxes with business generally. Let the reader turn to the table on page 172, showing the revenue expected from the articles subject to taxation. Under customs and excise 25 heads or classes of imposts are shown, from which £110,000,000 (approximately) were got in 1917-18, and from which £147·7 millions are expected in 1918-19; but each year five only of the 25 heads, viz., spirits, beer, tea, sugar, and tobacco, produced £90·7 millions and £129·6 millions, or 82½ and 87¾ per cent respectively of the total indirect revenue. Besides these five articles or classes the others are scarcely worth collecting, the only class yielding a considerable revenue being entertainments duties, a most objectionable method of taxing. But

the general analysis of this customs and excise revenue, showing a few articles only producing the greater part of it, by far, confirms experience and points to the necessity of confining indirect taxes, so long as they may be imposed, to a few articles of general consumption, and producing large sums of revenue. All such taxation of commodities disregards the taxpayer's relative ability to pay; and so every extension of taxation in that direction adds to the injustice done, and done to the poorer section of the community. It has to be acknowledged that successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, especially during the war, have added to the proportion of the revenue raised from *direct* sources, so that customs and excise now, though raising a large sum, contribute between 18 and 16 per cent only of the total revenue from taxes. Little or none of that progress can be credited to Mr. Bonar Law, especially when we remember the cheque duty and the postal rates, the raising of which was an indirect tax, and then more especially when it is recollected that he was looking to a "luxury" duty (!), which will prove no luxury to the taxpayer. The struggling taxpayer should watch tendencies to add to the revenue by taxes on commodities, and work hard against them. Wars have ever been used as excuses for a resort to these methods of taxation.

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## M.P.'s AS CO-OPERATORS.

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All the political parties are represented in the members of co-operative societies who have found their way to the House of Commons—but represented, of course, in widely differing proportions. Thus, in a list of forty-three M.P.'s who are stores members, we find twenty-three Labour M.P.'s, sixteen Liberal M.P.'s, and four Conservative M.P.'s. Though the list is by no means complete, it includes many who are active in co-operative welfare, and are ever ready to support co-operative claims. The list manifestly suggests the need of a co-ordinating force such as direct co-operative representatives in the House of Commons would constitute.

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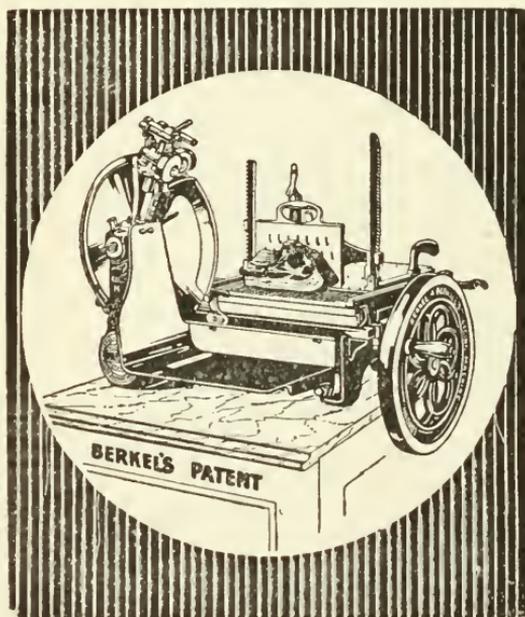
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### III.—THE NATIONAL DEBT AND WAR EXPENDITURE.

A QUESTION occupying much attention now, which will occupy more still in the near future, is the growth of our National Debt, chiefly in consequence of the War. The article on "The Budget for 1918-19" (page 161) touches upon the subject in giving the annual increase of expenditure since 1913-14, and in showing the several increases in the revenue for the same series of years; but the National Debt is of such importance that it deserves separate and special treatment, with a view to drawing attention to it. We begin by giving the amount of the *dead weight* of the National Debt since 1913-14, ending March, as 1913-14 was a financial year unaffected by the war. By the "dead weight" is meant much the same as net debt: for there are other liabilities of the State, some of the nature of contingent burdens, and others a matter of account. Unfortunately, the dead weight figure cannot be given for 1917-18, and the current year 1918-19; but some remarks indicating the probable total will be made below.

too favourable a view, and expenditure tends to grow, while it is possible that liabilities not accounted for will be found also. Much more important is it to observe that the figures of the above table for 1917-18 and 1918-19 are *not* net figures. The Chancellor of the Exchequer went on to give some particulars of the sums owing to Great Britain by her Allies, &c., which would, he thought, reduce the debt in March, 1919, to £6,856,000,000 (from £7,980 millions). The amount owing by Allies will be (at the end of this financial year) £1,632 millions. Thinking principally of Russia, of repayment by which he does not despair, he took £816 millions only, the half of the total owing from Allies, £244 millions owing by our Dominions, and £64 millions owing by India, and arrived at the above estimate of £6,856,000,000 of dead weight of obligations in March, 1919. Meantime it is safe to say that the gross liabilities are likely to be a good deal over £8,200,000,000; and, let it be repeated, accounts are incomplete.

#### THE NATIONAL DEBT FROM 1913-14 TO 1918-19 (MARCH). £

Dead Weight.....	1913-14 .....	651,270,091	
" "	1914-15 .....	1,108,817,076	
" "	1915-16 .....	2,140,748,644	
" "	1916-17 .....	4,011,445,908	
" "	(by difference between Revenue and Expenditure, £1,988,986,000) ....	1917-18 .....	6,000,431,908
" "	(by Votes of Credit, £2,550,000,000 —estimated).....	1918-19 (est.)	8,550,431,908

It should be *observed carefully* that the totals given for the last two years are only *rough* estimates of the position, in which nothing has been allowed for any debt paid off in that interval. For instance, Mr. Bonar Law, in his Budget statement, April 22nd, 1918, thought that the National Debt on March 31st, 1919, would be about £7,980,000,000. That, probably, is

That colossal increase makes us to think of what has been done to meet the cost of war by revenue, and what will be required to defray the cost of the debt in future.

For, of course, the addition to the debt is not equal to the cost of the war: a large part of the revenue has to be added to that addition to estimate the cost of the war.

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ADDITIONS TO REVENUE SINCE 1913-14.

The Revenue in 1913-14 was .....	£198,000,000	Added since 1913-14.
“ “ “ 1914-15 “ .....	£226,000,000 +	£28,000,000
“ “ “ 1915-16 “ .....	£336,000,000 +	£138,000,000
“ “ “ 1916-17 “ .....	£573,000,000 +	£375,000,000
“ “ “ 1917-18 “ .....	£707,000,000 +	£509,000,000
“ “ “ 1918-19 (est.) .....	£842,000,000 +	£644,000,000

So that we have raised toward war about £1,694,000,000 in revenue (by March, 1919).

That, added to the difference between the total of the National Debt in 1913-14 and that expected in March, 1919, will show the cost of the war to be quite £9,000,000,000. (That is an estimate founded on the *gross*. Not the net or dead weight of the debt, to which Mr. Bonar Law looked hopefully). The sum of £1,694,000,000 raised in revenue during the war, above the level of revenue in 1913-14, is a great sum, whatever some may think about the necessity of paying off a larger portion of the cost of the war.

The expenditure beyond the revenue has been met, *parliamentarily*, by means of “Votes of Credit” from time to time, for large sums, which Votes of Credit are in fact authority to spend up to the amount specified. This is not the place for a discussion of the matter; but it is well known that from the Credit thus set up, the whole of the cost of war above revenue, both direct and indirect (such as the purchase of sugar, the subsidy to the price of bread, &c., &c., involving quasi-commercial transactions), has been defrayed [and defrayed without much by way of estimates for expenditure. As complaints of waste, &c., grew louder, the Committee known as the Samuel Committee on National Expenditure was appointed, and much to justify complaint has been discovered, and some steps taken to tighten control.] As specimens of these Votes of Credit let us regard the large amount £2,550,000,000, which Mr. Bonar Law thought would be required this current year (see balance sheet, page 162); and we find that before Parliament adjourned in August, 1918, three Votes of Credit

had been granted already for the year, viz., £600,000,000 (March), £500,000,000 (June), and £700,000,000 (July-August), which last vote may suffice to November, 1918. The expenditure of Government at the latter end of the war was at the rate of £7,000,000 a day, and sometimes higher still. This huge expenditure, above revenue, has been met *financially* in various ways; such as War Loans at 3½, 4½, and 5 per cent; Exchequer Bonds at 5 and 6 per cent, both convertible into War Loan at 5 per cent; War Expenditure Certificates, &c., for small sums, and latterly by means of Treasury Bills, very largely, which are Government paper of short currency (on August 24th, 1918, there were £1,057,000,000 of these last outstanding), and, last of all, grants by the Government of the United States. That was how the “money” to meet the “Votes of Credit” was raised; but “money” in that connection only means an acceptance of the Credit by other people. The result is the vast National Debt summarised above.

It is evident that the *interest, sinking fund*, and management of that debt is costing, and will cost in the future, a vast annual sum. Here is the recent history of that matter. In the year 1914 (ending March) the debt—interest, sinking fund, &c., took £28.9 millions; in 1915, £27.1 millions (the sinking fund has been suspended in large part since); in 1916, £64.9 millions; in 1917, £132.2 millions; in 1918, £189.8 millions; and in 1918-19 it is estimated to require £315,000,000! It will be observed how each of the four war years shows a largely increasing charge, and we know already that 1919-20 will require a still larger sum for the service of the debt. Mr. Bonar Law, in his April

Budget speech took, as we saw, the prospective debt next March, £6,856,000,000 (a net sum), and at 5½ per cent for interest and sinking fund, reckoned that £380,000,000 a year would be required for the debt then. [That, added to £270,000,000 which he took as the normal non-war expenditure, would require a peace budget of £650,000,000. He gave that as the reason why he imposed new and raised taxes which will by and by yield £114,500,000 additional revenue]. But it is almost certain that is too favourable an outlook. Mr. Bonar Law deducted from the debt

£1,124,000,000 of the loans to Allies and Dominions, and some Allies will not be in a position to pay interest even at once, so that the interest after next March is likely to be, not £380,000,000, but between £400,000,000 and £450,000,000 (thus requiring a Budget of quite £700,000,000 and more for many years).

Thus, according to the customary method of meeting war debts, it appears as though we shall for years go on paying a huge charge on our vast debt for interest and a sinking fund. The prospect is the reverse of enlivening.

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## INDEPENDENCE OF ICELAND.

According to the Danish-Icelandic agreement (published at the end of July, 1918, and coming into force on December 1st of the same year), Denmark and Iceland are declared to be independent and sovereign states bound by common ties of kinship and by the agreement in question. By paragraph 19 Denmark is to inform foreign Powers that she acknowledges Iceland as a sovereign state, and that Iceland has declared herself neutral, and that she has no separate flag.

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### **The Miner's Place in Peace and War.**

By VERNON HARTSHORN.

TO give a comprehensive statistical description of the mining industry of Great Britain is not an easy matter. The science of statistics, which has scarcely got beyond its infantile period in any country, may be said to have hardly come into existence at all in Great Britain, particularly as regards its application to the labour movement by the trade unions themselves. The State has done something in the direction of compiling statistics for the various Government departments. Capitalists have used statistical science to some extent for commercial purposes. But the trade unions have not yet begun to make a systematic use of a science which ought to be one of the most powerful weapons of attack upon the social and economic injustices of the existing system. The statistical side of trade union work is incomplete, crude, and amateurish. Perhaps some day the trade unions will awake to the importance of having departments in which will be compiled all the statistics which have any bearing whatsoever on the industry concerned.

The rapid industrial changes which the war has brought about, and the immersion of all the Government departments in war activities, have for a time made the available statistics of industry even less comprehensive and reliable than they were before the war broke out; and the trade union system of compiling statistics has not been anything like equal to making up the deficiency. It is particularly regrettable that this should be so when an industry of the vital national importance of the mining industry is concerned, and at a time when the industry may be on the threshold of fundamental changes in its methods of management and the attitude of the organised State towards it.

It does not need much imagination to comprehend what the coal-mining industry means to the life of the community. It is not too much to say that what food is to the human body coal is to the industrial system upon which the whole of our modern social organisation is based. Without food the human body could not generate the energy with which it does its work and maintains its own vital functions. Without coal the industrial and social activities which characterise a civilised community to-day would be paralysed. No energy-creating substitute which can be applied to our industrial and social system in the way in which coal is applied to-day has yet been discovered in sufficient quantity. Coal maintains our factories, our railways, our shipping, and the most essential comforts and conveniences of our home life. It has been the main pillar of our defence against

the attacks which Prussian militarism has made upon the democratic nations of the world. Without coal the Grand Fleet would have had to remain helpless in harbour. Without coal we would have been unable to withstand the giant offensive of the Germans in March last, for we could not have manœuvred our reserves to keep the line intact. Without coal the Allied offensive under Marshal Foch, which has brought this war to a triumphant close for democracy, would have been a physical impossibility. Such a movement, involving the transport of hundreds of thousands, even millions, of men from one strategic position to another, could not be accomplished without a network of railways, and without coal the steam locomotive is a helpless mass of iron. In a modern civilised community coal is king. In a war of this description coal is the victor. The stability of the social system, the triumph of the Allies over the barbaric and feudal militarism of Prussia, have depended upon continuity of employment in the mining industry, particularly in the mining industry of Great Britain.

The magnitude of the coal-mining industry of the United Kingdom may be seen from the following figures:—

Number of mines being worked in the United Kingdom .....	2,814
„ persons employed (1917) .....	1,021,340
„ „ „ underground.....	811,510
„ „ „ on the surface .....	209,830

No fewer than 29,782 of those employed on the surface are under the age of sixteen. No fewer than 58,763 of those employed underground are also under the age of sixteen. While of those employed on the surface 11,047 are females, and 1,378 of these are under sixteen years of age. The number of females employed in the coal-mining industry has thus nearly doubled since the outbreak of the war, and in the work of reconstruction which peace will necessitate the position of these women and girls and the question of their industrial future will have to be considered by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, not only from the standpoint of the desirability or otherwise of women being employed at the mines, but from that of the industrial welfare of the women themselves, and of their useful employment in some direction in the future. Owing to the influx of women labour into the industries of the country since the outbreak of the war, the great trade unions will have to broaden their interests and take an active part in the settlement of these women in the performance of work of social importance, in which this reservoir of new labour will not be used by capitalists to beat down the wage value of men. But the policy of the unions in this grave matter must not be merely negative; it must not be that of merely protecting the male members of the unions against competition by comparatively low-paid female labour. It must be that and more. The policy must be a constructive policy, and must be directed towards the protection of the industrial future of women as well as of men. A political comradeship having

been established between men and women, the trade unions must see to it that the whole democratic position is rounded off by the establishment of an industrial comradeship as well. It would be disastrous if the industrial welfare of women and the industrial welfare of men were allowed to proceed on separate lines, which might possibly engender misunderstanding and antagonism and result in economic competition between men and women in the industrial sphere. Such an industrial cleavage would be as harmful as a sex cleavage in the political struggle.

During the war we have heard a great deal about the output from the coal mines. The output of coal from the mines of the United Kingdom in 1917 was 248,473,119 tons. A fact which, superficially considered, seems very curious, is that though the number of persons employed in 1917 was 23,277 above the number employed in 1916, the output in 1917 was nearly 8,000,000 tons less than in 1916. The howling dervishes who have set up as critics of labour during this war would attribute that decrease to unpatriotic slacking on the part of the workers and to industrial unrest and strikes. That is the criticism of men of sound and fury, but of no knowledge or judgment of that which they criticise. As a matter of fact, compared with the years immediately preceding the war, the industrial workers of Great Britain, including the miners, have worked with remarkable steadiness, which was a measure of their love of country and of their determination to strike their blow against the militarism which was paralysing social reform and democratic progress throughout Europe. One of the astounding industrial and democratic phenomena of this war has been the wonderful restraint exercised by the working classes, and the self-sacrifice they have shown in the avoidance of strikes which would have interfered with the successful prosecution of the campaign against the Prussian glorifiers of physical force. The decrease in the output was not attributable either to slackness or to industrial unrest on the part of the miners. It was due almost entirely to lack of shipping, consequent upon the German policy of indiscriminate sinkings by submarines. This is proved by the fact that the *reduction in output was confined entirely to the coal-exporting districts*, such as South Wales, Scotland, Northumberland, and Durham. In all the other coalfields, which have a home market—Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midland coalfields—there was a substantial increase in the output as compared with 1916. The output for 1913, the last full year before the outbreak of war, was 287,411,869 tons. These figures show that the output for 1917 was less by about 39,000,000 tons than for the year before the war. The output from the United Kingdom is about 22 per cent of the total coal production of the world. Before the war we exported about 73,000,000 tons, but in 1916 we exported only 38,000,000 tons—that is 35,000,000 tons less than the amount exported before the war began.

These figures might appear to justify the conclusion that although we are producing 39,000,000 tons of coal less than we did before the war, there ought to be very little shortage of coal in the home market, because we have curtailed our exports to an almost equivalent amount. The inference might seem to be that the home consumer ought not to be short of coal. This, however, is a false conclusion. Our fleet and the fleet of our Allies have consumed many million tons more coal than they did in peace times. Factories producing munitions also needed a vast quantity of coal, and this is an entirely new demand; it did not exist in times of peace. So in face of the diminished output the essential needs of the munition factories and of the army and navy could only be met by economies in our home consumption of coal. The question may be asked: Why not have further reduced our exports and kept the coal at home for domestic purposes? Well, in reply to that quite natural question it is desirable that I should emphasise the fact that

our export of coal has been reduced to its lowest possible point compatible with the maintenance not only of our naval and military position but also of our economic position as well, which is of equal importance. To keep our Allies, France and

Italy, in the war, it was absolutely essential that we should supply them with all the coal that we could. Both these countries had for some time been almost entirely dependent upon Great Britain for the supplies of coal, without which they could not have maintained their military operations.

Italy is not a great coal-producing country. France has rich and productive coalfields, but in the first advance of the Germans in 1914 some of the most valuable of these were brought under enemy domination, and in the last German offensive of March this year many more of these coalfields were lost to the Allies. Since March France has depended for her very life on the coal produced by British miners and conveyed to her mainly in British ships. If France had collapsed for want of coal the whole of the Allied case would have gone down in irretrievable ruin. Marshal Foch would never have been able to carry out his victorious offensive.

But there is another, and vitally important, aspect of our export trade in coal. It affects the very basis of our economic connection with the rest of the world, and particularly with neutral nations. International economic connections are maintained fundamentally by

### Distribution of Food in the United Kingdom to 46,000,000 Persons.

Persons.	Supplied by	Average Persons per Shop
12,000,000 ..	5,000 Co-operative Shops..	2,400
7,000,000 ..	10,000 Multiple Shops .....	700
5,000,000 ..	15,000 Ordinary Grocers .. ..	333
22,000,000 ..	70,000 Small General Shops ..	314

the exchange of material goods. The money system is subsidiary to that. We must have something tangible, something of material utility, to exchange for what we want from other nations. The most valuable commodity that Great Britain, with her rich coalfields, has to offer to other nations is coal. We have more coal than most of them have got, and they have to come to us for it, particularly in war time. But they have also material things that we need, and the best way to secure the use of these things is by offering coal. Spain has iron-ore that we need. Holland and Denmark have dairy produce. Norway and Sweden have pit wood. We can only secure those things by exchanging coal for them. But these neutral nations also have something else that we badly want. They have ships. Owing to the tremendous strain on our merchant shipping through the war traffic and through the depletion in the number of our ships by the action of enemy submarines, we have been short of ships and had to have more somehow to maintain not only our naval and military operations but also the economic life of the nation, on which the maintenance of our war organisation as well as the civilised life of the nation absolutely depended. By offering coal we have secured the use of almost the whole of the neutral shipping. This has not only enabled us to maintain our own food supplies, it has also enabled us to bring over the armies of the great American Republic with a speed that would have been otherwise impossible. These armies have perhaps saved us from defeat. They have certainly enabled us to shorten the war. Thus coal has not only enabled us to win; it has also saved the lives of thousands, aye, hundreds of thousands of British fathers and sons who would otherwise have perished if the war had had to be prolonged for the want of that exported coal which has maintained our fighting fronts and brought us in the shortest possible time the help of our American kinsmen and friends. •

As to the money value of our coal output, it is very difficult now to give any figures. Before the war much more elaborate statistics than are now available were prepared as to the pit-head value of the coal produced, but under the stress of the war it has been impossible to compile these figures with the same accuracy and completeness. The figures published before the war bear no relationship to present coal values, and such figures as are available to-day are so partial and abnormal as to be entirely worthless as a permanent record or for the purpose of making useful deductions.

The dangers under which the coal-mining industry is conducted are in a general way proverbial, but we can only arrive at anything like a conception of what it means by an examination of the statistics of fatal and non-fatal accidents; and even then bare lifeless figures cannot sum up the pain and horror, the home suffering and heart-break which lie beneath them. The number killed in the five years 1913 to 1917 was 6,952. This means that in every twenty-four hours

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throughout the whole of the five years, both Sundays and weekdays, four British colliery workers lost their lives. As to non-fatal accidents, one out of every seven persons employed on the surface and underground is injured every year. In 1912 the total number was 150,652. In 1911 the number was 166,616. All these workers were, in consequence of their injuries, rendered idle for more than seven days. A large percentage were rendered idle for a much longer period. A considerable number were totally disabled for the rest of their lives. It will thus be seen that in their struggle with the forces of nature for the winning of the coal which is essential to the community the colliery workers of Great Britain, with the colliery workers of all other countries, are fighting a battle for humanity in which, in the course of years—and they go on year after year, never ending—the casualties mount up like the casualties of a battlefield. Men are blown to pieces. Men are buried alive. Men are crushed between trams. It is like a continuous slow battle, with no hope of an armistice, nor even terms of surrender. It may be that a common experience of danger has helped to make closer and more sympathetic the comradeship between the miners and the soldiers and sailors who also face violent death and terrible injury, and it is this comradeship, and not the inducement of high wages, which has inspired the colliery workers of Great Britain to slog on throughout the dreary years of the war, and to put aside for a while many of their own grievancees against the system under which they work.

As regards the wages paid to colliery workers, it is quite impossible for anyone to supply a full tabulated statement of the wages paid in the different coalfields of Britain. Neither the workmen's organisation, nor the owner's, nor even the Government have taken the trouble to ascertain and tabulate these particulars. When the Minimum Wage Act was passed in 1912 it was necessary for the purposes of that Act to ascertain the average daily wage of men employed in the different grades, as the chairman, in fixing the minimum wages, had to have regard to the average wage of the men employed in the various occupations engaged in the mining industry. At that time the South Wales owners supplied particulars of the actual wage paid to 68,993 day-wage men over twenty-one years of age, 27,971 day-wage men below twenty-one years of age, and 63,224 piece-workers. That makes a total of 160,188 men. As the total number of men employed underground in South Wales at that time was 191,581—the Minimum Wage Act does not apply to surface-men—the wages of 160,000 of them may be taken as fairly representing the position in the South Wales coalfield. Of course, the standard rates of some of the men have been changed since 1912, and other changes of wages have taken place owing to percentage advances and to war wages. The piece-workers are working on the same price lists as in 1912, except in so far as these have been modified by percentage advances and war

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wages. I find that after making the necessary alterations to bring the figures up to date, the day-wage men, whose wages came under review in 1912, are to-day earning wages as follows:—

	s.	d.	
21,693 are receiving .....	10	9½	per day, which is the minimum.
25,955 are receiving an average of .....	12	0	per day.
18,020    "    "    " .....	12	11	"
3,043     "    "    " .....	14	4	"
282       "    "    " .....	15	10	"

If the piece-workers to-day are doing the same work as they did in 1912 their earnings are as follows:—

	s.	d.	
21,792 are receiving .....	13	8½	per day, the minimum.
13,528 are receiving an average of .....	14	7½	per day.
9,877    "    "    " .....	16	2	"
16,373   "    "    " .....	19	7	"
1,504    "    "    " .....	27	8	"
110      "    "    " .....	38	0	"
40       "    "    " .....	48	4	"

The lowest rates which can be legally paid to lads below twenty-one years of age are as follows:—

	s.	d.	
14 years of age .....	5	0	per day.
15   "    " .....	5	7	"
16   "    " .....	7	8	"
17   "    " .....	8	3	"
18   "    " .....	8	10	"
19   "    " .....	9	5	"
20   "    " .....	10	0	"

All the above rates include percentage and war bonus. The lowest rate which is payable to an adult on the surface is 10s. 9½d. per day. These tables which I have worked out are, I think, a fair and reasonable estimate of the wages which are being paid in South Wales. To what extent the calculations may represent the wages paid in other coalfields I cannot say.

**VOTES OF CREDIT, 1918.**

The votes of credit for 1918 have reached the sum total of £2,500,000,000. The details are as follows:—

	£
Original Votes—March...	600,000,000
Supplementary Votes—	
June .....	500,000,000
August .....	700,000,000
November .....	700,000,000

£2,500,000,000

**THE REVENUE FOR 1917-18.**

A Treasury Return shows the revenue of Great Britain to have amounted to £582,898,000 for the year 1917-18, the principle items being as follows:—

	£
Property and Income Tax	233,117,000
Excess Profits Duty.....	218,302,000
Customs .....	66,638,000
Excise .....	34,287,000
Rates, &c., Duties .....	30,554,000

£582,898,000

## THE ENGINEERING OUTLOOK: Its Probable Effect Upon Labour.

BY CHAS. W. HUNT, P.L.G.

*(Member of the Manchester Association of Engineers).*

THAT the war has made huge demands upon the engineering and allied industries, and has been a potent factor in its success, whether on the part of the allied powers or on that of our enemies, is patent to even the most casual observer. In fact, it may be stated that no war under modern conditions can possibly be carried on, even for a week, were it not for the engineer and those engaged in the general mechanical trades. From this, too, it is clear that no country, however just its cause, can hope to wage successfully modern warfare unless it is abundantly supplied and well equipped with those numberless mechanical contrivances technically known as machinery and plant, which are part and parcel of engineering trade and craft. Nations only like our own, which have become industrially great, possess such in abundance; whilst less-favoured nations, depending mainly upon agricultural pursuits, possess relatively none, and are more at the mercy of an attacking foe.

To give a rough idea of the paramount importance of the engineering industry to this country for war purposes, it is only necessary to mention a few of the things it has produced, wholly or in part. These include warships, submarines, guns, shells, rifles, bayonets, cartridges, machine guns, aeroplanes, of which it may be said, in passing, that much of these are of such minute exactness that not even one-thousandth part of an inch inaccuracy is tolerated: indeed the same high accuracy is demanded in most engineering products of every sort and kind.

In addition, there is that vast array of material coming under the head of "transport," consisting of railways, locomotives, rolling stock, bridges, motor wagons, motor cars (armoured and otherwise), wheeled vehicles, caterpillar tractors, tanks, and whippets, the two latter having proved one of the most marvellous inventions of the war, saved thousands of lives, and been most formidable in attack. To these must be added numberless electrical and mechanical contrivances, such as generators and motors, telegraph and telephone apparatus, electric lights, searchlights, cables, wire, and their various instruments and appurtenances: also surgical and optical instruments, and tools of endless variety for trenching and other purposes.

In producing these absolute essentials for the use of our army and navy—and in large measure for those of our allies—it may be justly

allowed that the engineering industry has "done its bit." The workers therein, male or female, will equally share, as part of the great industrial army, the victory to come.

All that has been mentioned comes under the generic title of "munitions." It was to ensure an abundant and regular supply of them, by an industry established to manufacture articles of a very different kind technically, that the Government Department, the *Ministry of Munitions*, was created.

The result has been that the engineering industry, as known in pre-war days, has almost lost its identity, having been entirely submerged and completely reorganised to meet the altered condition of things. Every shop has become in its way an ordnance factory, or a miniature Woolwich, utilising all the machinery, as well as all the available labour, in a determined effort to produce every kind of munitions of war.

Now that hostilities are over, there will be a switching off from the production of munitions to the manufacture of the requirements of peace, much of which is of an electrical and mechanical nature. Reorganisation will become general so as to reinstate the industry into its pre-war state. At the same time, attempts will be made to inaugurate new methods of quantity production, and attention paid to larger output of specialised kinds.

This is sure to occupy many months, if not years, before it can be entirely and completely established, and will affect not only internal arrangements in workshop practices, &c., but will concern many external and outside matters also. Its object, in the first place, being to reabsorb the disbanded forces of the army and navy by restoring men to their former avocation in the various trades; and secondly, to utilise the knowledge of higher productivity gained during the war.

The main impetus for these changes will spring, first of all, from the Government schemes of reconstruction; secondly, from the rapid desire to make good the destruction and the ravages of war, and the schemes included in the rebuilding of the devastated states; and thirdly, the vast accumulation of orders for engineering material held in abeyance since the early days of the war. The chief essential, from the workers' standpoint, being no delay or waste of time in their prompt and immediate prosecution, as soon as circumstances permit, after the cessation of hostilities.

Economically, too, the gravity of the situation is self-evident if employment be not rapidly found for every discharged soldier, sailor, and members of the various auxiliary forces when peace is signed; and it is now the inherent duty not only of statesmen but leaders of industry—employers and employed alike—to be fully prepared with schemes, so that at any moment these may be put into operation without delay.

Any consideration of probable post-war conditions, and the undoubted busy times ahead, must include as a factor of first importance the grave extent of the national debt. It cannot be discussed here, however, in full, but obvious results must be stated and its influence noted. First, taxation will be much higher than formerly. Second, owing to exhausted credit, money will be much dearer, although the Government may come to the aid of industries by means of loans, State banks, or otherwise. Third, the standard of values having risen, including labour value, these will not readily come down again, and, as a result, higher productivity will be needed in order to pay taxation and the high cost of commodities if the standard of living is to be maintained.

Of these premises it is the last which primarily and essentially concerns labour as upon the matter will fluece upon the as most wealth is the and it is precisely restoration of wealth a shattered world) the most urgent ob- ents as soon as peace over, it will be sure that the after- one of shortage, starvation, which, has so generally fol- There need be no tude if the national labour is of the right be no misunder-

### LOSS OF MERCHANT SHIPPING.

According to the official statement made in the House of Commons on November 6th, up to September 30th last the gross tonnage of British merchant steamships lost by enemy action and marine risk during the war amounted to 8,946,000 gross tons. This has been made good by new construction, tonnage purchased abroad, and enemy tonnage captured and brought into service, to the extent of 5,443,000 gross tons, leaving a net deficit on September 30th last of 3,503,000 gross tons.

such, and its attitude have far-reaching in- other two, inasmuch creation of labour, this (the creation or by the re-building of which will become ject of the belliger- is concluded. More- labour's duty to en- math of war is not want, misery, and throughout history, lowed in its wake. fear of labour's atti- attitude towards kind; there should standing about this.

as the labour factor is the most valuable asset we possess, which, with land and the instruments of production, forms our fundamental source of wealth, and ought to be treated as such.

Taxation and thrift are said to go hand in hand. High taxation, reduced national credit, and high productivity have been experienced before in this country; hence we have a precedence by which it would seem as if the reaction of war produced the spirit of work. Following the great wars of 1775 to 1815, there was an enormous increase in economic output, and inventions and adeptions followed in quick succession. In forty years the British textile industry showed marvellous development, and the increased productivity of cotton goods was thirteenfold; of woollen goods tenfold; iron, sevenfold; silk, sevenfold; and in 1845 Great Britain produced 64 per cent of the world's tonnage of coal. High productivity indeed, if we consider the relatively poor instruments of production which our forefathers

possessed, compared to the high-speed, automatic labour-saving machinery of to-day.

In America it would seem as if the matter of greater productivity has been settled by the use of increased mechanical power. The amount of mechanical power per worker is 56 per cent more than in the United Kingdom, or, eliminating trades in which the use of power is limited, the horse-power consumed is nearly double there to what it is here, this being largely due to the fact that specialisation and standardisation in manufacture have reached a far higher level. As an example, it is claimed in the boot and shoe industry that a single worker consumes three times the mechanical horse-power his British comrade consumes, and the value of footwear produced respectively per worker a year is £516 as against £171. Other industries show similar results, whilst many are not so favourable; in any case, a very much higher standard of wages was reached in U.S.A. before the war.

It stands to sense that workers in the engineering industry, in common with other workers, are desirous of perpetuating a high-wage system. All desire the highest remuneration for service rendered, in addition to more leisure for study and relaxation. If these seemingly divergent results are to be attained, it must be through some such organisation of intensified output during actual working hours, now in vogue in America. Much as he is blamed, there is nothing in the "make-up" of the British worker to prevent him doing all, or more than any worker in other countries can do. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with him; he is a born worker, bred and brought up in the atmosphere of work; often generation after generation are found to have followed the same trade; usually the British worker is keen, virile, strong, and adaptable—the saving and the conquering characteristic of his race.

In addition, there is nothing incompatible with best trade union ideals and traditions, notwithstanding charges to the contrary, which is opposed to high productivity or intensified output; as, after all, this is a matter of speeding up machines rather than men, throwing the wear upon the machines, not upon the operators. Combined with up-to-date machinery, modern up-to-date works, and scientific management, high productivity can be obtained; these it is the employers' duty to provide or instal. Have they always done it? It is certain they have not; and where they have it is equally certain they have not always ensured high earning power, or even better remuneration, to the employed, and the blame is therefore not alone at the door of the worker, as is so commonly supposed and believed in by the public generally, misled by a venal press.

According to the report of the Departmental Committee on "The Engineering Trades After the War," the manufacturers in the United States and Germany work in as large units as possible, and

standardisation is common. The number of patterns of machines, or other mechanical products, is limited in each works, and the sale of the articles manufactured is pushed within the same trades. One manufacturer may specialise on a certain article forming a part only of a completed product, and other manufacturers requiring that part will prefer to buy it from him rather than make it themselves.

Perhaps the most striking instances of waste by lack of standardisation is furnished by the locomotive trades of this country, of which the large railway companies themselves are the greatest producers. The private concerns exist entirely upon foreign trade. No two great railway shops produce the same locomotive. The materials for locomotives, to some extent, have been standardised, but the companies refuse to standardise the finished article. It is quite feasible to reduce the locomotives used in this country to about one dozen types, or, say, a type to each workshop; but, instead, a dozen types are produced in the same workshop, entailing numbers of distinct patterns and templates, working drawings, and plans. The waste is considerable, the advantage obtained by the companies problematical; and as private firms are very rarely brought in at competitive prices, or tender for the various types, there is no check upon their own costs of production. Probably, with the advent of standardised ships, the locomotive trade will take the hint, and in that respect soon put its house in order.

Of all the post-war problems which confront us none will be so pressing, and from the workers' outlook so important, as the reorganisation of our industries generally, and of these engineering will be first. In fact, a large amount of State control must be continued until this is done, and the scope for this may be realised by the fact that nearly 5,000 of our largest independent firms, employing nearly three million workers, have been brought under direct Government control during the war.

Strict conditions have been imposed, including rate of wages, hours of labour, and holidays; whilst medical attention, welfare work, canteen, and recreation have been provided. Sweating has, of course, not been permitted under any circumstances, and the result has been an era of great industrial prosperity. There can be no doubt that State control has proved enormously beneficial to the nation, and has tended to increase efficiency and production. How to organise and maintain a system of individual efficiency, combined with State control, for producing and distributing the requirements of life after the war, is a problem which ought to be faced immediately. The truth has at last dawned upon us that the health, prosperity, and happiness of the vast masses of our population is not only an end worth pursuing in itself, but is an important factor in maintaining the industrial prosperity of the nation.

In the future no industry must be tolerated in this country which

exists merely for profiteering purposes and the exploitation of cheap labour. Those that exist now, whether of a manufacturing or distributive kind, should quickly be closed down, as not only are such a danger to the national physique and stamina, but they are a disease, and should be stamped out as such.

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## GROWTH AND SCOPE OF INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT.

By CONSTANCE U. KERR (L.L.A. Hons.),  
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INDUSTRIAL betterment in factories, or, as it is sometimes termed in America, scientific management, is no new thing in the workshop. True, in pre-war days (at all events in this country, though it had developed widely in America), it had not attained to anything like its present position or popularity, being known only to a few "pioneer" employers, and regarded by the general public rather in the light of a philanthropic fad.

From the beginning of the 19th century, however, we often have definite, if somewhat isolated, attempts to achieve more than the bare minimum exacted by the factory acts, and before 1914 a number of progressive managers had become so imbued with these ideas as to have won renown by the practice of welfare work within their own factories. It is only since the war, however, that the matter has been *officially* taken up, and a Welfare and Health Department established to work in close co-operation with the Ministry of Munitions.

In the excitement of the first few weeks after the call to arms, the Factory Acts, which had hitherto safeguarded the health and interests of the workers, were practically swept aside and pessimists predicted a return to the shameful conditions to which the factory children were subjected at the period of the Industrial Revolution. The thousands of women workers who suddenly entered the labour market were plunged into the workshop, without experience, without protection as regards length of hours and good working conditions, and

without sufficient accommodation to ensure either comfort or health. It was quickly felt that such a position was intolerable; and Mr. Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, turned to welfare work as one of the possible solutions of the problem. "The women workers of to-day," he said, "are the mothers of to-morrow." It became immediately necessary to conserve the energies of the workers, and gradually those at the head of affairs emerged into the daylight of human thought, and the ideas and schemes which have been described in the one word "welfare" took their proper place in the scheme of evolution when "men consider machines mechanical and treat human beings for what they are."

There was, naturally, at the declaration of this policy, a rather considerable demand for trained workers to undertake all the manifold duties coming under the meaning of "welfare," and one of the most valuable tasks of the "Welfare and Health" Department of the Ministry has been, and still is, the selection and training of candidates for the work. A panel of suitable people is constantly at hand, who can, if necessary, undertake the entire supervision of the personal interests of the workers. These officers, after engagement by the management of the factory, are responsible solely to the Ministry of Munitions. In factories where T.N.T. (tri-nitro-toluene) is handled, the presence of a lady welfare superintendent has now been made compulsory; in all national factories

her presence is practically a *sine qua non*; and in controlled establishments, where a certain number of females are employed, the management is advised and encouraged by the Ministry to make such an appointment.

So far, welfare work has dealt mainly with girls and women, but the movement is rapidly spreading to include boys, and also men, and even now the male employees must necessarily share in any improvements carried out in the factory so far as the general conditions, canteen and other arrangements, are concerned.

It is an encouraging sign, too, that the welfare workers themselves have already formed their own constitution, and issued an authoritative definition as to the functions of the profession. They recognise themselves as the delegates of the management for everything connected with the well-being of those engaged in the business. They claim no right to interfere between organised labour and the employees, recognising trade unionism as the chosen means of self-expression of the workers. "The work of the welfare workers is purely administrative and advisory, not legislative."

Briefly, welfare work is an honest endeavour to humanise industry—to make the factory a fit and healthful place for every employee to work in. It is felt by all right-minded employers of labour that their responsibility does not stop short even at good wages. Good pay and wages are the basis of successful welfare work, but they are not all. Close in their wake we require good ventilation, good canteens, health safeguards, and so on *ad infinitum*. Welfare work aims at creature comfort, and, at any rate, the alleviation of human discomfort, so that the employees will unconsciously learn to rise above conditions which have hitherto kept them from making the highest and best use of their opportunities. It should, if rightly carried out, help the worker to think of other things than the monotony of his daily routine, foster thought, initiative, sense of achievement, and joy in work; enlarge and stimulate the intellect; encourage individuality and inventive genius; lessen the

danger of industrial accidents; conserve the worker's health, and shorten the working day whilst increasing its productivity.

But—and this is a *but* of paramount importance—the employer naturally wants efficiency in return for the good wages and conditions—the efficiency, be it noted, of the man, and not of the mere machine. Mr. Taylor, the great American exponent of scientific management, was right when he set up as a goal of achievement and scientific management, "Higher wages with lower labour cost." It is only lower labour cost that makes higher wages permanently possible; and, in so far as scientific management makes opportunity for lower costs and increased production "without adding to the burden of the workers in exhausting effort, long hours, or inferior working conditions it creates the possibility of a very real and substantial benefit to labour and to society."

The co-operative societies have hitherto managed without any definite system of welfare as regards their factories and larger places of business: no doubt because of the close link existing between employers and employed, and the unification of their aims and mutual interests, thus rendering any special system of welfare unnecessary. There have been enterprising managers like the late Mr. Brill, of Crumpsall, uniting within his person the offices of manager and general welfare supervisor, and in such cases, of course, the need for a special welfare department has been largely diminished. Nevertheless, even in such exceptional cases, it is as well that (at all events where women and girls are employed) there should be in the factory a qualified woman who, besides being able to attend to minor accidents and ailments which are always occurring, should make it her special work to further, in every possible direction, the interests, health, and comfort of the workers. Other works are beginning to look to the co-operative movement for inspiration and example, as it is generally felt that they should lead the way so far as ideal working conditions are

concerned. "Scientific management" is a necessity and not a luxury, and the personal well-being of the workers can be neglected by managers only at the risk of being left behind in the industrial market. Co-operators—no less than private firms—need to insure that the lives of their employees are spent under the best possible conditions, so that, as already pointed out, their energies are conserved rather than dissipated—with marked results both as regards economic gain and the future expansion of the movement.

To turn now to the details and duties of the welfare officer. Many firms who have not previously employed one are not yet quite clear as to the exact scope and nature of her position. It must be borne in mind that she is, or *ought* to be a specialist in her own line of work, just as is the works engineer, electrician, or head chemist, and that she should therefore be assigned a definite place as part of the management. She has been called in to advise on all matters connected with the general welfare and health of the factory, and her schemes and suggestions for securing the best possible conditions should, therefore, as far as is feasible, be carried into effect and receive at least favourable consideration on the part of the heads of the firm. It is futile to appoint a welfare worker without seeing that she is at the same time empowered to go forward with the support and encouragement of the management, and although at first the outlay of a welfare department may appear considerable, it is, in the end, abundantly justified, both as regards output and increased efficiency.

To avoid overlapping and prevent misunderstanding, the duties which she is expected to undertake should be made clear to the welfare worker from the first day of her appointment. For the guidance of those who are still in ignorance of these, we enumerate very briefly the chief matters with which she is concerned.

1. She should be connected with the employment department of the factory, and if she does not actually engage the women and girls, should at

least have a voice in the matter of selecting suitable candidates.

2. She should advise on transfers from one process to another in cases where, owing to ill-health or bodily infirmity, a girl or woman would be benefited by change of occupation.

3. General matters of conduct and behaviour should be referred to her.

4. She should be consulted before employees are dismissed.

5. She is expected to keep clear records of time-keeping, broken time, sickness, accident, &c., and is often required to help in the insurance department.

6. All factory conditions, such as cleanliness, ventilation, warmth, &c., come under her purview, and she should report regularly to the heads of the firm with relation to these matters.

7. She should be free to make suggestions as to canteen management and see that facilities are afforded to all to obtain regular and nourishing meals. In smaller factories the welfare supervisor may be called upon to manage the canteen, but this is not usual.

8. In the smaller factories she may herself have to undertake the first-aid and ambulance work, whilst, in the case of the larger factories, she is responsible for the work of the factory doctor and nursing staff. Dental and optical schemes, if in operation, also come under the welfare department.

9. Cloak-rooms and supervision of cleaning staff, provision of overalls and protective clothing, and seating arrangements, are generally all duties assigned to the welfare worker.

10. Home visiting of special cases where there is sickness and distress is occasionally necessary, and some factories appoint a special visitor attached to the welfare department for this purpose.

11. Direction of library, social activities, games, and recreations, are undertaken by the welfare department in some of the smaller factories.

It will be realised that a list of duties such as those enumerated above cannot be undertaken efficiently by a woman who has not gone through an

adequate training, and this has been so strongly felt by the Welfare Workers' Association that they have announced—whether supported in this action or not—to insist in the near future on some certain standard of training and experience being attained by candidates for membership of the association, and to endeavour by every means in its power to improve the general status of the profession. By this means the employer and the workers will be safeguarded from experiment, and from amateurs whose well-meant but often misguided efforts in the past have at times thrown the whole movement into discredit; and none but those who are well equipped for dealing with the problems and difficulties of the industrial world will be afforded an opportunity of dealing with that most difficult and uncertain of all the sciences—the science of sociology.

In conclusion, we would point out that in the acceptance and fostering of the true welfare ideal there can be no question of capital currying favour from labour, and no question of labour

being treated with autocratic benevolence by capital. As it has been ably stated by the editor of *Great Thoughts*: “We are wrong to bring capital and labour into the argument at all. They are abstract things to be utilised by human beings for the general community welfare, and, instead of placing them in opposition one with the other, we should look on them rightly, and use them profitably.”

So much bitter feeling has been engendered by those who will for ever rail about the hardships of labour and the arrogance of capital, and much of it might have been saved by a little sane thought regarding the human aspect—the aspect which people are beginning to recognise by the name of welfare. Employers are wanting to keep their business prosperous and consider the good of the people they control at the same time, and employees should help forward the desires of their employers instead of suspecting motives and providing objections which have no substance.

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## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE BUILDING TRADES.

By L.G.C.

**I**N considering problems of reconstruction as applied to the building trades—the third largest industry in the United Kingdom, and in which, normally, close on a million people are engaged—attention is usually focussed on the housing problem. This is natural, since, for some four or five years past, this question has loomed large in the public eye.

The housing problem is undoubtedly a big problem for the country; but, so far as the building trade as a whole is concerned, it is not the whole problem. There are other aspects of building trade reconstruction, but these have been somewhat overshadowed by the more insistent question of housing.

Speaking at Birmingham on Tuesday, October 8th, 1918, to an assembly of Housing Committees of various local authorities in the Midlands, Mr. Hayes Fisher (late President of the Local Government Board) said, “the housing problem was almost at the bottom of everything. We had toyed with the question too long, and it was now necessary to leave talking and get to work.” With those sentiments the writer is in entire agreement. For long before the war housing conditions in many parts of the country were a scandal to a presumed civilised community. Over four years of almost complete cessation of house building has only served to accentuate the problem.

There is a very acute shortage of a certain commodity—dwelling houses—and a huge demand for them; but it does not appear to be worth anybody's while to meet this urgent demand. The so-called immutable law of supply and demand, so dear to the heart of a certain school of political economists, seems to have the bottom completely knocked out of it when applied to the house-building industry at the present time. Otherwise, we ought to be witnessing a scramble amongst builders eager to supply the required houses.

The housing problem is at one and the same time a social and an economic one. At present the two factors in the problem are in conflict, and for the time being the social solution of it is subordinated to the economic—the £ s. d. It is with the latter I am chiefly concerned in the present article.

The private builder—the man, be it remembered, who has supplied at least 95 per cent of the houses in the past—cannot build at the present high cost. To do so and get his usual return on outlay would mean that a similar house to that now let at a weekly rental of 7s. 3d., for example, would involve, according to one authority, the raising of the rent to something like 17s. a week, that is, to let at what is termed

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an economic rent. Stated thus, one begins to realise that the housing problem is not likely to be settled in the immediate future purely on an economic basis. Several house builders of my acquaintance have assured me that the present cost of building is at least double that of four years ago. The following actual prices of a few building materials bear this out:—

	Government Controlled Price, October, 1918.			Price in July, 1914.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Timber—						
3in. × 9in. Swedish A/G Redwood (per standard)	49	0	0	12	0	0
2½in. × 7in. " " " " " "	48	0	0	10	0	0
3in. × 7in. × 8in. Spruce (per standard) .....	49	0	0	9	5	0
3in. × 9in. " " " " " " .....	50	0	0	9	15	0
Floorings (Swedish and Norwegian) per standard).....	54	0	0	11	0	0
Pitchpine, 12in. × 12in. (up to 39ft. long), per cubic foot .....	0	10	0	0	2	3
All classes of joinery, such as doors, windows, and staircases, proportionate to above timber prices and wages increases.						
Bricks (Accrington facing), per 1,000 .....	4	7	6	2	10	0
Cement (in truck loads), per ton .....	3	10	6	1	17	6
Lime (Buxton), per ton.....	1	12	6	0	16	6
Slates, 60 to 75 per cent increase according to sizes.						
Glass, 100 to 200 per cent increase.						

Wages in the building trades have increased as follows:—

	Rate per hour, October, 1918.		Rate per hour, July, 1914.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Bricklayers.....	1	5	0	10½
Masons .....	1	6	0	11
Plasterers .....	1	5	0	11
Plumbers .....	1	6	0	10
Carpenters and Joiners .....	1	5	0	10½
Slaters.....	1	5	0	10
Painters .....	1	5	0	9½
Labourers (General and Navvies) .....	1	2½	0	6½

In addition to the foregoing increases in the actual cost of materials and labour, the private builder is also faced with dearer money. A large part of the house-building operations in this country—perhaps the bulk of them—have been financed on borrowed money. Previous to the war the builder could get money at about 3½ to 4 per cent interest; to-day he would have to pay probably 6 per cent, certainly not less than 5 per cent, and 1 per cent on £400 means an addition of 1s. 6d. per week to the rent. Below is a comparative statement which has been prepared by a prominent house builder to illustrate the position. The house taken for the purpose is a working-class house, containing three bedrooms, bathroom, parlour, and kitchen—just the class of house, in fact, which the Labour Housing Association on the occasion of the last Trade Unions Congress, held at Derby on Saturday, September 2nd, recommended should be the minimum

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accommodation of the homes of the people. In round figures the estimated pre-war cost of such a house is taken to be £200. The statement was prepared with the object of showing the rent and main expenses connected with such a house before the war, immediately after the war, and also when a normal state of affairs exists at the end of the transition period of high prices:—

	Pre-war Cost, £200.		After-war Cost (immediate), £100.		Normal After-war Cost (say, in five years), £300.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Interest on Capital—						
Pre-war at 5 per cent .....	10	0 0	...	—	...	—
After-war at 6 per cent .....	—	—	...	24 0 0	...	18 0 0
Repairs and Decorations .....	2	0 0	...	4 0 0	...	3 0 0
Management Expenses .....	1	0 0	...	2 0 0	...	1 10 0
Insurance on Property .....	0	3 0	...	0 6 0	...	0 4 6
<hr/>						
Minimum Annual Rent to cover above Charges .....	13	3 0	...	30 6 0	...	22 14 6
Rates and Water Taxes at 10s. in the £.....	5	10 0	...	12 12 0	...	9 9 0
<hr/>						
Annual Rent and Rates .....	18	13 0	...	42 18 0	...	32 3 6
<hr/>						
Per week—						
Rent .....	0	5 1	...	0 11 8	...	0 8 9
Rates.....	0	2 2	...	0 5 3	...	0 3 11
<hr/>						
Weekly Rent and Rates .....	0	7 3	...	0 16 11	...	0 12 8

I have purposely put the case, up to now, from the point of view of the private speculative builder, because it is upon him this country has in the past almost solely depended for supplying the dwelling houses of the people; and because the figures I have given emphasise how completely the private builder is debarred—as a business man, I mean—from providing the houses so urgently needed. Private enterprise in house building, on the old lines, is gone for the time being. That being so, other agencies and other means have to be sought and utilised. The alternative to private enterprise is, of course, a scheme of State or municipal housing. This has been recognised by the Local Government Board, and Mr. Hayes Fisher, before his retirement from the post of President of the Board, had already laid proposals before the country for dealing with the question.

The magnitude of the problem there is no gainsaying. The Advisory Housing Panel of the Ministry of Reconstruction issued in June, 1918, a Memorandum on "Housing in England and Wales." They came to the conclusion that 300,000 houses were required at the end of 1917; that another 75,000 would be required for each year beyond, if no building was done; and that a sum of £100,000,000 would be required to build the 300,000 houses. Moreover, Scotland and Ireland were omitted from these calculations, and in Scotland, the Memorandum stated, the scarcity of houses was

greater than in England, and the standard of housing markedly lower. This estimate of the Advisory Housing Panel is manifestly much too low; and another Committee of Inquiry—Sir J. Tudor Walter's Committee—estimated the existing house shortage at 500,000, with an annual increase of 100,000 to keep pace with growing needs. And both Mr. Hayes Fisher and Dr. Addison (Minister of Reconstruction) are agreed that 500,000 new houses are immediately required. It is unnecessary to labour this point further. No one now disputes the gravity of the situation. Indeed, so grave is it that the application of the remedy for this social sore should not be delayed until peace is signed; but that a start should at once be made, and house building immediately be proceeded with; the existing materials and labour being utilised to the best advantage where the need is most pressing.

Let us now turn to the proposals for dealing with the problem. The ideal solution is, of course, the social one. That is, first consideration should be given to the *needs* of the community, and the necessary houses erected. Unfortunately, however, there is a danger that even now financial considerations have first place, and tend to postpone active operations. On March 18th, 1918, the late President of the Local Government Board issued his now famous circular to local authorities on the subject of State financial assistance for approved Housing of the Working Classes, schemes which any local authorities were prepared to carry into effect immediately peace is declared. Briefly stated, the offer of State assistance is as follows:—

The full cost of the scheme should, in the first instance, be met out of the funds of the local authority by means of a loan raised by them, and for a period of years (seven suggested) the necessary State assistance should be given in the form of a grant of a percentage of the loan charges sufficient to relieve the local authority of 75 per cent of the estimated annual deficit. . . . At the end of the period (seven years) the property to be valued, and 75 per cent of the excess (if any) of the amount of loan outstanding over the then value of the property should be met by the State. Loans by the State for the purpose of assisted schemes would be made at the full market rate of interest, and not at preferential rates ordinarily allowed for housing schemes. In certain cases, in which the remaining 25 per cent of the deficit in respect of any scheme would involve a local rate of more than a penny in the £, the grant in aid may be increased by more than the 75 per cent, subject to the condition that the amount of the deficit to be borne by the local authority shall not be reduced below the produce of a rate of a penny in the £.

There are certain other conditions attached having reference to the control by the Government of the class of house to be built; the number to the acre (not more than 12 suggested); sites for schemes; and period within which the building shall be commenced and finished. But the main idea is that the Government is prepared to pay 75 per cent of any loss incurred by municipal house building for at least seven years after the war is ended.

Mr. Hayes Fisher laid it down as a definite proposition that the State cannot become its own house builder; that the ideal

partnership for the business is that of the State and the municipality, working along the lines suggested in his circular. And he stated that quite 80 per cent of the 1,800 local authorities in the country have schemes either in active preparation, or have expressed their willingness to carry out such schemes as are desirable to meet the needs of their locality. Recently, however, there has developed considerable opposition to the proposals from certain municipal authorities, particularly in populous areas, on the ground that the 75 per cent grant in aid against the annual deficit is not sufficient; that the burden to the municipality should not in any circumstances exceed a penny on the rates; and several municipalities have adopted the penny rate as the maximum they are prepared to incur. As showing the attitude of representative local authorities on this point, it is interesting to note that at a conference of municipal authorities of Lancashire and Yorkshire, held in Manchester on May 28th, 1918, at which the Local Government Board circular was fully discussed, it was decided

That the terms offered by the L.G.B. were not sufficiently attractive to induce local authorities to build houses in such numbers as were necessary to meet the great shortage of housing accommodation; and that if no better terms were offered the housing needs of the country were not likely to be met.

This difference of opinion between local authorities and the Local Government Board should not be allowed to widen, and so retard progress. Any refractory local authority must be compelled to move in the matter. As things stand there is no time to be wasted in quarrels between authorities. Mr. Hayes Fisher became alive to this, and his last piece of work as President of the Local Government Board was to introduce in Parliament on October 28th last a short Housing Bill, the chief object of which is to confer powers on County Councils to proceed with housing schemes where necessary, and where the municipal authority which ought to have done the work has been dilatory and negligent, or failed in their duty. The County Council is empowered to proceed with building, charging the cost to the negligent local authority concerned. In the writer's opinion the whole of the cost of a comprehensive national housing scheme, urban and rural, should, in the first instance, be borne by the State. Housing, in the peculiarly abnormal conditions resulting from the war, cannot wait until a satisfactory economic settlement is arrived at. The class of people for whom the houses are mainly required are unable to pay the economic rent required to cover the extraordinary increased cost of building.

As might be supposed, opposition to the Government proposals for grants-in-aid to municipalities comes also from the private builder. Much of it is unreal, however. Fortunately for the private builder, if not for the country, the Government declines to become its own builder; and the local authorities are not likely to set up building

departments as they ought to do. The private builder, therefore, although he would prefer, of course, to go back to pre-war conditions so far as house building is concerned is, nevertheless, accepting the existing situation with an air of philosophy; of making the best of things. He knows now that houses will have to be provided; and as for the next few years, at all events, cost of building will be too high for his own capital resources, he will, in spite of his denunciations against municipal housing schemes, readily consent to become a contractor under the municipality. It is along the lines of employing the private builder that the local authorities will attempt to solve the housing problem. The State and local authority will do the financing—out of public funds; the builder will do the work—at a price. It is not the ideal way; but it is, I am afraid, how events are trending.

The problem should not be looked at from a narrow view-point. The welfare and the health of the community is vastly more important than an immediate return in the shape of rents. I believe the late President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Hayes Fisher) during the past year or two has developed a real and earnest desire to see the housing problem grappled with thoroughly and successfully. He had to handle the heritage—an evil one—of 50 years' neglect. He found strong interests against him. Amongst others, the Treasury Department, to whom Mr. Fisher would have to go for the money if the State carried a national housing scheme through, are only sympathetic in a niggardly fashion: £7,000,000,000 for war purposes without a murmur; but not £20,000,000 for housing, except with reluctance. Mr. Hayes Fisher has gone to immense pains, I believe, to find out exactly what the position is with regard to the houses required, cost of materials, and availability of labour. Several Committees of Inquiry have been at work on his behalf. Unfortunately, for some cause or other, he has left the work he had commenced. The cause of his resignation was probably differences of opinion with the Treasury on this matter of money for housing. His successor, Sir Auckland Geddes, however, knows now from the various reports subfitted from time to time exactly how matters stand. It is for him to take a bold course: To demand that the money shall be found; to indicate the sources from which it can be procured. There is, in spite of the destruction created by war, and expenditure for destructive purposes, an enormous amount of wealth within the country, actual and potential.



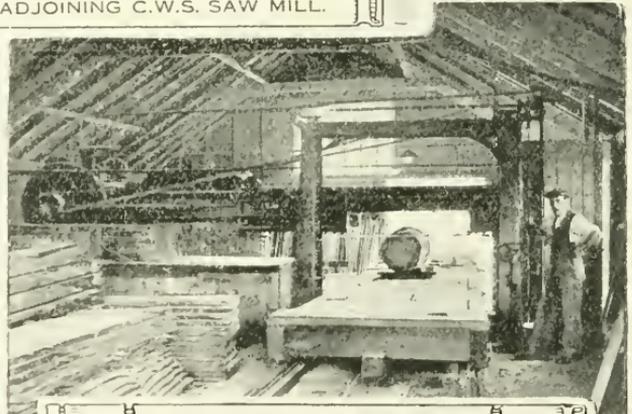
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## THE WHITLEY COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

THE Whitley Committee, otherwise the Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed, has issued five reports, all of which have been published as parliamentary papers. The first two reports dealt with joint industrial councils, the third with works committees, the fourth with conciliation and arbitration, and in the fifth and final report issued last September the committee reaffirmed their conviction that the establishment of machinery on the lines previously sketched out was a matter of urgency, but at the same time abstained from any recommendation with regard to profit-sharing and copartnership.

Briefly stated the Whitley Committee's recommendations comprise four leading suggestions: (1) Joint Standing Industrial Councils. (2) Trade Boards. (3) Works Committees. (4) A Standing Arbitration Council. The explanation of the scope and aims of these bodies is to the following effect.

(1) Joint Standing Industrial Councils—both national and district—are recommended for establishment in industries in which organisation on the part of employers and employed is sufficiently developed to render their respective associations representative of the great majority of those engaged in the industry.

The primary object of industrial councils is to regularise the relations between employers and employed. But they will serve another urgent need, and in so doing, will give to workpeople a status in their respective industries that they have not had hitherto. There is a large body of problems which belong both to industry and to politics. Such problems are the regularisation of employment, industrial training, utilisation of inventions, industrial research, the improvement of design and quality, legislation affecting workshop conditions—all of them questions which have hitherto been

left in the main to employers, but which in reality constitute an important common interest on the basis of which all engaged in an industry can meet. The termination of the war will bring with it a mass of new problems of this nature; for example, demobilisation, the training of apprentices whose apprenticeship was interrupted by military service, the settlement in industry of partially disabled men, and, in general, the reconversion of industry to the purposes of peace. It is urgently necessary that the Government should be able to obtain without delay the experience and views of the people actually in industry on all these questions. It proposes, therefore, to treat industrial councils as standing consultative committees to the Government and the normal channel through which it will seek the experience and advice of industries. Further, many of these problems can be handled by each industry for itself, provided that it has an organisation representative of all sections and interests within it. The establishment of industrial councils will therefore make unnecessary a large amount of "Government interference" which is at present unavoidable, and substitute for it a real measure of "self-government" in industry.

(2) Trade Boards. These are recommended in the first place for establishment in the unorganised areas or branches of an organised industry; they should be established on the application of the national industrial council and with the approval of the Ministry of Labour, and should be linked up with the industrial council. In the second place, trade boards should be established or continued in industries devoid of any adequate organisation of employers and employed, and it is recommended that trade boards under such conditions should, with the approval of the

Ministry of Labour, be enabled to formulate a scheme for an industrial council which might include in an advisory capacity the appointed members of the trade board.

(3) Works Committees. As national and district councils constitute the first and second links, so works committees form the third link in the proposed chain of organisation. While questions of wages and hours of work should be settled by the district or national councils, the purpose of works committees is that of constructive co-operation in the improvement of the industries to which they belong. Questions pertaining to the success of the business, the efficiency of the working of the individual workshop or factory—these are the specific matters with which works committees should deal. At the same time the Whitley Committee point out a danger to be guarded against.

We think it important to state that the success of works committees would be very seriously interfered with if the idea existed that they were used, or were likely to be used, by employers in opposition to trade unionism. It is strongly felt that the setting up of works committees without the co-operation of the trade unions and the employers' associations in the trade would stand in the way of the improved industrial relationships which in these reports we are trying to further.

(4) A Standing Arbitration Council. The Whitley Committee recommend that such a council should be established on the lines of the present temporary committee on production, to which differences of general principles and differences affecting whole industries, or large sections of industries, may be referred in cases

where the parties have failed to come to an agreement and are desirous of having matters settled by arbitration. It should be distinctly stated, however, that the committee are opposed to any system of compulsory arbitration or to any conciliatory scheme compulsorily preventing strikes or lock-outs pending inquiry. What they suggest is that the Ministry of Labour should be empowered to hold a full inquiry when desirable, and this without prejudice to the right of the employees to strike, or of the employers to declare a lock-out either before the inquiry or during its progress.

Meanwhile, the minority report, appended to the fifth and final report and signed by Mr. J. R. Clynes and four others, is worth noting in view of its frank intimation that the Whitley scheme can furnish no fundamental solution of the industrial problem under the capitalist system. Thus the minority declare

That while recognising that the more amiable relations established by industrial councils or trade boards between capital and labour will afford an atmosphere generally favourable to industrial peace and progress, we desire to express our view that a complete identity of interests between capital and labour cannot thus be effected, and that such machinery cannot be expected to furnish a settlement for the more serious conflicts of interest involved in the working of an economic system primarily governed and directed by motives of private profit.

Up to October last sixteen joint individual councils had been established and progress had been made towards the formation of similar councils in a considerable number of industries.



## THE PEOPLE'S BREAD.

### Outlook Respecting Grain Supplies.

GR<sup>EAT</sup> and constant efforts to maintain and increase cereal production are now being made by our Government, by our European Allies, the United States, Canada, Australia, and India, also by Argentina and other neutral countries, and, speaking generally, the efforts made have been crowned with success. Mr. Hoover, the American Food Controller, and other prominent men have repeatedly declared that all anxiety with regard to the supply of cereals for the Allies has disappeared, with the reaping of this year's abundant crops. The crops this year are not good everywhere, and probably such a phenomenon has never occurred in former years, and will probably never happen in the years to come. Further, it can be said that because a country has a good wheat crop it does not follow that all its grain crops are good; for instance, although the wheat crop of the United States this year is very good, probably the best ever reaped, yet maize has been damaged and will yield much less than in 1917; we find, too, in France, that a good wheat crop has been accompanied by an indifferent crop of oats and a very poor crop of potatoes. But when we have made all allowances, we can confidently say that the allied countries, together with Argentina, have reaped good crops in 1918, that actual and prospective food supplies are more than sufficient for requirements, and that the responsible officials can now proceed to build up a substantial reserve as a safeguard against possible short crops in the future. The splendid outturn of the 1918 harvests will best be seen if the present crops, those of last year and the last pre-war crops, are put down in tabular form. Here is the statement:—

WHEAT CROPS OF THE 1918 SEASON WITH COMPARISONS.

	1918.	1917.	1914.
	QRS. (480lbs.)	QRS. (480lbs.)	QRS. (480lbs.)
U.S.A.....	112,000,000	81,000,000	111,000,000
Canada .....	26,000,000	30,000,000	20,000,000
France .....	28,000,000	18,000,000	36,000,000
Italy .....	20,500,000	17,500,000	21,000,000
United Kingdom .....	11,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
India.....	48,000,000	47,500,000	39,000,000
Argentina.....	*25,000,000	9,000,000	14,000,000
Australia .....	*14,500,000	19,000,000	13,000,000
Total 8 Countries.....	285,000,000	230,000,000	262,000,000

\*Harvested in December, 1917; ready for shipment in 1918.

The most striking feature of this statement is, undoubtedly, the large increase shown by the 1918 total compared with that of 1917, and we must certainly not fail to note that there is a substantial

increase compared with 1914. The harvest of the latter year was about fair on the whole—it was good in the United States and Australia, rather poor in Canada, and short in India; but, taken as a whole, it was a fair harvest, and this fact helps to bring out the excellence of the results obtained this year; for if we class an outturn of 262,000,000 quarters as fair, we certainly shall not be wrong in reckoning 285,000,000 quarters as good, or even very good.

Under existing conditions, it has been found that North America is an almost ideal source of supply, if supplies from abroad have to be obtained, and we are certainly not yet self-supporting in the matter of cereal foods; the same is equally the case with France and Italy.

#### ALLIES SUPPLIES.

Dealing with the requirements of the European Allies, it is to be noticed first of all that Mr. Hoover, the American Food Controller, was reported to have said recently that America would be called upon to send to the Allies this year 500,000,000 bushels of grain for food, but a subsequent statement attributed to Mr. Hoover and cabled over, puts the matter rather differently and gives a smaller quantity. This later statement says that the American Food Controller calculates that in the twelvemonth from July 1st last, European requirements will include 10,400,000 tons of breadstuffs, and 2,700,000 tons of food grains, the latter quantity probably meaning feeding grain for cattle. I am inclined myself to think that the last-mentioned statement is more likely to be correct than the previous bigger figure, for it indicates import requirements of some 50,000,000 quarters of bread-grain, plus 12,500,000 quarters of grain for cattle food. The American estimates in bushels and tons cannot be stated exactly in quarters of 480lbs., because a certain proportion of the shipment will be in the form of flour, and there will also be rye and maize, of which the bushel weight is 56lb., and a part will almost certainly consist of barley weighing 48lbs. per bushel. How much of the American shipment of food-grains will consist of wheat, and how much of the coarser cereals, it is impossible to say exactly, but we are informed that 12,500,000 to 20,000,000 quarters may consist of cereals other than wheat. The United States is certainly well able to ship the 50,000,000 quarters of bread-grain, and Mr. Hoover has promised that it shall be done, also all the feeding-grain; and although Canada has not a big crop this year, yet she has a surplus of some 12,000,000 quarters; and there will be other shipments from Argentina, Australia, and India, the size of which will only be limited by the number of steamers that can be spared to carry the grain.

If North America is going to send this season 62,000,000 quarters of bread-corn, it is fairly obvious there will be no shortage of bread on this side, even if the contributions from other exporters are quite moderate or small, whereas I expect they will be of fair size.

We can calculate the requirements of the Allies in another way: Our own pre-war consumption of wheat was 34,000,000 quarters per annum, and we may suppose we shall consume as much this season, if the quality of bread is improved. Of this requirement, our home crops—wheat, barley, and rye—should furnish 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 quarters. I will take the smaller figure to be on the safe side, leaving 22,000,000 quarters to be imported. France's officially indicated bare requirements is only about 5,000,000 quarters, but I will reckon 10,000,000 quarters for this importer, because there will be a distinct improvement in the war bread of our neighbour and Ally this season. The Food Controller of Italy has stated that country will need 14,000,000 quarters of cereals. To the foregoing we must add: Belgium, 5,000,000 quarters; Switzerland, 2,000,000 quarters; Portugal and Greece, 1,000,000 quarters; and perhaps 2,000,000 quarters for Holland, where many of our soldiers are interned.

The foregoing items total as under, and I have given in parallel column the actual imports of 1912-13:—

IMPORT REQUIREMENTS.		
(Quarters 480lb.)		
	1918-19.	1912-13.
	Estimated.	Actual.
United Kingdom .....	22,000,000	29,700,000
France.....	10,000,000	5,600,000
Italy.....	14,000,000	9,100,000
Belgium .....	5,000,000	6,300,000
Portugal and Greece .....	1,000,000	1,200,000
Switzerland .....	2,000,000	2,700,000
Holland .....	2,000,000	2,200,000
<hr/>		
Total 7 Countries .....	56,000,000	56,800,000
Other Countries .....	?	12,000,000
		<hr/>
		68,800,000

In view of the figures given in the tabular statement, showing importers' needs of foreign bread-corn, Mr. Hoover's estimate of requirements of 50,000,000 quarters appears to be rather on the small side, but, on the other hand, the statement that he estimates to ship 50,000,000 quarters from the United States, shows that he was making a very liberal allowance for importers' wants, and, with Canada's help, planning to furnish all from North America. The most important point for importing countries is the assurance that there is an abundant supply of wheat and other cereals to be obtained from North America, that is, from an exporter so placed geographically, that the ocean voyage occupies a comparatively short time.

#### AMERICAN RESOURCES.

All war bread in Allied countries will nominally contain 20 per cent of dilutants or substitutes, and I fully expect this regulation will be maintained, although with modifications; the modifications

however, will be directed to a reduction of the dilutant cereals, whilst last season, especially in France and Italy, when changes had to be made to meet local conditions, they mostly consisted of orders increasing the dilutants up to 50 per cent, occasionally up to 80 per cent, and when such big admixtures of maize were made, the war-bread, as sold to the public, was most unpalatable and extremely unsatisfactory. There need be no anxiety as to the ability of the United States and Canada to ship coarse cereals such as barley, maize, and rye. The barley supply in the United States is so large, and the consumption demand for milling and brewing so restricted (all brewing stops on December 1st) that the grain will never be consumed unless it is used freely for animal food: the quality generally is good and suitable for milling admixture. Canada, also, has a good barley crop, and the United States rye crop is double what it was previous to 1914. The substitute cereals are to be had, as and when wanted, and it needs but few words to show that all the wheat required will be readily forthcoming. One of America's leading statisticians estimates the United States can spare 250,000,000 bushels, or 31,000,000 quarters, for export, and still leave a large quantity to form a safeguarding reserve: the reasonableness of this statement can easily be demonstrated. The following figures show the wheat supply of the United States for the current season, the home requirements, and the quantity available for export and forming reserves:—

UNITED STATES SUPPLIES OF WHEAT.

	Bushels.
Crop of 1918 (official estimate) .....	*899,000,000
Stocks on June 30th, 1918 .....	18,000,000
	<hr/>
	917,000,000
Requirements—	Bushels.
Wheat for seeding 70,000,000 acres at 1½ bushels per acre .....	105,000,000
Food for 105 million people at 4·3 bushels per person .....	451,000,000
	<hr/>
	556,000,000
Total quantity available for export and forming reserves.....	†361,000,000

\*Trade statisticians reckon the crop as much as 940,000,000 bushels.  
†45,000,000 quarters (480 lbs.).

So far I have dealt with the crops and supplies of those countries which are either our Allies, or which may be classed as friendly neutrals, but there are other countries whose crops are worthy of consideration, and the most notable of these are Russia, the Central Powers, and Balkan countries. There is fairly good authority for saying that the yield per acre in Russia last season was relatively good, but as only a part of the fields was cultivated, the general outturn was so short, and the supply so badly distributed, that famine prevailed in some of the large towns and certain country districts of the more

northerly regions. The Germans tried to obtain grain from the Ukraine, but even with respect to this fruitful part of Russia, the harvest outturn has been so short that there was nothing to spare.

I am very much afraid that unless much better organisation prevails during winter, Russia will suffer very severely from famine. With regard to Roumania and Bulgaria, we have the authority of the American Food Controller for saying that the outturn of this year's harvest was poor owing to drought. Germany claims that her grain crops were 15 per cent better than last year's, but admitted that the potato crop was not good, and that there was no chance of increasing the rations hitherto distributed. This Government report may be true, but experience during the war has shown that German official crop reports are generally misleading. Austria is believed to have a short crop, but Hungary a fair crop. If the war goes on, these European countries will have to carry on with such supplies as they themselves have produced, but if the war should come to an end\*, there will probably be a big demand for foreign bread-grain to be shipped to Germany and Austria-Hungary; it is quite possible that Russia also might be a buyer in America or Australia. It is obvious that under actual conditions the Bulgarian peace could make but little difference to the international grain supply, as anything that country might have had to spare could easily be absorbed for feeding Serbia, or the fighting armies of the Allies.

\* The war ended after the above article was written.



## WAR SAVINGS CERTIFICATES AND BONDS.

Up to September 28th, 1918, 241,277,379 fifteen-and-sixpenny War Savings Certificates had been sold. This total is sub-divided as follows:—  
Sold in England and Wales 216,813,700  
Sold in Scotland..... 21,733,309  
Sold in Ireland ..... 2,730,370  

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241,277,379

During the whole period of the issue of these Certificates up to September 28th, 1918, Certificates to the value of only £6,979,554 have been cashed by their owners. This represents only 3·77 per cent of the value of the total amount of War Savings Certificates issued.

It is estimated that there are well over 10,000,000 holders of War Savings Certificates.

Throughout the country 1,802 local War Savings Committees exist. These

are organising bodies of voluntary workers, and their chief task is the formation and supervision of War Savings Associations, which are really savings clubs—clubs for the co-operative purchasing of War Savings Certificates. There are 41,302 of these War Savings Associations in existence.

### TOTAL AMOUNT.

From October 1st, 1917 (the date of issue) until September 28th, 1918, £1,125,342,424 worth of National War Bonds had been sold.

This figure is divided as follows:—  
Sales through Bank of £  
England ..... 1,086,389,184  
Sales through Post  
Office..... 38,953,240

£1,125,342,424

## EDUCATION AND THE WORKERS.

BY A LABOUR LEADER.

THE lessons taught by the great upheaval of war have filled the entire community with a longing to put the whole "house in order." As a result the air is full of proposals for betterment; scheme follows scheme in such quick succession that the ordinary citizen is becoming bewildered at the new worlds which are being pictured before him—reconstruction, new methods, revised international and domestic policies, co-operation between capital and labour, industrial councils, all have their strenuous advocates, jostling each other for public attention.

To some of us laymen, whose faith in revivals of this character is becoming a little worn through repeated disappointments, more concentration upon the practical needs of the moment as against schemes of general betterment for the future, would tend to remove a scepticism which holds a place in our minds.

It may be true that after the war capital and labour will co-operate to obtain a maximum production with a minimum of effort and friction, but at the moment there is a woeful absence of such co-operation, and the thought thrusts itself forward that if co-operation cannot be secured during the war when the need is so great, what better prospect is there of securing it after the war when the need will be comparatively so much less?

To take one phase of this reforming zeal—education.

Educational reform is an old and familiar topic, but, notwithstanding its repeated exploitation, we seem as far as ever from that practical education which would fit the child and youth for the actual problems he or she will have to face in life.

For the great bulk of the people of this country that outstanding problem can be stated simply; it is in fact the question of how to make the most of a comparatively small weekly wage.

However we may juggle with words in picturing better times it may be accepted that for the great majority of coming citizens their lot will be that of the weekly wage earner. The real problem facing public education is, therefore, how to lighten and make attractive the position of those millions of workers, and so lessen the discontent in the workshop, factory, and mine.

Instead of dealing with this problem by concentrating upon efforts to make the position of the manual worker tolerable, and such as would lend to contentment, the educational machine has developed into a huge system under which the child and youth are urged to secure scholastic attainment with the object of escaping from manual labour. The goal dangled before the young scholar is not distinction as a craftsman or operative, but something that will enable him to get

away from craftsmanship and machine tending. A more vicious and harmful doctrine could scarcely be conceived. Not only is the youth led to believe in this pernicious "wild goose chase" but he enters the workshop full of the delusion that scholarship is of value to the producing employer. Nothing of course is further from actuality; such employers want hands not brains; they employ operatives not thinkers; they want machine output not craftsmanship.

The youth serves five or seven years' apprenticeship in the fond hope that he is acquiring skill, only to find that when the pinch comes, as it has come recently, girls can in a few weeks do the work at which he has served years of probation before he was allowed to qualify, and that the girl or semi-skilled man can earn more money at repetition work and by a disregard for trade union restrictions than he with all his years of training ever hoped to earn.

#### THE DISILLUSION.

The result of all this scholastic training is, of course, that the youth leaving the school with an armful of prizes enters the workshop full of hope and ambition. He feels that his success at school has equipped him with a knowledge which makes the real battle of life which he is just entering, half won. The disillusion of actual workshop life when he finds that what is wanted is a nimble hand and a quick eye, rather than an active brain, and that his scholastic knowledge is of little value, speedily turns his thoughts into more dangerous channels, and that brain which he fondly hoped would be utilised in aiding his country to conquer the forces of nature and turn raw material into useful products is speedily diverted into plotting antagonisms against the powers which have doomed him to be a hand or operative, and at the same time led him to think that being a hand or operative was something to get away from, and that education would enable him to do this. Thus we have industrial revolt and general unrest.

In point of fact this sort of education does in a few cases enable the operative to get out of the factory, the mine, or the mill, but in a way scarcely contemplated by our experts.

The youth, quickly disappointed in his hopes to rise in his trade and emulate the great industrial pioneers whose success has so often been held up to him as a pattern, has still one chance open—the labour movement. He has long shrunk from this. A youth is naturally an individualist; the buoyancy of his young life leads to confidence in his own success even where others have failed, and it is only with the bitterness of a last resource that he finds himself gradually sympathising with the labour agitations which constantly go on around him. He finds that those who voice the grievances he is just beginning reluctantly to admit, have the ear of their fellows; are chosen as local leaders. He finds when, diffidently, he joins in the discussions, he also gains listeners. He discovers with delight that he can talk,

and that the resultant applause is gratifying. The sequel all too frequently is that trade loses a possible "captain of industry" and labour gains a "leader." How can it be otherwise? On the one hand, he is discouraged, checked, and disappointed, doomed at best to a long period of hard work during the day and harassing study at night after his manual labour is over. Even then success is a long way off and seems to depend less on individual ability than upon influence and friends at "court." On the other hand, he sees prizes of the highest open to him—leadership in the trade union, seats in Parliament, even place in inner Cabinets: prizes to be won, not by securing the goodwill and favour of an employer after years of endeavour, but by his own unaided efforts in voicing grievances he now feels to be his own and is burning to express. The path is easy and alluring, and so we find the labour movement full of such young men.

A striking commentary upon this is a phase of "education" which would be humorous were it not so pitiful. Some seventeen years ago an American, possessing the highly characteristic name of "Vrooman," expounded the idea of establishing a "college" for workmen at Oxford; his desire apparently was to inculcate a knowledge of industrial history and economics into certain picked young workers by a year's study at this Oxford "college," so that, when the year expired, these searchers after knowledge would return to the workshop, the factory, or the mine, and disseminate amongst their less fortunate shop mates the knowledge they had acquired, and generally mould workshop thought and action.

The whole scheme has not, of course, been a success. The founder, who, whatever his real object, certainly had a wholesome contempt for "education" as understood by our scholastic pundits at the Universities, has long ago forsaken the project and returned to America, or Germany, or wherever he came from, and left Ruskin College to look after itself. The surprising thing is, however, that by a little judicious manipulation, the maintenance of the college was easily quartered upon the trade unions; the blessings of the University authorities (in violation of the whole initial conception of the project) were obtained, and latterly the distinguishing work of the college was largely confined to the production of teachers with an eye on Parliament or the Civil Service, and of aspiring students imbued with a desire to escape the workshop through the medium of trade union officialism. Unfortunately, many of them are carried away by a little learning.

When it is remembered that the "college" which produced such well-known workmen and leaders as Thos. Burt, Charles Fenwick, Wm. Maxwell, E. O. Greening, G. J. Holyoake, John Burns, Henry Broadhurst, and John Burnett, to say nothing of the host of able present-day co-operative and labour advocates, was the workshop, the factory, and the mine, and that the power and strength of these

fine men lies in their freedom from the life-clogging influence of the Universities and the pedantic narrow outlook of the schoolmaster, one wonders what these leaders lacked that Ruskin college, or indeed any college, can give ?

Ruskin "college" does one thing, and does that thoroughly; it succeeds in making its students have a wholehearted distaste for manual labour.

Anyhow, that is my opinion, and I have given careful attention to the matter.

#### AN ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT.

An encouraging development is, fortunately, slowly beginning to show itself. A few enlightened employers, and even one or two public bodies, have begun to experiment in the part-time-study apprenticeship system; the attempt is small and tentative, but its advantages may be expected to be speedily recognised by parents who are anxious to have their boys really trained in a knowledge of the trade. In this endeavour the narrow dead-end "hand" whose only ability to perform on an automatic acceptance of the having largely dis- and his training to a recognition that productivity is the keynote of the new development, is the essential work in front of those who are taking up this idea, and not, as a few well-meaning people seem to think, a resurrecting of the old time apprenticeship system. This recognition of the necessity to increase our productions will certainly not be secured by a supervision which simply means "driving" the operative, but rather by a variation of his work during his early labour years, and such a training as will enable him to appreciate his place in the scheme of things, not only with respect to the works where he is employed, but also nationally and internationally, so that his present feeling that he is merely casually attached in a temporary way to some employer's profit-making concern, may be displaced by a conviction that he is a necessary and indeed valued part of the great army of producers upon which the prosperity of the empire is based.

Sir L. G. Chiozza-Money, M.P., said in the House of Commons on November 18th, 1918, that if he returned to the House it would only be as the representative of a constituency which he believed, as he did, that our end and aim should be the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth.

In this connection it is surprising that educational authorities have been so slow to link up the school with the factory and workshop. Take as an example the public bodies of London. The L.C.C. gives some thousands of scholarships every year. No doubt they do good, but how much more good would have ensued from scholarships which

not only gave a certain monetary and educational advantage, but also gave entry into one or other of the numerous business departments of the Council? The L.C.C. has its engineering department, its electricity department, its large administrative staff; what more desirable than to arrange that the many prizes to be won at school include entry and training in one or other of these departments. As industrial and general service departments of the hundreds of public bodies throughout the country have to secure their labour and administrative staff from some source, what more natural than that this labour, and this staff should be secured from the schools under the control of the same or kindred authorities? An example of this character would speedily be followed by the best of our private employers, and soon the connection between the school and industry would be such that the demand for an education best suited to fit the boys for their respective careers would rapidly influence the school curriculum, and let us hope eliminate the unwholesome idea that manual labour is something to avoid.

Certainly let youth aspire. If not molly-coddled he will win through, and we will have our poets like Burns, our writers like Chambers, our travellers like Livingstone, and our politicians like Lincoln and Burt, be they never within a hundred miles of a University. Even let us have our colleges and universities. Freed from the priggish superiority which seems to infest "culture" like a blight, their place in the future will, let us hope, not be so much at the seats of learning but at the "hives of industry," so that instead of being a class apart and pursuing education as an abstract theory, their influence will so permeate the lives and work of the people as to make the English language, perfectly uttered and written, as common in the mills and mines of Lancashire and Yorkshire as in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge. If the aim of the labour colleges had been to bring the dons and fellows of the Universities into the workshops, so that they might by actual experience know a little of what life really is, the project might have been worth a trial. The only effect a year's residence at Oxford can have upon a workman is to unsettle him. The pressing need is that the educationalist should be made familiar with labour, not that workmen should ape the educationalist.

If we must have labour and co-operative halls and colleges let them be where labour is, and for the production of students who will lift their voices, or use their pens to lead workmen along the path of enlightened labour progress in an endeavour to substitute a sane, civilised, and really social trade union policy for the narrow, sectional, and unsocial method of trade union restrictions, which are not only hampering the progress of the war, but are the real danger which will face this country after the war, when the people of the central countries of Europe are making frantic efforts to recapture their markets by cheap production.

What has "education" done to train our youth in this direction? And what does the present Minister of Education intend doing?

#### CONCLUSION.

Education has failed just as the Church has failed and for the same reason. Both are divorced from the actualities of life. Both would be of immense service to the world and to their own cause if their devoted adherents allowed their love for learning or religion to march along with the real business of life, which is not learning as such but a united effort to win from nature the wherewithal to live. Present-day education, and particularly college education, including the amateur attempts of the labour colleges, is largely confined to the training of men and women to believe that their aim should be how to escape manual labour.

A nation's education should not have that as its aim, but the fostering of such a spirit as will result in aiding productivity while inculcating habits and knowledge which will sweeten life. It is a disturbing spectacle to find that the great labour movement, with its world-renowned leaders, has as its aim not the making of wealth but its distribution.

Education should begin with life, it should proceed side by side and be the complement of business and trade which are the actualities of life. Let the educationalist follow "the Humanities" if he wishes. No doubt for people of leisure the time spent in these studies is well repaid, but for men of affairs let us have an education adapted to our needs, to serve as an aid to the everyday problems we are called upon to face. For many millions, however much our educationalists dangle hopes of escape before our youth, the problem to be faced will be, how to make the most of comparatively small opportunities. To make the most of this position, the essential thing is not to drive the multitude into the slippery paths of competitive education on purpose that a few may reach the dignity of our colleges and universities, but so to train all our young from their earliest being, that even with only a workman's wage they will be able to make the most of their position. By this means we may hope so to educate our people that at least they will be able to win a decent livelihood, speak and write their own language correctly, acquire manners and address which will add to their own happiness as well as to that of others, cultivate a taste in homely and everyday things which will be worth more than all the "culture" of Europe, and above all, worthily and happily fill their place in our great producing empire.



NEW YORK



THE LARGEST MUNICIPAL BUILDING IN THE WORLD.  
32 STOREYS HIGH—PHOTOGRAPHED FROM COMMERCIAL  
BUILDING 55 STOREYS HIGH.

## DOMESTIC LEGISLATION IN 1918.

### IMPORTANT MEASURES OF REFORM.

**I**T is quite in accord with the political genius of the English people that while the country was absorbed in the gigantic tasks of the war its Parliament should have passed in the 1918 session, almost without a trace of partisan controversy, two of the most important and far-reaching measures recorded in the history of British legislation.

Strictly, the Franchise Act, or the Representation of the People Act, to use the more expressive title, belongs to the session of 1917, but that session was carried forward into 1918, mainly in order that the final stages of the great Reform Bill might be negotiated. A difference arose between the two Houses on the question of proportional representation. The House of Lords desired to include in the measure a provision that an experiment in P.R. should be made in certain constituencies. The House of Commons rejected the P.R. proposal, and in turn the Lords rejected a clause providing for the alternative vote in three-cornered contests. After a good deal of parleying the Bill was passed on February 6th, with a provision that a commission should be set up to prepare a scheme for an experiment in P.R., a condition being that before such scheme could become operative it must be accepted by both Houses. When it was presented to the House of Commons it was rejected. The old method of voting is therefore continued, with the exception of University contests, where two or more members have to be elected. The principle of P.R. is specifically applied by the Act to these contests. This Act is in some respects a more revolutionary measure than the famous Act of 1832. It falls only just short of realising the ideals of adult suffragists, and the extension of the franchise to some millions of women paved the way for even more far-reaching developments in the British parliamentary system. At the end of the session a simple measure making women eligible for membership of the House of Commons was passed with very little discussion, as a logical sequel to the enfranchisement of women.

The Education Act, which was fully discussed and passed in the 1918 Session proper, after being withdrawn and revised in the previous year owing to powerful opposition to certain administrative clauses by local educational authorities, is in its sphere an equally notable legislative achievement. Sympathetically administered, it will make possible a sweeping advance in the education of the mass of the people, and socially as well as educationally, the measure will have consequences of the first importance.

Apart from these Acts a number of other measures, owing their origin either to war conditions or to the need for preparing the ground for social and industrial reconstruction, were carried through both

Houses between February and August—together an extraordinary record for a “tired and moribund” Parliament.

Two of the minor domestic measures are of some social importance. The Maternity and Child Welfare Act was designed to extend and amplify the various activities for the welfare of infants, and the Local Government Board took prompt action to ensure that the provisions of the measure were brought to the notice of local health authorities throughout the kingdom. If the Act is well administered it should result in a marked decline in the infantile death rate, and produce a new generation with a far better bill of health than that revealed by the recruiting statistics during the war.

The Trade Boards Act, which was passed with very little opposition, follows naturally from the experiment which has benefited so substantially the workers in the most notorious sweated trades. The new measure gives power to the Minister of Labour to apply the provisions of the original Act, and to establish a trade board to fix minimum wages for any trade, without the necessity of obtaining the consent of Parliament to each proposal—a procedure which had hitherto been necessary, and which involved prolonged delays. It is the intention of the Ministry to apply the Act to trades which are not sufficiently organised to enable a Whitley Council to be established. The assumption is that with improved conditions organisations will be fostered, and that in due time these trades will develop to the stage at which Whitley Councils can be constituted.

Following are summaries of the principal provisions of the Franchise and Education Acts:—

### THE FRANCHISE ACT.

The changes affected by the Act profoundly modify the qualifications for a vote, the registration procedure, the method of conducting elections, and the electoral boundaries of the kingdom.

#### Qualifications.

**MEN.**—Entitled to the parliamentary vote at the age of 21, conditional on the qualification of six months' residence in the constituency, or occupation of business premises of the annual value of not less than £10 for the same period.

**WOMEN.**—A woman is entitled to the parliamentary vote if she has attained the age of thirty, and is either entitled to the local government vote, or is the wife of a man who is registered for the local government franchise. Women lodgers in

furnished rooms are not qualified. If a room is rented and furnished by the lodger a vote may be claimed.

**UNIVERSITY.**—Broadly the qualification is graduation. The age limit as between men and women is the same as in the general franchise.

**MEN IN THE FORCES.**—Naval and military voters are registered for the constituencies for which they would have been qualified except for their service. This provision applies to merchant seamen, fishermen, pilots, Red Cross workers, and others who are deemed to have been engaged on work of national importance in connection with the war. The age qualification for a naval or military male voter who has served in the war is nineteen.

**PLURAL VOTERS.**—Plural voting is restricted to one vote in respect of a

residential qualification, and one in respect of other qualifications.

**CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS DISQUALIFIED.**—Conscientious objectors are disqualified for the period of the war and for five years afterwards, unless they can show that they have engaged in work of national importance or in work carrying with it the naval or military vote qualification.

Other provisions which may be noted are that only British subjects are entitled to vote, and that the old poor law disqualification is abolished.

### **Registration.**

The register of voters will now be prepared twice instead of once a year, one qualifying period ending on January 15th, and the other on July 15th. The spring register will be in force from April 15th to October 15th, and the autumn register from October 15th to April 15th. The new registration area is the parliamentary borough or the parliamentary county, and the registration officers are the town clerks or the clerks to the county councils as the case may be. An appeal against any decision of the registration officer may be taken to the county court, provided that the objection has been heard by the registration officer first. On points of law an appeal may be taken to the Court of Appeal. The cost of registration is to be borne equally by the State and the local authorities.

### **Elections.**

**VOTING.**—At a general election all the polls are now to be held on one day, and the nomination day is the same for all constituencies. Provision is made for the exercise of the franchise by those on the absent voters' list. Ballot papers will be sent to these voters in advance, and the papers will be returned together with an authenticated declaration of identity.

During the war, and for twelve months afterwards, the counting may be deferred by Order in Council for a period not exceeding eight days after the poll. It may also be directed by Order in Council that naval and military electors in distant areas of service may vote by proxy.

**ELECTION EXPENSES.**—The sum of £150 must be deposited with the returning officer on behalf of each candidate in an election. This will be returned after the election unless the candidate fails to secure more than one-eighth of the total number of votes polled. In this event the deposit is forfeited to the Crown. The maximum election expenses, other than personal expenses and the election agent's fee (not exceeding £75 in a county and £50 in a borough) are fixed at a sum not exceeding sevenpence for each elector on the register in a county election, and fivepence in a borough.

**FREE POSTAL DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.**—A candidate has the right to send to each registered elector in the constituency, free of postal charge, one postal communication containing only matter relating to the election, and not exceeding 2oz. in weight.

### **Redistribution.**

The redistribution of seats carried out in connection with the Act has the net effect of enlarging the membership of the House of Commons to 707, or an increase of 37. This increase is distributed as follows, the figures in parenthesis indicating the new membership: England 31 (492), Wales 2 (36), Scotland 2 (74), Ireland 2 (105). The London borough seats now number 62, an increase of 3, the remaining borough members number 258, an increase of 33, the county members have decreased from 377 to 372, and the University members have increased from 9 to 15, by the extension of representation to the new universities.

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## **THE EDUCATION ACT.**

The age limit denoted by the word "child" in the Act is 14, and "young person" means one between 14 and

18. The object of the Act, as set out in the first clause, is to establish "a national system of education available

for all persons capable of profiting thereby." Local education authorities are required to submit schemes to the Board of Education, to include among other things, adequate provision of buildings, &c., curricula suited to the age, abilities, and requirements of the children, and provision for advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children in elementary schools.

Provision is made for co-operation between neighbouring education authorities in the preparation of schemes, and also for the expression of the views of parents or other interested persons.

Groups of councils exercising powers under the Act may form joint committees for the administration of the Act, and may delegate to these joint committees any of their powers and duties other than the power to raise rates and borrow money. Under these schemes of federation teachers and other persons of experience in education, and representatives of universities, may be co-opted. The main features of the Act are:—

**SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.**—The half-time system is abolished by the Act, which provides in clause 8 that "no exemption from attendance at school shall be granted to any child between the age of 5 and 14 years." Power is given to any local education authority which cares to exercise it to require obligatory attendance at an elementary school until the age of 15. An authority may also make a bye-law to the effect that children shall not be required to attend school before the age of 6. If this is done there must be adequate provision of nursery schools. Under certain conditions attendance at elementary schools until the age of 16 may be authorised.

**CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.**—The Act provides that attendance at continuation schools for 320 hours in a year shall be obligatory up to the age of 18, but there is a proviso that for a period of seven years from the time this section of the Act comes into operation attendance shall be compulsory only up to the age of 16, and that during the

same period a local education authority may fix the yearly hours of attendance at 280 instead of 320 hours. These concessions were made by Mr. Fisher, the Education Minister, in response to strong criticisms from Lancashire and other industrial centres. Provision is made for the exemption of young persons from attendance at continuation schools if they are receiving efficient instruction in some other manner.

A local education authority may require such suspension of employment on days of attendance at the continuation schools as will secure that the student is in a fit mental and bodily condition to receive full benefit from the lessons. Continuation schools may be established in connection with workshops, subject to the inspection of and approval by the Board of Education.

**PENALTIES.**—For neglect to attend a continuation school, except for a reasonable or unavoidable cause, a young person will be liable to a fine, not exceeding 5s., or not exceeding £1 for a subsequent offence. If a parent conduces to or connives at failure to attend, he will be liable to a fine not exceeding £2 for the first offence, and £5 for a subsequent offence.

**EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.**—Important restrictions against the employment of children are imposed by the Act. No child under the age of 12 is to be employed at all. Children over 12 may not be employed on any Sunday for more than two hours, or on any school day before the close of school hours, or on any other day before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 8 o'clock in the evening. An exception is made in the case of children over 12 employed by their parents. This may be allowed on condition that the employment before 9 in the morning is limited to one hour, and that if the morning hour is worked only one hour shall be allowed in the afternoon. The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1904 is modified to bring it into conformity with the new Education Act in this respect.

Employment of any kind may be

prohibited in respect of individual children if the local education authority is satisfied that the work is prejudicial to health or physical development, or to school progress.

**SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL TRAINING.**—Education authorities may, with the approval of the Board of Education, provide holiday or school camps, centres and equipment for physical training, playing fields, school swimming baths, and other facilities for social and physical training during the day or evening.

Provision is made for the extension of medical treatment of common ailments among school children.

The Act abolishes fees in public elementary schools, and provides for compensation for a period of five years to managers of non-provided schools which charged fees.

The financial clause provides that the total State grants to local education authorities shall not be less than one half of the net authorised expenditure of the authorities.

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## WAR AND PEACE AIMS.

By W. MEAKIN.

### Leading Speeches of the Year.

**M**ANY speeches on war and peace aims were delivered by Allied and enemy statesmen during 1918. Apart from minor utterances which lacked supreme authority, the pronouncements made in Allied countries reveal a steadiness and consistency, irrespective of the military position, which are notably lacking in the speeches made on behalf of enemy States. There is, indeed, an almost startling contrast between the attitude of leading German statesmen in the early part of the year, when they believed that victory was in their grasp, and after the tide of the war turned definitely against the enemy in the late summer. A noteworthy feature revealed by a survey of the speeches is the absence of any expression of views by M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, comparable in interest and importance with the war aims statements of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson.

At the very beginning of the year the aims of Great Britain and America were set forth in an impressive speech by the British Prime Minister on January 5th, and by the American President in his message to Congress three days later. The enunciation on this date of the President's famous fourteen points, constitutes the great landmark in the political history of the war.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke, after consultation with Mr. Asquith, Viscount Grey (the ex-Foreign Minister), and representative Labour leaders, at a conference of trade union delegates in the Central Hall, Westminster, and he accomplished his two-fold object of presenting to the world an authoritative statement of British war aims, and of satisfying Labour, which was in a suspicious mood at that time, that the war was being prosecuted by the Allies in the interests of democracy and not of a militaristic Imperialism. The speech was

heartily endorsed by Labour organisations and by the leaders of all political parties, this reception justifying the Prime Minister's claim to speak "on behalf of the whole nation and Empire."

After a declaration that "we are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people," Mr. Lloyd George stated the requirements which the Allies considered essential to a lasting peace. These were, briefly:—

#### PLEA FOR SEPARATE NATIONALITIES.

"The complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of the independence of Belgium."

"The restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania."

The Prime Minister added that "the complete withdrawal of alien armies, and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of a permanent peace." As to Alsace-Lorraine, he said: "We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in their demand for reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871." He demanded an independent Poland, and justice through union with those of their own tongue and race for Italy and Rumania.

He did not challenge the continued existence of a restricted Turkish State, with Constantinople as its capital, but he insisted upon the claim for the internationalisation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and the acceptance of the right of Arabia, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia to the "recognition of their separate national conditions."

The German Colonies were to be "held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the nations."

Generally, the Prime Minister held by the principle of "equality of right among nations great and small," and stipulated for reparation of injuries in violation of international law, including reparation to our own seamen.

The economic settlement, he said, must be suited to the conditions prevailing at the time of the negotiations, but he declared that the countries which controlled raw materials would have a right to satisfy their own needs first.

Finally he emphasised the necessity for an international organisation to settle disputes and limit armaments—a proposal which was expanded into the full League of Peoples ideal by President Wilson.

The German Press responded quickly with an almost united declaration that the proposals of the British Prime Minister were unacceptable.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS.

Mr. Wilson, in his message to Congress, amplified Mr. Lloyd George's statement that no aggressive intent against Germany was cherished. America entertained no jealousy of German greatness, he declared, and he added: "We do not wish to injure her, or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and all other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing." His insistent demand was "that the world be made fit and safe to live in."

A summary of the fourteen points, in which President Wilson carefully expressed his peace conditions, is appended.

1. The abolition of secret diplomacy. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at.

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2. Freedom of navigation alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
3. Economic barriers to be removed as far as possible, and equality of trade conditions established among all nations consenting to the peace.
4. Reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. Absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based on the principle that the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory, and a settlement securing for that country an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy.
7. Belgium to be evacuated and restored, and assured of complete independence.
8. French territory to be freed and restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 to be righted.
9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers along lines of nationality.
10. Opportunity of autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.
11. Evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro. Serbia to be accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States to be guaranteed internationally.
12. The Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty, but other nationalities under Turkish rule to have an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. The Dardanelles to be permanently opened as a free passage for the ships of commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
13. The erection of an independent Polish State to include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations.
14. The formation of a League of Nations.

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE IN AGREEMENT.

In a further speech to Labour delegates on January 18th, Mr. Lloyd George claimed that his own statement of terms accorded with that of President Wilson's. He declared that its reception in Germany proved that the military power was still dominant. "The answer which is to be given to civilisation," he said, "is the answer which will be given from the cannon's mouth."

### GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN RESPONSE.

Count Hertling (the German Chancellor), and Count Czernin (the Austrian Foreign Minister) replied on the same day, January 24th, to the speeches of the Allied statesmen. Count Hertling saw in Mr. Lloyd George's speech "no earnest desire for peace." He added: "He believes himself entitled to adjudge Germany guilty of all possible crimes. We cannot understand such feelings, nor can we find in them any proof of a sincere will." Regarding Belgium and Northern France, he stated that no "foreible annexation" was intended. The question of Belgium must be settled at the Peace Conference; the conditions of evacuation of Northern France, he

claimed arrogantly, was a matter for Germany and France alone. He said: "We will never permit ourselves to be robbed of Alsace-Lorraine." The future constitution of Poland was to be left to Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Poland. To secure the freedom of the seas Britain was to renounce Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hong Kong, and the Falkland Islands.

The key to these demands was to be found in Count Hertling's confident assertion that "Germany's military situation was never so favourable."

Count Czernin claimed broadly that his own views were identical with those of President Wilson. He agreed that the people of Poland must freely settle their own destiny, and he accepted the formula of a peace without annexations and indemnities for Russia. Regarding Italy, Roumania, &c., he refused to make a "one-sided concession." He accepted the proposal of a League of Peoples, and vaguely offered to the Allies an invitation to participate in peace conversations on these lines.

The Pan-Germans were greatly angered by this speech. In Britain and America there was a curious difference of opinion about it. To President Wilson Count Czernin seemed "to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and would probably have gone further but for dependence upon Germany." Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, wished he "could believe that there was any difference in substance," and Mr. Balfour endorsed this view. Lord Lansdowne, on January 31st, in a speech in favour of peace by negotiation and the establishment of a League of Nations, attached more importance to the views of the peoples behind Counts Hertling and Czernin than to the speeches of the Statesmen themselves.

#### VERSAILLES MANIFESTO.

The formal replies of the Allies were pointed and uncompromising. The Supreme War Council at Versailles issued a manifesto calling attention to the contrast between the professed idealistic aims of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and announced the following decision: "That the only immediate task before them lay in the prosecution, with the utmost vigour, . . . of the military effort of the Allies until such time as the pressure of that effort shall have brought about

in the enemy Governments and peoples a change of temper which would justify the hope of the conclusion of a peace on terms which would not involve the abandonment, in face of an aggressive and unrepentant militarism, of all the principles of freedom and justice and respect for the law of nations which the Allies are resolved to vindicate."

On February 11th President Wilson declared that "German militarists are the only element preventing a settlement." On the following day Mr. Lloyd George gave his estimate of Count Czernin's speech, and added "There was not a single definite question dealt with about which Count Czernin did not present the most resolute refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace." On February 13th Mr. Balfour supported the declaration of the Versailles Council. He saw no sign that the end of German militarism was near. In his view the peace in the minds of German statesmen was one which would make every other nation subservient to Germany.

Count Hertling's speech of January 24th remained the official expression of Germany's mental attitude.

Mr. Lloyd George surveyed the war situation on August 7th, before the House of Commons adjourned for

the summer recess. He then declared that it was impossible to negotiate with Germany until a complete change of heart and Government had taken place.

On August 8th, the night of the adjournment, Mr. Balfour, replying to speeches by a small group of "pacifist" members, stated that the destruction of German militarism must precede a lasting peace.

On this day (August 8th) the attack by Sir Douglas Haig opened the general offensive of the Allies. As success followed success a dramatic change in the political situation developed in Germany. When Kuhlmann, the Foreign Minister, declared that a victory by arms was impossible the Pan-Germans were still powerful enough to drive him from office. On September 15th Austria invited the Allies to a secret non-binding con-

ference. On September 24th speeches were made to the main Committee of the Reichstag by Count Hertling and Admiral Von Hintze (Foreign Secretary). Count Hertling admitted the failure of the German offensive, and described the situation as grave, but declared defiantly that "the western iron wall will not be broken," and that the U Boat was fulfilling its task. He pleaded for national unity, and advocated the establishment of a League of Nations. Admiral Von Hintze advised that the Brest treaty should be adhered to as long as possible.

President Wilson pointedly declined the invitation of Austria, but in a powerfully impressive speech in New York on September 27th, he summed up the American Government's "interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace."

Bulgaria surrendered on September 31st, and at the same time Count Hertling resigned the German Chancellorship. Prince Max of Baden took his place at the head of a reconstructed Coalition Government which included Socialist representatives. On October 5th Prince Max announced in the Reichstag that he had addressed to President Wilson on the previous day a Note asking that peace negotiations might be opened. Prince Max claimed to speak on behalf of the "overwhelming portion of the German peoples." He declared the new Government's unconditional acceptance of the "no annexations or indemnities" resolution of the Reichstag of July 10th, 1917 (the resolution which was flagrantly violated in the Russian and Rumanian settlements); expressed willingness to join a League of Nations on the basis of equal rights for all; accepted the demand for "complete rehabilitation of Germany" and favoured an effort to reach an understanding in regard to an indemnity; and suggested that the peace treaties hitherto concluded should not be a hindrance to a general peace. He announced vaguely the imminent establishment of a more democratic system of Government in Germany.

The Note, sent to President Wilson through the Swiss Government on October 4th, stated that the German Government accepted the programme of President Wilson as laid down in his Congress message of January 8th, and in his speech of September 27th as a basis for peace negotiations. An immediate armistice was asked for.

President Wilson replied on October 8th. He requested a more precise statement. For instance, did the German Government mean that its only object in entering into discussions would be to agree upon the practical details of the applications of President Wilson's terms?

He stated that no suggestion for an armistice could be entertained so long as the armies of the Central Powers remained upon Allied soil. Finally, he demanded to know if the Chancellor spoke merely for the constituted authorities of the German Empire who had so far conducted the war.

This reply was acclaimed in all Allied countries for its wisdom and caution. It drew from the Germans a guarded acceptance of President Wilson's terms, whereupon he informed the German Government on October 23rd that the terms of an armistice must be such as to make it impossible for Germany to continue the war, that extraordinary safeguards were essential in view of the fact that "the power of the King of Prussia to control the policy of the Empire is unimpaired," and that the power of the "military masters" of Germany over the people had not yet been broken. This masterly and historic document quickly brought a political crisis in Germany, and within a few days the mind of the world was overwhelmed by the collapse of militarism, the revolution, the abdication of the Kaiser, the almost peaceful transference of the Government of Germany to the Socialists, the signing of the drastic armistice terms of the Allies at 5 o'clock on the morning of November 11th, and the cessation of hostilities at 11 o'clock on the morning of the same day.

## SHIPPING OUTPUT.

### Excess over World Losses.

The output of merchant tonnage in the United Kingdom and Allied and neutral countries during the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and the quarters ended March 31st, June 30th, and September 30th, 1918, is recorded as follows:—

	United Kingdom. Gross tons.	Allied and neutral. Gross tons.	World. Gross tons.
1915 .....	650,919	551,081	1,202,000
1916 .....	541,552	1,146,448	1,688,000
1917 .....	1,163,474	1,774,312	2,937,786
1918—			
1st q't'r	320,280	550,037	870,317
2nd q't'r	442,966	800,308	1,243,274
3rd q't'r	411,395	*972,735	1,384,130

\* Provisional figures.

The output for the world during the last quarter exceeded the losses from all causes by nearly half a million gross tons.

### NEW BRITISH TONNAGE.

The tonnage of merchant vessels completed in United Kingdom yards and entered for service during October, 1918, compared with preceding periods, is recorded as follows in gross tons:—

	1918.	1917.
January .....	58,568	48,089
February .....	100,038	79,451
March.....	161,674 ...	118,699
April .....	111,533 ...	69,711
May .....	197,274 ...	69,773
June .....	134,159 ...	109,847
July .....	141,948 ...	83,073
August .....	124,675 ...	102,060
September .....	144,772 ...	63,150
October.....	136,109 ...	148,309
Total 10 m'ths. to Oct. 31st..	1,310,741	892,162
Total 12 m'ths. to Oct. 31st..	1,582,053	1,045,603

## PARLIAMENT AND THE WAR.

### Discussions and Criticisms during 1918.

**A** PART from the business dealt with in the article on Domestic Legislation, Parliament was almost entirely concerned during the 1918 session with questions arising out of the war, and with discussions on policy and various administrative matters. The House of Commons showed a growing disposition to criticise freely the war administration of the Government, particularly in regard to shipbuilding, finance, and man-power proposals which adversely affected essential industries, particularly agriculture, shipbuilding, and coalmining.

#### SHIPBUILDING PROBLEMS.

The shipbuilding question became acute early in the year, partly owing to Labour troubles, and partly owing to the slowness with which skilled men, who had been combed out in the previous year, were returned to the shipyards. In the debate on the Military Service Bill in January warnings of the consequences of depleting the shipyards of Labour were uttered by Mr. Asquith and others, and Mr. Lloyd George, in reply, declared that the Government regarded new construction on a large scale as "the primary necessity of the hour." On February 27th Mr. George Barnes, the Labour representative in the War Cabinet, reported an alarming falling off in output during January, and appealed urgently to the workers to reverse this state of affairs. On March 4th Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, spoke encouragingly of the progress of the anti-submarine measures, and stated that U-boats were being sunk as fast as they were built. But he had to announce a production of new ships in January of only 58,000 tons against an average per month of 140,000 tons during the preceding quarter. Mr. Asquith was again critical and demanded greater candour from the Government. The reduced output was attributed partly to the effect of the Government's secrecy in regard to the tonnage sunk by submarines.

Constant criticism had its effect on the Government, and on March 20th Sir Eric Geddes informed the House of Commons that Lord Pirrie had accepted the post of Controller General of Merchant Shipbuilding. In this speech the First Lord stated that 8 per cent of the world's tonnage, or 2,500,000 out of a total of 33,000,000 tons, had been lost during the war. The British figures were more serious—20 per cent, or 3,500,000 out of 18,000,000 tons. These figures represented "net" loss, after new construction had been taken into account. At this time the Germans claimed to have sunk 9,500,000 tons. Sir Eric stated that the actual tonnage was 6,000,000.

#### THE NATIONAL SHIPYARDS.

Subsequently several debates took place on the Government policy in developing national shipyards which had been started on the Wye. The first intention of the Government was to construct fabricated ships—that is, vessels assembled at the yards from steel material put together in the great bridge-building works of the country. It was thought that this could be done mainly by the labour of soldiers and German prisoners, supplemented by a small number of skilled workers. Presently difficult questions affecting the trade unions arose, and the use of military and prisoner labour was abandoned. Lord Pirrie undertook the reorganisation of the scheme, but criticism still persisted, chiefly on the ground that the cost per berth was far in excess of the cost in private yards, and that if the private yards had been provided with the labour and material used on the Wye a much quicker and greater output of vessels would have been secured. The cost of the enterprise was about £4,000,000. On July 30th Sir Eric Geddes stated that in the previous quarter world

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construction of ships had exceeded sinkings by 100,000 tons. This was the turning point in the U-boat warfare.

### FINANCIAL LAXITY.

The financial affairs of the great spending departments, particularly the Ministry of Munitions, was the subject of searching criticism throughout the year, and investigations carried out by a committee, in whose work Mr. Herbert Samuel and Col. Godfrey Collins took a prominent part, resulted in drastic reforms. The committee issued a series of reports, which showed that in several departments there had been extraordinary laxity of control over expenditure. These matters were vigorously discussed in the Commons. The Government showed itself fully alive to the seriousness and weight of the criticism, and gradually more effective measures of control were devised.

### MILITARY CONTROL.

Matters connected with the enlargement of the functions of the Versailles War Council, the resignations of Sir William Robertson and Lord Jellicoe, and the affair of the Maurice letter were discussed in full-dress debates in the Commons.

The Versailles Council was looked upon with doubt and suspicion at first, and on the opening day of the session, February 12th, there was a remarkable demonstration against the Prime Minister, following an interruption by him while Mr. Asquith was speaking. Mr. Asquith pressed for certain information respecting recent changes which had the effect of increasing the powers of the Council. Mr. Lloyd George protested that it was not in the public interest to give the information. He told the House that the enemy was preparing a gigantic blow in the West by transferring troops from the East, and that the changes were rendered necessary by that fact. The speech produced a disagreeable effect on the House, but the Prime Minister re-established his personal influence over members on February 20th when, in a second speech on the same subject, he admitted that the Council had been endowed with executive functions. Mr. Lloyd George spoke with persuasive candour on this occasion, and challenged the House to find a new Government if they were dissatisfied with his own. There was a general feeling that if an opposing leader of influence and authority had been prepared at this juncture to accept the challenge the Government could have been overthrown; but no politician was eager to relieve Mr. Lloyd George of his task, the challenge was not accepted, and during the rest of the session the Prime Minister visibly strengthened his hold on Parliament and the country.

Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, had resigned on February 16th, owing to his opposition to the Government's arrangement respecting the British representation on the Versailles Council. This event led to strong protests in the House against a persistent Press campaign directed at Sir William Robertson and other generals. Mixed up with it all were suggestions that the Prime Minister was associated with the Press intrigues. Mr. Austin Chamberlain suggested that the Press attacks lent colour to the charge of intrigue, but Mr. Lloyd George vigorously resented the imputation. The question of the dismissal of Lord Jellicoe was raised on March 5th, and Sir Edward Carson declared that this dismissal was "a national calamity."

Following upon the disaster to the Fifth Army in March, a letter was written to the Press by Major-General Sir F. Maurice, Director-General of Intelligence at the War Office, who controverted statements by the Prime Minister respecting the numbers of troops on the various fronts. This letter created much political excitement. The first step of the Government was to announce their intention to set up a Court of Honour, composed of four judges, to investigate the matter. Mr. Asquith demanded a Select Committee of the House, but his motion, on May 7th, was defeated by 293 votes to 106, after a vigorous fighting speech by

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the Prime Minister, who scornfully denounced General Maurice. A subsequent reply in a newspaper article by General Maurice was censored, but the impression remained that the whole story had not been told. General Maurice was placed on half pay by the Army Council, and sacrificed a great military career by his action.

### HELPING RUSSIA.

On March 12th Mr. Balfour stated that the Government was considering the best means of helping Russia. "Our objects," he said, "are to see Russia strong, intact, secure, and free." Foreshadowing the Allied intervention which came later at Vladivostok and other places, the Foreign Minister declared that any decisions of the Allies would be based on principles "neither ungenerous, unfair, nor hostile to Russia or the Russian revolution."

The Russian question was raised again in June by Mr. Asquith, who urged that everything possible should be done to help that unhappy country, and to retain the goodwill of the Russian people for the Allies. Mr. Lloyd George replied on June 25th, and, while emphasising the difficulties in the way of effective help, stated that the question of intervention was engaging the attention of the Allies. On another date Mr. Balfour declared that Germany was ruthlessly imposing her domination on Petrograd, Moscow, and other Russian centres.

### BRITISH AND COLONIAL FORCES.

In a review of the situation on August 7th, the Prime Minister stated that Great Britain, the Dominions, and India had raised 8,500,000 men for the forces. Of these Great Britain had provided 6,250,000. The naval tonnage, which was 2½ millions at the beginning of the war, had increased to eight millions. He stated that at least 150 submarines had been destroyed, and told the House that in March and April over 300,000 men were thrown across the Channel to meet the German onslaught.

### ENEMY ALIENS.

During the summer a violent agitation arose for the internment of all enemy aliens. On July 12th Sir George Cave, who rebuked the extremists in the agitation, announced that the Government was about to appoint a committee (of which Mr. Justice Sankey became chairman) to review all cases of exemption from internment. The result of searching inquiries justified the previous attitude of the Home Secretary in regard to this matter. Internment was ordered in many cases, but in several thousand other cases the committee was satisfied that exemption gave no cause for perturbation. The report was so emphatic that the agitation collapsed. A bill was introduced and passed providing for a review of naturalisation certificates granted to enemy aliens during the war, and drastically restricting the facilities of naturalisation after the war.

The life of Parliament was extended, for the fifth time, until January 31st, 1919, by a bill introduced on July 8th, and passed by both Houses without opposition. Later, political gossip was charged with rumours concerning a General Election, which, it was said, the Prime Minister had fixed for the early winter, but the German peace overtures at the beginning of October rendered the political situation uncertain and unstable. On November 13th, a few days after Germany had accepted armistice terms, it was announced that a General Election would take place on December 14th. An arrangement was arrived at between Mr. Lloyd George and the Conservative leaders to continue the Coalition during the Reconstruction period, but a Labour conference decided by a majority of a million votes to withdraw from the Coalition.

W. M.

## THE MILITARY SERVICE ACTS, 1918.

**D**URING 1918 Parliament passed, after some critical discussion, two Military Service Acts, which vastly extended the powers and resources of the National Service Department, to which all the duties connected with recruiting were transferred from the War Office.

The first measure, which was introduced in the Commons by Sir Auckland Geddes (Minister of National Service) on January 14th, was designed to secure an additional 420,000 men for the army, and 439,000 for national service. It was stated that 119,000 women were required. The Bill gave power to the Minister of National Service to cancel exemption certificates granted on occupational grounds, and the cancellation was applicable either to groups of men or to individuals. The two months' grace after withdrawal of exemption, which had been enjoyed by men in certified occupations, was abolished by this Bill.

The measure evoked much hostility and criticism, directed especially against the passing of unfit men into the army, and during the debates Sir Donald Maclean, Chairman of the House of Commons Appeal Tribunal, described the methods of the War Office as "colossal stupidity." The second reading of the Bill was taken in secret session, and in view of the information then given to the House the measure became law without much further opposition.

### THE AGE LIMIT RAISED.

The Bill which was presented to the House by the Prime Minister on April 9th, to meet the situation caused by the disaster to the British fifth army at the opening of the German offensive, was far more controversial, and only the gravity of the military position enabled the Government to press the measure through. Even so, strong protests against the conferment of unlimited powers upon the Minister of National Service were not without avail, and substantial concessions

were obtained from the Government. The Prime Minister introduced the Bill, which raised the age limit to 50 (to 55 in special cases—doctors, for instance, coming under this provision). Ministers of religion were made liable for combatant service, but this proposal was suddenly dropped at a later stage. Provision was made for the application of conscription to Ireland by Order in Council. This matter, in its relation to Home Rule, is dealt with in the article on the Irish Question. The Bill gave power to cancel exemptions by proclamation, restricted the right of appeal in these cases to medical grounds only, and provided for the reconstitution of the tribunals.

In his speech Mr. Lloyd George spoke with great gravity of the military position. He announced that an additional 50,000 men (making 100,000 in all) would be taken from the mines—a decision which resulted in a serious coal crisis later in the year—that essential industries would be strictly combed out, and that a "clean cut" up to the age of 25 would be made in the civil service. He estimated that 7 per cent of the men of the new military ages would be taken for the army by the end of the year. He also announced in his speech that General Foch had been appointed to the supreme direction of the strategy of the allied armies.

Vocal opposition was curtailed by a "guillotine" programme. The second reading was carried on April 10th by 323 votes to 110, and the Irish conscription proposal, which aroused passionate resentment among the Irish members, and drew grave warnings from Mr. Asquith as to its futility and evil consequences, was passed in Committee on April 12th by 281 to 116, after Mr. Bonar Law had declared that the Government meant to pass it or resign. In the committee stage concessions were obtained preserving the right of appeal on the ground of domestic or financial hardship upon withdrawal of occupational

exemption, and of the right of appeal from local to appeal tribunals. The Bill passed its third reading in the Commons on April 17th, was accepted by the Lords with little discussion, and received the Royal Assent on April 18th.

Subsequently there was criticism in the Commons of a new system of grading, and a vigorous attack by

Sir Donald Maclean, who gave some remarkable instances of the placing of unfit men of the new ages in grade 1, resulted in a conference between Sir Auckland Geddes and the chairmen of tribunals who were members of Parliament. A new system, which gave a reasonable measure of protection to older men, was devised at this conference and put into operation.

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## THE IRISH QUESTION.

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FOR a brief period at the beginning of 1918 the prospect of a settlement of the long and bitter Irish Home Rule controversy was brighter than at any time since the beginning of the war. It was known that notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Ulster delegates to the Convention which was sitting at Dublin, a number of Southern Unionists were anxious to find a way to agreement with the Nationalists.

The Ulster delegates prevented unanimity, but the report which a majority of the members of the Convention presented in March expressed the compromise views of Nationalists, Southern Unionists, mayors and chairmen of county councils, and representatives of the churches. It was, indeed, so representative that it afforded a basis on which the Government might have settled the vexed question which has baffled one generation of statesmen after another.

Instead of that happy issue the conscription proposal in the Military Service Act in April fell like a thunderbolt on English Home Rulers as well as on the Irish people. It dissolved all hopes of settlement, flung Ireland back into a state of acute disaffection, intensified the bitterness of the Irish people towards England, strengthened the ranks of Sinn Fein at a time when the influence of the revolutionary separatist organisation was visibly declining, and struck a heavy blow at the authority and prestige which still remained to the Nationalist, or Constitutional Home Rule Party.

### THE CONVENTION'S PROPOSALS.

The scheme suggested by the Convention majority was, briefly, to establish an Irish Parliament competent to make laws for the government of the country, but subject to certain exclusions and reservations to assure the authority of the Crown and the control of the Imperial Government over the army and navy, the issues of peace and war, foreign relations, and other matters.

Two houses of parliament were suggested—a senate, consisting of 64 members, partly representative and partly nominated; and a

House of Commons of 160 elected members. In order to guarantee 40 per cent of the membership to the Unionists, for a period not exceeding 15 years, provision was made for the nomination of 20 members during that period by the Lord Lieutenant.

Representation of Ireland at Westminster was to continue, 42 members to be elected by the Irish House of Commons.

Full control over internal affairs was to be vested in the Irish Parliament, but the control of customs and excise was postponed for a period. The principle of an Imperial contribution was approved. Both Nationalists and Southern Unionists steadfastly opposed any scheme involving partition or local option of Ulster counties.

This report was not issued to members of Parliament until several days after the Government demanded power to enforce conscription in Ireland, with threats of instant resignation if their request was refused. Consequently the document which had been awaited so eagerly, both in Great Britain and Ireland, was robbed of its influence and promise almost before it was published.

For some time previously persistent pressure had been applied both to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George to impose conscription on Ireland, but their considered judgment was that the value of the additional man power gained would be more than counterbalanced by the political consequences and the turmoil which would be created in Ireland.

#### THE COMMONS AND CONSCRIPTION.

When Mr. Lloyd George introduced the Military Service Act on April 9th he justified the change of policy on the ground that the English people would never consent to the raising of the military age limit in Great Britain while the young men of Ireland were allowed to go free. He saw the difficulties arising from a refusal of self-government to Ireland, and he announced that a Home Rule Bill would be introduced and passed as quickly as possible.

The Nationalist members protested furiously, and Mr. Asquith, Mr. Arthur Henderson (secretary of the Labour Party), and others warned the Government that only evil could result from the new policy. The Prime Minister explicitly endorsed a statement by Mr. George Barnes, the Labour representative in the War Cabinet, that if Parliament did not pass the promised Home Rule Bill the Government would resign. Many members voted for the conscription proposal believing implicitly that a Home Rule measure would be introduced and carried.

#### OPPOSITION IN IRELAND.

When the Military Service Bill became law an extraordinary storm of passionate feeling swept over Ireland. The Nationalist members crossed to Dublin and entered into conference with the

Sinn Fein leaders, in order, there is reason to believe, to try to check violent tendencies. The whole of Nationalist Ireland, with the blessing of the Catholic bishops, pledged itself to resist conscription to the utmost, and a characteristic demonstration took the form of a one-day national strike, which stopped the whole activities of the country outside North-east Ulster. No trains ran. Even the newspapers were not published, and hotel guests waited upon themselves.

The effect on the Government was soon obvious. In order to prepare the way for the enforcement of conscription a complete change had been made in the Irish government. Lord French, an avowed conscriptionist, replaced Lord Wimborne as Lord Lieutenant, and it was announced that he would wield exceptional powers, more in keeping with a dictatorship than with democratic government. Mr. Duke, who seemed to have been converted from a Unionist into a Home Ruler, resigned the Chief Secretaryship, and was succeeded by Mr. Edward Shortt, a Liberal and a Home Rule advocate. Changes were made in nearly all the minor offices, and Lord Wimborne declared in the House of Lords that "all those who had been known for their sympathies with the cause of Irish nationality, or who had professed the Catholic faith," were removed.

#### ANTI-HOME RULE ACTIVITIES.

Subsequently, efforts in Parliament to ascertain the Government's intentions drew only vague replies. It was obvious that forces adverse to Home Rule were actively at work, and as the months went by expectations that a measure would be produced gradually disappeared. Meanwhile events moved rapidly in Ireland. Strong military measures to suppress disorder were announced. Proclamations against assembly for political meetings and other purposes without permits were issued, and ignored by the people—many arrests following. Certain areas, notably County Clare (the centre of extreme Sinn Fein activity), were placed under rigorous military control. Next the discovery of a "plot" to secure help from Germany in a rising was announced, together with the news that the whole of the prominent leaders of Sinn Fein, including its president, Mr. de Valera, had been arrested and interned in England. Trial was refused, and the Government met all demands for full evidence of the existence of the plot by the statement that it was not in the public interest to give the information. No statement made by or on behalf of the Government justified any charge of widespread disloyalty or treason in Ireland, and Lord Wimborne declared that he knew nothing of the German plot.

#### CONSCRIPTION ABANDONED.

It soon became clear that the Government shrank from the attempt to enforce conscription, and on June 3rd Lord French made an

appeal for 50,000 volunteers, and, as an inducement, a promise was given that grants of land would be made after the war. This was sharply criticised by Sir Edward Carson and others on the ground that the Government could not guarantee fulfilment of the promise.

On June 21st Lord Curzon announced in the House of Lords that conscription had been abandoned for the present, and that in view of the German plot it was impossible to carry out the pledge that a Home Rule measure would be passed. The confusion in which the Government found themselves was clearly shown by the fact that on the previous day in the House of Commons, after Sir Edward Carson had denounced any effort to placate Ireland during the war, Mr. Lloyd George declared that a settlement was imperatively necessary as a war measure.

#### FAILURE OF VOLUNTARY RECRUITING.

In August, just before the House of Commons adjourned, Mr. Shortt announced that during the recess another earnest effort would be made to draft a Home Rule Bill, and he appealed for the help of the Nationalist members. During the recess it was understood that Lord French was pressing the Government to issue an Order in Council in October, applying conscription, as it was already obvious that the voluntary recruiting scheme was a complete failure. At the beginning of October indeed, when the fixed time limit had expired, only about 9,000 recruits had been obtained.

At Manchester, at the end of September, Mr. Asquith emphasised the need for a settlement, not only in the interests of Ireland, but to prevent difficulty in the relations of Great Britain with the Colonies and America, and to avoid grave embarrassment during peace conference discussions on the self-determination of peoples. When the House of Commons reassembled in October the Government resolutely denied any information respecting their intentions, either in regard to Home Rule or conscription. On November 16th, however, two days after the announcement of the General Election, Mr. Lloyd George declared that he still supported a policy of Home Rule, with separate treatment and no coercion for North-east Ulster. He added the important qualification that the grant of Home Rule must be postponed while Ireland remained in its unsettled condition. In consequence, it was generally expected that the Nationalist Party would be completely defeated at the polls by Sinn Fein. W. M.

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#### LIQUOR PROFITS.

An indication of the abnormal profits of the liquor trade is afforded by the enormous rise in brewery shares during 1917. Thus, All-Op Ordinary, which had stood at 2, rose to 18; Barclay Perkins

Preference, quoted at  $1\frac{9}{16}$ , rose to  $4\frac{7}{8}$ ; while the City of London rose to 91, Meux from  $\frac{7}{8}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , and Watney Combe from 12 to  $81\frac{1}{2}$ ; the increases in market value ranging up to 900 per cent.

## CONCERNING IRELAND.

### JANUARY.

21. Sir Edward Carson resigns from the War Cabinet.

### MARCH.

6. Death of Mr. John Redmond.
12. Mr. John Dillon elected leader of the Irish Nationalist Party.

### APRIL.

9. The Premier, in announcing the Man-Power Bill, declares for the extension of conscription to Ireland, combined with a measure of self-government. To the conscription proposal the Irish party declares unswerving opposition.
12. Irish Convention report issued, revealing a compromise, between the Nationalists and Southern Unionists, and also the revealing of the Ulster Unionists as irreconcilable.
18. On the Man-Power Bill receiving the Royal assent, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland throws its weight in the scale and decides that a pledge shall be taken in every Irish parish to resist conscription "by the most effectual means at disposal."
19. The Sinn Fein candidate for North King's County returned unopposed.
21. Throughout Ireland, Catholic congregations take the anti-conscriptionist pledge.

### MAY.

6. Lord French announced as new Viceroy for Ireland in succession to Lord Wimborne, and Mr. E. Shortt, K.C., M.P., as the new Irish Secretary.
- N.B.—Sinn Feiners and Nationalists show a united front against the Government. Irish conscription policy, a significant circumstance being the Nationalists temporary withdrawal from Parliament.
18. Wholesale arrests of Sinn Feiners in Ireland, including the leaders, 69 of them being transported to Great Britain and there interned. In a viceregal proclamation, treasonable communications with the enemy are denounced, and an appeal for voluntary enlistment is made.
21. Permit regulations imposed on passengers between England and Ireland.
24. The Press Bureau issues the Government's reasons for the Sinn Fein arrests.

30. The question of the Sinn Fein arrests raised in the House of Commons. The Irish Secretary states that a solicitor had been refused access to the prisoners, but that any prisoner's application for professional assistance would receive consideration.

### JUNE.

3. The Irish Viceroy's new voluntary recruiting scheme to stave off conscription announced.
14. Four Irish counties and two cities are proclaimed under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act.
21. East Cavan Election won by the Sinn Feiners with a majority of 1,214 over the Nationalists.
25. Parliamentary debate on Irish policy. Conscription and Home Rule officially declared in abeyance, but not abandoned.

### JULY.

3. Banning of Sinn Fein and kindred organisations (including the Gaelic League) by special proclamation.
4. Proclamation of prohibition of public meetings and processions all over Ireland, unless previously sanctioned by the police authority.
12. Orange fête day in Belfast; 20,000 people in procession, and shipyards closed in celebration of the 228th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.
23. Irish Nationalist parliamentarians return to Westminster.
29. Irish Debate in the House of Commons. *Inter alia* a protest is raised against Irish M.P.'s having to take out permits when returning to Ireland.

### AUGUST.

15. Irish National leader (Mr. J. Dillon) prohibited from addressing a meeting of his constituents in East Mayo for lack of a permit.

### OCTOBER.

9. New Order comes in force forbidding private persons to have firearms.
29. Sinn Fein Convention in Dublin demands the independence of Ireland in view of the peace proposals laid down by the President of the United States.

## INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE world-wide propaganda carried on during the war on behalf of the rights of nationalities and in favour of the principle of self-determination of peoples, has greatly stimulated the Home Rule movement in India. Realising that the demand for an evolutionary measure of self-government cannot be safely ignored, the British Government has, rather vaguely, committed itself to some measure of reform.

The Indian Home Rule movement has several features in common with that of Ireland. There is a strong constitutional party, and an extreme section which seeks to secure complete independence at one jump. Amongst its members are men who do not reject measures of violence, and the Irish rebellion of 1916 had its counterpart in a series of outbreaks of disorder and outrage in India, of which little was known generally in England at the time, but which are discussed frankly by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. E. S. Montagu, in a report to be referred to shortly. Exceptional powers were taken by the Indian Government to suppress this trouble, but the discontent which had inspired the open disaffection remained. The Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) became convinced that measures ought to be devised to remove the causes of this political discontent, and he invited the Secretary of State to visit the country and make a personal investigation. On August 20th, 1917, Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons that "the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions."

He added that the Government had decided that the Viceroy's invitation should be accepted. Mr. Montagu went to India, and a weighty and comprehensive report which was issued some time after his return embodied the views of the Viceroy as well as his own. The general policy advocated by them was heartily supported by the Indian Government.

The British Government manifested reluctance to take up so delicate and complicated a subject amid the preoccupations occasioned by the unexpected course of the war during the spring and summer of 1918, but just before the summer recess there was a full discussion on the matter in the House of Commons, where universal approval was bestowed on the main proposals in the report. In this debate Mr. Montagu urged that it was essential that the suggestions broadly should be carried out, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who preceded Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India, declared that if the

growing aspirations of the Indian people were ignored bitterness and discontent would be created.

#### A SCHOOL OF EASTERN DEMOCRACY.

The scheme outlined in the report is based frankly on the assumption that owing to racial difficulties and the illiteracy of the mass of the Indian people it is necessary to have a transition period between the existing system of absolute government and full Home Rule. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 merely admitted Indians to a greater share in administration, and, although their successful application has inspired confidence in the ability of Indians to qualify for responsibility and power, participation only in administrative work did not satisfy the aspirations of even the most moderate Home Rulers. The problem now is to confer upon the representatives of the Indian people the power of initiating and carrying through legislation, subject to reservations designed to maintain the authority of the Government, and to prevent the passage of ill-considered measures calculated to bring about disorder or to upset the orderly development of the political institutions of the country. The proposal of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu is, in effect, to set up a school of democracy for the Indian people, with an examination each ten or twelve years to test whether their progress warrants admission to a higher standard.

#### THE GENERAL SCHEME.

Broadly the scheme provides for—Nationally: An Executive Council, with the Viceroy as President (constituted as at present, but with additional Indian representatives); a Council of State, to act as a Second Chamber; and a Legislative Assembly. In the Provinces: Provincial governments, composed of Governors, Executive Councils, and Legislative Councils, with the widest independence in legislation, administration, and financial matters compatible with the maintenance of the full responsibility of the Indian Government.

#### THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

The Council of State would replace the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. This body at present has twenty-seven representative members, elected by small class electorates. The Council of State would have fifty members, twenty-one to be elected and twenty-nine to be nominated by the Governor-General. Of these four must be non-officials. Of the elected members fifteen would be returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils. The Council of State would be the supreme authority on all crucial questions, and the revising authority on all Indian legislation. Its life would be five years.

## *The People's Year Book.*

### THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Legislative Assembly would consist of 100 members, two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. It would be re-elected each three years.

### GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

The unimpaired capacity of the Government to "obtain its will in all essential matters" would be secured by provisions under which the Governor-General would retain power to issue temporary ordinances in circumstances of emergency, and the Council of State would have power to place on the Statute Book measures which the Government regarded as essential, even if the Legislative Assembly opposed the measures. In case of disagreement on ordinary legislation the two bodies would sit in joint session.

### THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The same principle of reservation is observed in the proposals regarding the Provincial Governments, and the matters with which they would be competent to deal, and those over which the Central Government would retain full control, would be definitely prescribed. The Legislative Councils would have a substantial elected majority, elected on as broad a franchise as possible.

### OTHER PROPOSALS.

Among other proposals put forward in the report, it is suggested that a Privy Council for India should be established, and that the ruling princes should form a council for consultative purposes. In regard to local government it is proposed that complete popular control should be established as far as possible. The abolition of any remaining racial bars to appointment to the public services is also advocated.

### PROGRESSIVE FREEDOM.

In order that the limitations and reservations might gradually be modified, it is proposed that within ten years of the scheme coming into operation its working should be reviewed by a Commission, which would have power to recommend changes or developments, and that periodical reviews should take place thereafter at intervals of not more than twelve years.

Up to the late autumn the Government had given no indication of their intentions regarding the report

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## NORTH GERMAN LLOYD'S LOSSES.

According to the North German Lloyd's *Year Book* for 1917-18 the company's ships seized in North and South American and Chinese waters represent a loss of

freight room of over 100,000 tons. Altogether 115 German and Austrian ships have been confiscated, aggregating 704,000 tons.

## STATE CONTROL IN WAR TIME AND AFTER.

BY W. GALLACHER, Director of the S.C.W.S.

**B**EFORE the war, individualism was rampant in this country.

All the great essential industries were privately controlled and carried on, not so much in the interests of the nation as for the personal gain of a very few people. There was an instinctive and unreasoning prejudice in the public mind against State control.

Public ownership was thought to be costly, inefficient, and bureaucratic, and private competition was held to be preferable to Government monopoly. The war has changed all this, and to-day, in the fifth year of the world-conflict, all trade and commerce, industry and agriculture are more or less under State control as a necessary condition to the successful waging of the war.

The first fruits of private ownership showed themselves in the early months of the war. The Government had to pay greatly increased prices for guns, shells, and army equipment of every kind. Shipping freights rose to an alarming extent, and food prices became scandalously high. Profiteering was practised openly and shamelessly. The public were to learn by bitter experience that there are two sides to competition—that in times of scarcity sellers do not compete to sell, but buyers compete to buy. A revulsion of feeling swept over the country, and the indignation in the public mind found expression in an imperative demand for the suppression of profiteering by State control.

The Ministry of Munitions was created, not merely to obtain cheaper armaments, but to stimulate and increase the production of army equipment, the supply of which was dangerously insufficient under private control. Shipping and shipbuilding were placed under Government direction in order that these all-important services should be used primarily for the purposes of the war instead of the building up of private fortunes. The railways and the mines were controlled for the same reason. But the

most difficult task of all remained untouched, and the Government were reluctant to attempt it—the control of production, distribution, and pricing of essential foodstuffs which were scarce and costly, due to our dependence on overseas supplies, the lack of shipping, and the activity of the German submarine.

The evidence of profiteering in the food of the people was overwhelming. The increase of prices over the pre-war period ranged from 19 per cent on January 1st, 1915, to 48 per cent on January 1st, 1916, and to 91 per cent on January 1st, 1917, the sovereign being, at the latter date, worth exactly 10s. 5d. as compared with July, 1914. Shippers, millers, farmers, wholesale and retail distributors, were reaping a golden harvest. Food was scarce as well as dear. Huge crowds, mainly women and children, stood in queues for hours outside the doors of provision shops, waiting in all kinds of weather for their share of the meagre supply of food. Protest meetings, strikes, and threats of strikes voiced the discontent in the public mind. The food problem became an all-absorbing topic, overshadowing in interest the progress of the war. And then, in response to the irresistible pressure of public opinion, the Ministry of Food was called into being.

The operations of the Ministry of Food read like a fairy-tale. Its buyers are to be found in every allied and every accessible neutral market in the world. It feeds the army and navy, sends supplies to all our European Allies, and controls the importation and distribution of all foodstuffs in this country. It stimulates the production of home-grown food, and has registered for the equitable distribution of all essential foodstuffs every man, woman, and child in Great Britain. Every food trader, be he producer, wholesaler, or retailer, is, by an elaborate system of licensing and registration, fitted in to the general scheme of

food-rationing. The financial transactions of the Ministry reach the tremendous total of £900,000,000 per annum. It possesses a staff of fully 6,000 employees, and imposes its will upon the people through a perfect network of Food Control Committees which are to be found in every city, town, and village in the kingdom. It is the most gigantic and successful experiment in State Socialism that the world has ever seen, and its success is due to the fact, as Mr. Clynes admitted in a speech at Glasgow, that the basic principle of the huge fabric of food control is "co-operation."

Attached to the Ministry of Food is the Consumers Council, a body of men and women appointed to advise the Ministry on all questions of food control from the consumers' point of view. The Council consists of nineteen members—six Labour representatives, six Co-operators, three women from National Women's Organisations, with an additional four people to represent the unorganised consumers. Among these four are a Lord and a Countess. The function of the Council is to protect the consumer's interests and voice his opinions in all matters of food control. It meets weekly in London and reviews the principal orders of the Ministry before they are issued to the public. While the Consumers Council is a purely advisory body its opinions carry great weight, and its influence, which is considerable, is wholly on the side of reduced prices. The Council is represented on all the divisional advisory committees which deal with one or other of the main articles of food—tea, meat, cereals, butter, milk, vegetables, &c., so that the consumer's interests are guarded and his point of view advanced in the initial stages of food control. The general policy of the Council has been, and is, to ration all essential foodstuffs; to prevent profiteering, and to eliminate unnecessary middlemen. The first point has almost been attained, but profiteering still exists (milk!) and the middleman seems more strongly entrenched than ever.

The outstanding merit of the Con-

sumers' Council is this—that it has proved the advantage to a Government department of keeping in touch with public opinion. State control becomes bureaucratic because heads of departments and their staffs are isolated and out of touch with public thought. The Consumers Council has saved the Ministry of Food from this defect. It brings the consumer's opinion into all discussions on food prices, and furnishes an effective counterpoise to the exaggerated demands of the producer and the distributor. Like the fabled hero of old who drew fresh strength from his contact with mother earth, so the Ministry of Food gains greater weight and influence from its contact with public opinion through the Consumers' Council. Mr. Clynes, from whose creative mind the Council sprang, has built better than he knew. He has given us a new idea, and has introduced a fresh factor into Government administration—a factor which may yet find a permanent place in every phase of State control.

Why should not the great Departments of State, whose activities affect us all so closely—the Ministry of Pensions, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Board of Education—have similar Councils, not of experts, but drawn from the great general public, to infuse them with human sympathy, keep them in touch with the flux and flow of public opinion, and save them from the rut of callous, mechanical bureaucracy? What an asset to the Ministry of Pensions to have the advice of a body of people, closely in touch with working-class life, as to the incidence of our present pension schemes. How valuable to the Board of Trade would be a council drawn from the multifarious industries which it controls to confer with the Board from time to time as to the administration of present regulations and the need and nature of new legislation. And how helpful to the Local Government Board to have the assistance of men and women with a ripe experience of the work of local authorities. It is safe to assume

that much of the industrial trouble that has distracted the nation since the war began would not have arisen had the Government sought the sympathy and co-operation of the workers through advisory councils similar to the Consumers Council of the Ministry of Food.

The idea contains infinite possibilities, and is capable of application to almost every Government department. It is a new and necessary development of the democratic principle. Your professional administrator—the permanent Government official—is usually a theorist, out of touch with reality and the world of practical men. State control requires, in order to save it from becoming cold and hard and inhuman, and that it may be truly democratic, to be in constant contact with the great mind and heart of the people. Legislation will then be broad, just, and tolerant, and administration be intelligent, humane, and sympathetic. Without these saving graces and qualities State control will become bureaucratic and intolerable. If it would live and develop it must be “broad-based upon the people's will,” and seek the sympathy, goodwill, and assistance of that mass of humanity we call the nation.

This principle of keeping in touch with public opinion is the vitalising and driving force of all democratic movements. Co-operative committees and Labour executives are continually in touch with their constituents, reporting to them, conferring with

them, and taking their advice and instructions. And the successful development and vigorous growth of our great modern democratic organisations is due to the inspiration and enthusiasm infused into those who lead and those who are led, through the constant intercourse of the leaders with the rank and file. It is high time that we introduced this basic principle of democracy into every department of public life.

Those of us who have seen the evils of individualism during the war will not readily revert to the old bad order of things. In the new world that is to be after the war, let us build, not on the old evil foundations of capitalism, greed, monopoly, and competition, but on the better and more lasting foundations of justice, co-operation, brotherhood, and public ownership. Let us have done with war; not merely the carnage of the battlefield, but the economic strife between nations and classes, and between man and man. Let us give our hands and our hearts to the building-up of the co-operative commonwealth. And the immediate political expression of that grand ideal is State control of all essential industries, government of the people with the consent and co-operation of the people by a truly democratic state that knows what the public thinks and feels and desires—and rules with intelligent insight into, and sympathetic understanding of, the problems of the times.

## GERMAN SHIPPING LOSSES.

### Deficiency over 2,000,000 Tons.

The amount of merchant tonnage at the disposal of Germany, as compared with her merchant tonnage in 1914, is indicated in the following figures:—

German tonnage on Jan. 1st, 1914 .....	Tons. 5,459,296
Lost during war (including vessels sheltering or interned in neutral ports) .....	2,900,000
Remaining in German ports ...	1,559,296
In neutral ports, uninterned...	674,000
New construction during war...	950,000

Maximum tonnage which may be available after war.....	Tons. 3,183,629
Deficiency, as against pre-war tonnage.....	2,275,667

The Germans are known to be concentrating, in merchant construction, on large cargo ships, but the programme of German construction, however, is quite inadequate for German needs after the war, especially in raw materials.

## CAPITAL IN THE LAST WAR YEAR.

THE remuneration of capital invested in joint-stock concerns continued to increase until the last gun had boomed on the Western Front. Stock Exchange activity was the feature of the Money Market during the summer of 1918; the new issues of capital were well taken up, and company financiers were scouring the country in search of likely undertakings for launching upon the public at an opportune season. With the signing of the armistice prices began to fall, and there was a fluctuating market with a downward tendency for a month after. The course of financial events before and after the conclusion of hostilities was an admirable illustration of the nervousness of capital—especially that speculative element which is associated with joint-stockism.

Last year I reviewed the course of British capital in war time, and the views expressed have found confirmation in the last year of the war. Amalgamations of banks, insurance offices, engineering firms, catering and food-supply houses, and similar concerns have been notable; the trend of production is towards a few big businesses rather than many small rivals. Dividends have, in the main, slightly increased, and the allotment of new shares out of reserves and profits to existing stockholders is a growing practice. It should be carefully noted in view of the possible acquisition of certain important undertakings by the Government; the taxpayer may have to purchase shares which really represent revenue that should have already been handed to the State. Hence the need for those responsible for the advocacy of financial reforms to keep abreast of the doings of companies that are so generous to their owners.

With regard to the future, there will probably be little appreciation in the value of industrial shares, for the top prices of manufactures have been reached, with the consequent diminution of profits now that the margin between market quotations and the cost of production may be restricted. Some indication of that is apparent in the values of the shares of two companies which have been engaged on war materials, and the prices of which fell between July and the Armistice from 43s. 9d. to 40s. in the case of Armstrong, Whitworth, and Co., and from 40s. to 35s. in the case of Kynocks. Munitions of war have brought profits which are not likely to be realised to the same degree in peace time. Hence the way in which Stock Exchange quotations for that class of share receded in the autumn. The market value of eight typical concerns of this class fell 10 per cent between the middle of September and the middle of October. The greatest increases were observed in British and foreign railway stocks, breweries, gas

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companies, and electric lighting and power shares. The *Bankers' Magazine* follows the market fluctuations of 387 representative securities, the value of which was—

	£
On August 19th, 1918 .....	2,712,736,000
On October 18th, 1918 .....	2,794,542,000
Net increase .....	81,806,000
Net increase, May–October .....	222,930,000

Such inflation of value is suggestive of the way in which far-sighted financiers are preparing for the possibility of the national acquisition of some "key" industries, or the other possibility of an experimental levy on capital as a means of partial payment of the War Debt. Whenever there is any likelihood of the collective purchase of individual interests prices advance in such a way that the gain to the community is greatly minimised. Financial interests have done even better, from a selfish point of view, during the last than in the first years of the war. The remuneration of money was never on so high a scale; its interests were never so well regarded by the Government. Tendencies towards abnormal distributions, which began to appear on the Stock Exchange in 1917, have characterised 1918, and investors generally have added to their bank balances—undeterred by the rising income tax, the heavy local rates, and the higher cost of living. Unfortunately, this excessive prosperity of the owners of capital has been gained at the expense of the consumer and the taxpayer.

It is usually assumed that the Excess Profits Tax falls wholly on the capitalist, but, as a matter of fact, it falls upon the consumer. The object of it was, no doubt, as far as it was concerned, to spread war costs over the community. A remarkable feature of finance of late has been that, despite the imposition of 80 per cent on excess profits, profits available for distribution have been greater in most cases than they were prior to the war. Concerns have been permitted to equalise the profits they made before the passing of the Finance Act, in addition to other allowances, whilst they have been able to claim 20 per cent of the excess. Thus, the more they could swell prices, the more valuable the 20 per cent would be to them. For instance, to take a simple case, an excess profit of £100 would leave the profit-maker with £20 to add to his pre-war profits, but, if by increasing prices he made the excess into £200, his share of it would be £40. Hence, the policy has had a vicious effect, which has had to be borne by the consumer.

It should be universally understood that the consumer pays all the time, and every time. Writers on financial affairs from the ordinary joint-stock viewpoint so generally omit all reference to that fact that it is well those who seek to make the intricate position clear to the average person should be insistent in keeping the relation of the customer to the financial

profits of the company perfectly plain. Increased profits usually result from higher prices to the consumer or inadequate wages to the producer; it is fair, therefore, to assume that the £600,000,000 which has been paid to the State in excess profits has been extracted from the consuming or the producing public. The work of the financiers is, in the main, to manipulate the capital, trade, expenses, and other factors in such a way that organising acumen secures a better recompense than productive skill or consuming necessity.

Banking amalgamations continue to be a feature of the financial review; the notable fusions including the Capital and Counties Bank with Lloyds Bank, and the acquisition by the latter institution of the control of the National Bank of Scotland and the River Plate Bank; the amalgamation of Barclay's Bank and the London Provincial and South-Western; and the amalgamation of the London City and Midland Bank with the London Joint Stock Bank. Not often is the public let into the secrets of the banks, but the chairman of the London City and Midland Bank in advocating the fusion policy to the shareholders said that between 20,000 and 25,000 customers were borrowing on an average less than £50 each, and that 40,000 customers had secured accommodation in amounts of £500 and under. Such figures are indicative of the change that has come over the banking business since the joint-stock principle was introduced into its operations. There are thousands of working people who have banking accounts and who use the institutions in much the same way that co-operators put the stores to their service—for the custody of small savings until wanted to make special payments. The discovery of the small investor has been one of the revelations of the war period. When the great conflict began there were in all only 345,100 holders of British Government securities in the country. Now there are in round numbers well over 16,750,000 holders of various types of such securities. No less than 14,500,000 are holders of securities issued through the Post Office, and it is fair to assume that the larger portion of this 14,500,000 holders are those who may fairly be described as "small investors." When we compare the number and the aggregate value of these investors it is possible to gauge the possibilities that lie before the co-operative movement. The war is over, and consumers are looking to the co-operative movement to take its part in the work of reconstruction. More capital will be required; there are about four million members, so that there are at least ten million "small investors" yet to be tapped—to say nothing of the trade unions and kindred bodies whose funds should be diverted from joint-stock to the co-operative—*i.e.*, the C.W.S. Bank.

Amalgamation has become the prevailing tendency in the insurance world, and the fusion of forces during the war recalls the absorbing mania of the years 1906–10, when eighty-seven insurance concerns were swallowed by others; in the latter year of the quinquennial period

twenty-five offices were absorbed by more vigorous rivals. Then came a lull till the second year of the war, when the British Dominions Company took over the Eagle. Apparently it has not yet satiated its capacious ambition, for in 1917 it took over the Sceptre and the Star Assurance, and during 1918 it pursued its amalgamating policy well into the end of the year, first acquiring the British Crown Assurance Corporation, and then, in October, it agreed to absorb the English and Scottish Law Life Assurance Association. The assets will exceed £16,000,000, and the premium income will total more than £3,665,000 per annum.

Government borrowing was largely responsible for the new capital raised during 1918, British loans totalling in the first nine months of the year £1,005,993,700 of the £1,025,396,000 actually raised. Rather more than six millions were offered in the third quarter of the year, and half of these were kept to existing shareholders in the iron, coal, steel, meat, oil and light, and power companies that advanced their capital. In October twenty-five companies increased their capital by £8,706,700; match, linoleum, cloth, brewing, and catering companies being allowed to issue from the Treasury test. Despite the close scrutiny with which the New Issues Committee of the Treasury regarded the requests of existing companies for new capital, many boards of directors found very ingenious ways of increasing their capital, and some important developments with regard to bonus shares were noted. The Birmingham Small Arms Company, by capitalising a part of its reserve fund, was able to distribute a share-for-share bonus. Bryant and May raised their capital by creating 600,000 new ordinary £1 shares and capitalising £160,000 of accumulated reserves and undivided profits. These were distributed by way of bonus among the holders of the existing 400,000 ordinary shares in the proportion of two new for every five shares held. In addition the holders were offered 240,000 new ordinary shares in the proportion of three to five at 25s. per share. These proposals increased the capital to £1,480,000, it being urged that the heavy excise duty on matches now payable to the Government, and the need for providing cash to meet extensions of the business, justified the proposal, and secured Treasury sanction to the plan. Such examples have been fairly frequent of late; these two will, however, suffice for the present purpose.

The textile companies have, despite labour and raw material shortages, done pretty well. Robinson and Cleaver Ltd., which had not paid a dividend on ordinary shares for ten years, was able to make a distribution of profit—a result partly due probably to the high appreciation of the heavy stock carried by the company. Charles Baker and Co., Rylands and Sons, Harrod's Stores, J. Hepworth and Son, are other well-known concerns whose financial results are suggestive to the co-operator. So, too, was the balance sheet of the English Sewing Cotton Company, which has done remarkably well

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during the years of war, as the following summary for the four years before and after 1914 shows:—

Year ended March 31st.	Net Profit.	Ordinary Dividend.	Special Allocations.	Carry Forward.
	£	Per cent.	£	£
1910.....	346,400	10	160,000	92,000
1911.....	238,500	10	80,000	100,500
1912.....	211,400	10	55,000	106,900
1913.....	293,200	12½	125,000	100,100
1914.....	310,500	13	125,000	105,600
1915.....	195,300	13	.....	120,900
1916.....	a423,200	18	140,000	174,000
1917.....	a403,900	20	150,000	178,000
1918.....	a438,500	20	175,000	191,400

a After allowing for excess profits duty.

From the comparison of the Stock Exchange values of some representative companies that follow it will be seen that some of the purveyors of food had good profits. Here are the results of Liebig's Extract of Meat Company for the past financial year:—

Year ended March 31st.	Sales.	Net Profit.	Ordinary Dividend.	Reserve Appropriation.	Carry Forward.
	£	£	Per cent.	£	£
1909 .....	492,000	183,900	22½	20,000	25,900
1910 .....	539,600	194,300	22½	30,000	30,200
1911 .....	573,200	200,600	22½	30,000	40,700
1912 .....	687,400	193,000	22½	30,000	43,700
1913 .....	712,800	204,500	22½	30,000	50,400
1914 .....	680,600	195,400	22½	10,000	50,900
1915 .....	601,300	204,300	22½	.....	70,100
1916 .....	683,400	280,500	25	.....	150,600
1917 .....	901,000	a297,000	25	.....	247,600
1918 .....	2,056,700	a286,000	25	90,000	243,600

a After deducting excess profits duty.

How such results have affected the Stock Exchange quotations for shares is apparent from the following comparison of prices ruling before the war and on October 31st. They are fairly representative, and suggest that while the value of the £ has gone down when expended on foodstuffs, it has risen steeply when represented as a share in one of the great companies. Despite excess profits, higher profits have been obtained, and the speculators have done well. The fact that trade and industry are regarded merely as opportunities for gambling in so many quarters should be noted by those who prefer

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the better ideal of business, viz., that trade should be developed on account of its utility, not merely as a means for profit.

	Quotation, July 27th, 1914.	Quotation, October 31st, 1918.
<b>BREWERIES—</b>	£	£
Allsopp's Ordinary (£100).....	10	52
Walney Combe Deferred (£100).....	31	105
<b>METALS AND ENGINEERING—</b>		
Babcock and Wilcox .....	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ -3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bengal Iron .....	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ -6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brown (John) and Co.....	25s. 6d.	39s. 6d.
Cammell, Laird .....	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ -7
Cargo Fleet .....	7s. 6d.	27s.
Dick, Kerr, and Co. ....	10s.	31s. 6d.
Swan and Hunter.....	19s. 6d.	2 $\frac{1}{16}$
Thornycroft Ordinary.....	10s.	48s. 3d.
<b>SHIPPING—</b>		
Cunard .....	29s. 6d.	5
Furness Withy, .....	26s. 6d.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Houlder Line Preference (£5).....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4
P. and O. Deferred .....	290	425
Royal Mail Ordinary .....	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	145
<b>TEXTILES AND STORES—</b>		
Bleachers Ordinary .....	18s.	21s.
Bradford Dyers.....	22s. 6d.	40s. 6d.
Calico Printers .....	8s. 9d.	16s. 3d.
Courtaulds .....	2 $\frac{5}{16}$	7 $\frac{13}{16}$
English Sewing Cotton.....	36s. 9d.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fine Spinners.....	32s. 6d.	40s. 6d.
<b>INDUSTRIALS—</b>		
Associated Cement (£10) .....	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{5}{16}$
British and Argentine Meat .....	7s. 6d.	25s. 3d.
British Oil and Cake Mills .....	14s. 3d.	35s. 9d.
Bryant and May.....	1 $\frac{5}{16}$	2 $\frac{11}{16}$
Dunlop Rubber.....	2 $\frac{3}{16}$	4 $\frac{11}{16}$
Eastman's .....	11s. 9d.	15s. 3d.
Lipton's.....	17s. 6d.	27s. 3d.
Maypole Dairy Deferred (2s.) .....	19s. 9d.	19s. 9d.
Nelson Bros.....	18s. 9d.	27s. 6d.

Except where otherwise stated the shares are of the nominal value of £1.

## THE REPUBLIC OF ARARAT.

In 1918 took place the proclamation of the Armenian Republic of Ararat and its recognition by the Turks; but the republic consisted only of the districts of Erivan and Etchmiadzin, with about 12,000 square kilometres of territory and 400,000 inhabitants: that is to say, the republic consisted of only two out of the seven districts of the province of Erivan, the other Armenian provinces of Russia being entirely excluded, to say nothing of Turkish Armenia.

## CAPITALISM AND THE CONSUMER: A Study of War-time Developments.

THE body of society may be said to go forward on two legs, one of production, the other of consumption. And of these two limbs, the right foot is the consumer's, which in society's progress should come first.

This is a dogmatic statement; but it does no more than assert a commonplace of political economy. To quote an easily-accessible popular authority—Chamber's *Encyclopædia*—"Consumption is the chief end of industry, for everything that is produced and exchanged is intended in some way to be consumed." In other words, industry is justified or condemned by its fruits. The true measure of wealth or effort is its human serviceableness. We do not live by wages, but by the social value of work done: without that value in the product a flood of high wages merely adds water to the milk.

If these are truisms they are of the kind which may be tragically forgotten. In our capitalistic society the social claim on industry is only too easily obscured. A modern historic writer has said that the aim of the nineteenth century was power. To act largely has been the sole aim. Thus to-day it is said that the hundred-thousand-pound business is too small. The battle goes to the combinations and trusts, with their millions of capital, their world-wide operations, and their continuity of existence.

Pursuing power, therefore, man has reached his present control over material resources. But the human mind has not expanded in equal measure. One aspect of this one-sided development has been well described by Professor Macgregor, of Leeds, in his contribution to the "Home University Library" on *The Evolution of Industry*. Speaking of the effect upon the worker, he says:—

"When very great organisations are necessary, and every industry gets specialised into parts, each part an industry in itself—then the meaning of the whole process is not plain to the worker, for he is at too many removes from either the beginning or the end of it. In consequence of this, it is not the consumer's interest he feels; the common bond is weakened on that side, and he feels the narrower interest of the 'producer' which then emerges. He helps to make goods, which make other goods, and their relation to a final consumer is lost in the distant influences of trade; his trade organisation is a special sphere, making things he may not use, but which are handed one step on by his work. It is the producer's interest which then is plainest to him; and we find the system of industry becoming actually divided into contests of producer and consumer, whose interests are

regarded as opposed, though everyone is at some remove consumer of everyone else's work."

So much might happen in any social state. The mind tires of the general and the ultimate, and easily slips into concentration upon the immediate and particular. But in a real commonwealth the common interest continually would present itself in bodily shape as a check upon a too extreme private or class concern; while education and industrial training continually would make it easier to keep in sight the ultimate, vital use of things. It is different in the world of to-day. Now we struggle against the domination of the capitalist idea throughout the whole body of society. It is not only true that the large sweep of industry has been too much for our natural weakness. It is also and more emphatically the case that there is now a huge vested interest in the maintenance of that weakness. If social service is a term which has faded from the industrial vocabulary, it is also true that capitalism means to keep it out, and to preserve the words private profit, in its place.

Before the war all this was philosophy. Now it has become everyday fact. Throughout the war our comparatively feeble interest

all as consumers has to tax everybody and reduced values, ted character of the interest has allowed very cheaply by content labour, in mere fraction of

British Fire Losses for the first 10 months of 1918 were £4,281,000, as compared with £3,533,000 in the corresponding period of 1917—an increase of 21 per cent.

enabled capitalism through high prices while the more limited producer's the robber to escape returning to mal-increased wages, a the booty. To take

the published facts, the *Economist* (January 12th, 1918) itself showed 1,200 companies paying for 1917 an average dividend of over 10 per cent each on their ordinary shares, and this sum representing no more than one-half of their net profits.\* The various methods of conservative finance known to accountants make it difficult to frame a dramatic indictment on published figures; but there is no denying the 20 per cent—previously 40 per cent—allowed to capital for collecting from the consuming public the hundreds of millions of excess profits figuring in the Government revenue. And we have also a cumulative weight of other facts: the shipping freights scandals; Mr. Bonar Law's House of Commons confession; the profitable insurances on ships sunk at sea; the examples of prodigal munitions expenditure and of colossal profits disclosed by the Select Committee on National Expenditure; the disclosure by the same Committee last spring of large bakers pocketing surplus profits of £10,000,000 a year out of the Government subsidy; the "£14. 10s.

\* Preference shares received 14 per cent of the net profits, and over 38 per cent was put to reserves.

for 6d." scandal; the banking profits; the generous margins fixed by the Government which have compelled the C.W.S. to show excessive profits on margarine; the unnecessarily high price of tea maintained by the Government through the influence of sellers—all these and other facts possess irresistible weight. With an average of 10·4 per cent over 1,200 companies, it is not surprising to meet continual examples of 20, 30, and 40 per cent; and one has also to remember the watering of capital by "bonus shares." These free shares to existing shareholders do not actually increase the sum of capital, for if not distributed their sum would still remain as reserves; but they disguise rates of profit, as well as fortify possession. Thus Messrs. Reckitt, of Hull, distributed £2,178,000 in bonus shares in June last, and "the proposal will mean a reduction in the dividend from 27½ to 11 per cent."

Much has been written about profiteering in food. Before passing from these illustrations of how capitalism intensifies the normal evil of war by exploiting the consuming public, let us glance at an industry ultimately as necessary as that of food production. In 1914 the cotton trade seemed likely to be a heavy loser by the war. But as the bloodshed and destruction continued it began to revive. "The war," said the *Manchester Guardian* (August 27th, 1918) "has set up a new range of values." In plainer words, housewives were then paying 1s. 6d. for a 3d. calico. "Southern planters" (*Manchester Guardian*, September 6th, 1918) "were making extravagant profits." Spinners' margins were described by an expert in the *Guardian* of August 20th, 1918, as a "menace." That is to say, they were a menace to competition for foreign markets. With the bound and helpless consumer at home the writer did not seem to be concerned.

In the *Manchester Guardian* of July 13th, 1918, Mr. F. W. Tattersall was quoted as saying that more money had been made in the Lancashire cotton-spinning trade that half year than in any similar half year in the history of the industry. Sixteen large companies revealed a return on share capital "of over 45 per cent per annum." Meanwhile, the English Sewing Cotton Company was showing "a new profit record"; and no branch of the trade was fairing badly; except that the workers had only a 60 per cent advance in wages to set against a 100 per cent all-round average advance in the cost of food, clothing, and everything else. That war-time prosperity of the working classes which we have all heard of has been earned in great part, over the whole field of labour, by a greatly increased effort both per head and per family. Taking the cotton trade as a unit, it is probably true to say that this 1918 production, so highly profitable, has given to the community about two-thirds of the normal output, while the return, in charges levied upon the community, has increased four or even five times. We talk of the cost of living when, to a very considerable degree, we should speak of the cost of capitalism.

We must not, however, make the mistake of attacking capitalism simply as the parent of profiteering. It holds two greater threats to social progress. One is the power of the trust—profits or no profits. We have no space here to illustrate how this power has grown during the war. The "Final Report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War" (Col. 9035, 9d.) in its Chapter VII. contains a long and illuminating record of what has been done and what that Committee would do. Their recommendations would indeed result in a servile state, gripped by a State capitalism. And it is obvious that the different Boards set up during the war for the control of industries and the pooling of raw materials constitute so many half-way houses toward State-established and State-aided trusts; and this quite apart from the actual amalgamations which have taken place in finance, in munitions production, and in a dozen great industries. Carry someway further this control of industry by the interests specially involved in it, and it will not be fanciful to see one-quarter of the world organised, controlled, and manipulated from above, dependent upon an unseen mastery of the sources of supply, paying appointed prices, receiving wages that may never gain upon prices, living according to appointed standards, accepting dictated opinions from a dependent press, and being at all points within the power of the oligarchy of the rich.

The second threat implied in capitalism brings us back more obviously to our starting point. Control of the consumer—of the market—is essential to such a capitalist development as has been sketched. *Capitalism has flourished during the war as a direct result of the especial weakness of the consumer.* Our feebleness is their strength. Now a helplessness of the consumer is directly injurious to labour, because it means an oppression of the nation and of the majority. On the most immediate grounds it is an injury because, as Mr. Hartley Withers has pointed out, wage advances, in the most favourable cases, follow prices and do not precede them. At the same time, the more expensive it is to live the more dependent on work and wages the worker becomes, and increasing dependence points the way to diminished individuality and the servile state. Nationalise all the industries, and dependence is modified, we grant, but while living remains dear, and dearly bought, dependence is not abolished.

But it is not a case of dependence only. We are in truth all interdependent. The danger is also one of a society divided and torn between special interests. We have to prevent something even worse than a society in which the few grow rich at the expense of the many. The final danger is that of classes and groups amongst the many contending practically against each other to escape a common burden of poverty which increases for all with every wasteful and anarchic struggle of each. To this we must come if we put first and foremost that "narrower interest of the producer" or of classes of producers.

Progress is in placing the common interest first, and enlisting and co-ordinating every effort for the common service. Service is indeed the watchword. A private industry which only sought to be serviceable to all—which vied with collective control in its service to the consumer, with properly-paid labour—such an industry would not be capitalism as we know it, but rather an honourable and fair rival amidst social forms. But if capitalism—or what then remains of it—can ever be so transformed it can only be by defeat in the field of social service; or by a consumers' revolt and consumers' united action if the grip of the trusts prevents a free application of the test of service. Hence it must be our co-operative purpose to create a great new consciousness of this importance of the consumer. It is far from being simply a case of making things cheap, even though the cheapness be like that of pure water in a well-managed city. It is a case of translating wealth into life: of looking upon the use of wealth as being the final crown and justification of its production. A hundred books are written on "labour" for one on "the consumer;" and we have a Ministry of Labour but no Minister of Uses. Yet there remains no wealth but life; and only when we work to live, and concentrate our best attentions upon making every fraction of effort of the utmost and happiest human use to men, women, and children, so that all may enjoy the fullest mental and physical health without waste, loss, or hurt to any—only then shall we move straight forwardly to a soundly-ordered society.

## 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

In the last-named year the affiliated Trades Councils numbered 146, and the affiliated Local Labour Parties 93.

The three affiliated Socialist Parties are the I.L.P., with 35,000 members; the British Socialist Party, with 10,000; and the Fabian Society, with 2,140. The Women's Labour League and the Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society have also continued their membership.

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## THE REFORM ACT OF 1918.

OF all the Acts passed in connection with the franchise, none have been of so far-reaching a character as that designated "The Representation of the People Act of 1918" (8 George V., Chapter 64.)

This claims to be "An Act to amend the law with respect to Parliamentary and Local Government Franchises, and the Registration of Parliamentary and Local Government electors, and the conduct of elections, and to provide for the redistribution of seats at Parliamentary elections, and for other purposes connected therewith."

Under this Act 8,000,000 new voters are added to the list—2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women. The Home Secretary's estimate, May 22nd, 1917, gave the following figures:—

MEN—		
On existing	register	8,357,000
Added by	Reform Act	2,000,000
		10,357,000
WOMEN—		
On Local Govt.	register	1,000,000
Obtaining votes	through New	
Act.....	5,000,000	
		6,000,000
Total.....		16,357,000

The first Franchise Act was passed 489 years ago, in the reign of Henry VI., 1429. This Act was passed to curtail, and not extend, the franchise, for it limited the right to vote to those who owned land to the value of 40s. a year (which then was equivalent to a very high value). The Act stated: "Whereas the election of the Knights of the Shire chosen to come to the Parliament of our Lord the King in many counties of the Realm of England have now of late been made by very great outrageous and excessive number of people dwelling within the same counties, of the which most part was by people of small substance and no value, whereof every one of them pretended a voice

equivalent with the most worthy knights and esquires."

The Reform Act of 1832 extended the franchise to copyholders, leaseholders, and occupiers of lands or tenements of £50 annual value in counties, and in boroughs to £10 occupiers, and provided for the compilation of a register. In 1867 a much greater advance was made by the inclusion in the county register of occupiers of premises of £12 rateable value, and leaseholders of £5 annual value, where the original lease was created for sixty years. The borough franchise was extended to inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses without reference to value, provided the houses were rated, and the rates paid, and to lodgers occupying lodgings of the annual value of £10.

Still greater advance was made in 1884, when the borough franchises were extended to the counties, while a new class of persons were enfranchised in both county and borough, viz.: the man who, by reason of his service, occupied a dwelling-house belonging to his employer.

These three Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, between them, enfranchised only 4,000,000 electors, or just half the number given votes by the present Act.

### MALE AND FEMALE VOTERS.

The present Bill is a great stride towards adult suffrage, for it gives the vote to every male householder (21 years of age) after six months' residence, irrespective of the amount of rent. Two registrations will be compiled each year in January and July, published February and August, except in Ireland, where one only is taken in July, published August.

The Act also extends the Parliamentary franchise to women over 30 years of age who are householders, or lodgers in unfurnished rooms paying a yearly rental of £5, or wives of householders when the yearly rental is £10. A woman householder qualifies for the vote for Local Government elections

at the age of 21 on a rental of £5, but must be of full age (30) to qualify for a vote as the wife of a householder.

Apparently the reason for the age limit of 30 for women for the Parliamentary franchise is to prevent the female vote from swamping the male electorate, as in 1911 the adult men numbered 12,482,199, and the adult women 13,813,340. This difference will be intensified owing to the war. Hence, the widening of the franchise to admit more men, along with the age barrier for women, will enable the male electorate to avert the possibility of being outnumbered by the women voters.

Seeing the present House of Commons has accepted the principle of women members of Parliament, it is possible that at no very distant date women and men together will occupy the benches in the national assembly.

Whether the legislation will change very much in character remains to be seen. It may prove that interests or class and not sex is the deciding factor in law making.

The new Act has increased the Parliamentary divisions of the King-

dom, and the figures below show the change and increase in seats, also the number of representatives in each county of the United Kingdom.

REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

	Number of Members.		Increase + or Decrease -
	1885-1918.	Reform Act, 1918.	
<b>ENGLAND—</b>			
London . . .	59	62	+ 3
Boroughs . . .	166	193	+ 27
Counties . . .	231	230	- 1
Universities	5	7	+ 2
	—461	—492	+ 31
<b>WALES—</b>			
Boroughs . . .	12	11	- 1
Counties . . .	22	24	+ 2
Universities	..	1	+ 1
	— 34	— 36	+ 2
<b>SCOTLAND—</b>			
Boroughs . . .	31	33	+ 2
Counties . . .	39	38	- 1
Universities	2	3	+ 1
	— 72	— 74	+ 2
<b>IRELAND—</b>			
Boroughs . . .	16	21	+ 5
Counties . . .	85	80	- 5
Universities	2	4	+ 2
	—103	—105	+ 2
	670	707	+ 37

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

As the Post Office Savings Bank is very largely the working-man's savings bank, the question as to the trend of affairs is one of no little interest. The following figures for the United Kingdom throw a light on the subject:

Year.	Number of Accounts Remaining Open at the End of the Year.	Balance Due to Depositors.	Average per Depositor.
1899.....	8,046,680	£ 130,118,605	£ s. d. 16 3 4
1913.....	13,198,609	187,248,167	14 3 8
1914.....	13,514,814	190,533,208	14 1 11
1915.....	14,180,086	186,327,584	13 2 9
1916.....	14,746,821	196,655,159	13 6 8
1917.....	*15,155,000	203,250,000	13 8 3

\* Approximate.

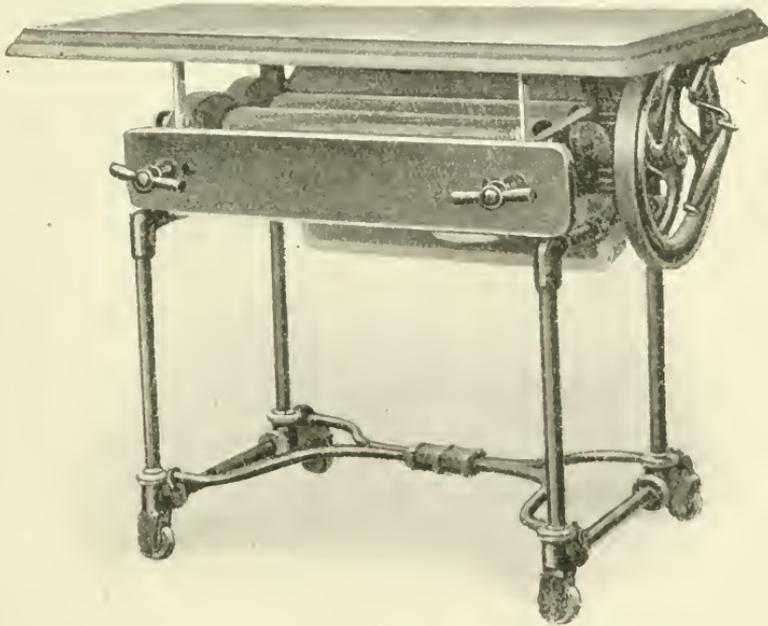
The figures show that the average amount per depositor diminished by £3. 0s. 7d. between the years 1899 and 1915, and that, despite a slight increase since 1915, the average per depositor in 1917 was £2. 15s. 1d. less than in 1899.

# The C.W.S. Ironworks

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MANUFACTURED SPECIALLY FOR CO-OPERATORS WITH  
THEIR OWN CAPITAL, AND IN PERFECT SYMPATHY WITH  
THEIR AIMS AND DESIRES.

## TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION.

### Foreword.

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TO the co-operative movement, as to the nation at large, the war-time has brought the shock of awakening to the advent of a changed world bristling with unforeseen perils—a world resounding with the trumpet-call to buckle on its armour, to the end that the land may be made a safe place for co-operative democracy. Perceptible to all are the widening of vision and militant impulse which come to movements, as to nations, inspired with the knowledge that self-preservation and social preservation are one cause and the same, and to whom the greater campaign signifies the advance towards a more spacious horizon and a higher destiny.

And so to the movement, in its new orientation, "Forward" is the signal, and "Reconstruction" the watchword. On all sides we hear the call for the forging of new instruments, for ampler equipment and the reorganisation of forces, for new forms of strategy and a revision of tactics, together with all the auxiliary apparatus that science can furnish—demands pointing not only to the rust on our shield, the blunted state of our weapons, and the joints in our armour, but also to the inadequacy of arrangements for equipment afresh; that is to say, a double handicap, betokening the necessity of reconstruction on the widest scale, a necessity which can only be realised by a review of the needs of the movement in the light of co-operative projects and tasks, and of co-operative ideals and aims. Viewed in this light, the policy of reconstruction is seen to be applicable to the whole movement—applicable to societies in the matter of organisation, management, and labour relations; applicable to the movement both as an economic force and a political entity; and last, but not least, applicable to the movement both as an educational and propagandist organisation. In this regard the question of propaganda emerges as the root problem of all, for the simple reason that the execution of programmes and the carrying out of policies are dependent on the public spirit of the movement, and on the force and range of the appeal thereto.

Thus, for an effective appeal to the co-operative conscience, as well as for the development of co-operative consciousness, the promotion of solidarity, the attainment of unity of purpose and singleness of aim, the instrumentality of organs of advocacy and agitation on a sufficing scale ranks as quite indispensable. Hence, the question of propagandist organisation is seen to be the key problem of reconstruction policy—of that policy to the promotion of which the following pages are dedicated.

## THE SCIENCE OF ORGANISATION.

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**A**T a time when private enterprise, gorged with the spoils of war and reposing in the seats of the mighty, dreams of new worlds to conquer, there comes to the co-operative movement the imperative challenge to reorganise and super-organise, to the end that it may prove itself as far above private enterprise in the matter of economic prowess as it does in the sphere of social welfare and ideal aims. In this regard the transformation achieved for the democratic cause in the heroic period of English history may serve as a precedent and a guide. That is the precedent established by Cromwell when he superannuated the time-honoured, but lame-legged and club-footed, traditions which hampered advance, and installed in their stead the New Model, through whose instrumentality the democratic force attained to such potency that the renown of it rings through the ages, and is likely to ring for all time. The possible retort that Cromwell lived and died ages before co-operation ever was thought of may be set aside as irrelevant. All experience bears witness to the fact that, if you wish to obtain the best results, there is nothing for it but to organise with the direct view to secure them. As applied to a co-operative society this means that, if it is to work with maximum force, it is essential to realise the maximum potentialities of the members, the board, and the management. Add thereto the greatest degree of development, and you have the aims and policy of a model society in a nutshell.

### **A Contemporaneous "New Model."**

And here, again, it is as well to show the working out of precept in practice by pointing to accomplished facts, the facts in this particular instance having been accomplished by the Hamburg Produktion Society, whose methods and policy, even though German, are interesting to note, and particularly in view of the fact that the society has attained to a leading position in its own movement, although its career dates back practically no further than the dawn of the present century, and notwithstanding the presence of an older local co-operative society with an origin dating back to the fifties of the century preceding.

Take, to begin with, the Produktion Society's organisation, whose leading features are the constitution of the board of management and the organisation of members, plus the supervisory board which comes in between. The fact that the chief functionaries of the society, or heads of the salaried staff (skilled experts, by the way), constitute the managing board manifestly makes for the pooling of ideas, for co-ordinated action and for responsibility, collective as well as individual. On the other hand, the supervisory board, charged with critical and controlling functions, is endowed with full control by the

fact that in the joint sittings of the two boards the members of the supervisory board outnumber those of the board of management practically in the proportion of three to one. As for the general meeting, inasmuch as its prerogatives include the ratification of appointments to the management board, the circumstance would appear to suggest that appointments made in the full blaze of publicity lead to specific advantages which every thoughtful person can particularise for himself. The most striking feature, however, is the mobilisation of members and their formation into a constituent part of the society's working organisation, a feat which is performed through the election of a committee of three by the members of each store, the totality of threes forming the members' committee, and the selective process finding its consummation in the appointment of an executive committee and chairman.

### **How the "New Model" Works Out.**

Now what does this organisation of members signify? It signifies the extension of vision and supervision, and so forms a great help to the board of management. It signifies the organisation of opinion and of the expression thereof, and so acts to the benefit of the supervisory committee and to the satisfaction of members. It signifies the organisation of a store of activity ready for the society's service in any emergency and at a moment's call, and to what effect the house-to-house handbilling of Hamburg (with its million inhabitants) in the course of a single evening will serve as an illustration.

As for the society's policy (which is to secure the largest possible membership by keeping down "divi." to 5 per cent, and so keeping down prices and meeting the private trader on his own ground), the outcome of it may be seen from the latest report recording a membership which, when figured out into families, indicates that the Produktion Society caters practically for half-a-million inhabitants, or half the city's population. Add to this that the society musters some 224 establishments, with a collective turnover equivalent to £2,325,000, and the policy of utilising all available resources for development purposes is seen to justify itself.

True it is that the Produktion Society was made in Germany; but would it have been any the more effective had it been made in the moon? Whatever criticism may be brought forward of its methods, one thing is certain: they do not preclude the attempt to fabricate a superior model elsewhere. The progress of European civilisation has been due in no small measure to the interaction of ideas of one kind and another. Take Shakespeare, for example, whose plays constitute a lasting memorial to the author's success in recasting the ideas drawn from sources both far and near. And if Shakespeare did so, why should not we?

## Let Your Light Shine Before Men.

Under the ægis of Shakespeare one need have no hesitation in referring to another feature, that of "Co-operation Day," an annual celebration inaugurated in several Russian towns within recent years with huge success, and conducted in a manner calculated to capture public attention, and to make co-operation the predominant local topic for a year and a day. All this shows the advantage of letting your light shine before men—a habit all the more necessary in a world where all the resources of civilisation are ransacked for new devices to arrest the eye, and to divert public attention from co-operative enterprise. Hence the need for societies to be ever on the alert, with counter-measures calculated to make their mark. The art of advertising should be made a co-operative speciality. In this connection one measure suggests itself as a trump card for societies: that is, the periodical publication and billposting of comparative figures illustrating in a list of commodities the harvest of advantages reaped by stores' members. Arrest every eye with a proclamation of the actual and potential savings to be gained by the working-class population, individually and collectively, by dealing with the stores, and there you score a strong point. And, here, altruistic considerations suggest the advisability of affording to others the pleasure of following up this train of thought.

Meantime, as the art of perfection takes æons to master, it would appear that there is always some scope for improvement even on indigenous lines. For instance, if programmes or principles were to be made universally the determining issues when elections of board members take place, the change might have a rousing effect, and the "Forward" policy could hardly fail to be the gainer thereby.

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## THE DEMOBILISATION PROBLEM AS IT CONCERNS WOMEN.

**T**O what extent women are concerned in the demobilisation problem may be realised from the following facts: Of the 4,500,000 engaged in industry to-day nearly 1½ millions are doing men's work. Thus, a million women have been engaged on munitions; 316,000 in food production, of whom 16,000 are in the land army; 65,000 have been occupied in the railway service; 30,000 on 'buses and other vehicles; 72,000 in banking and finance; and 1,250,000 on Government work. If the majority of these women desire to remain in industry, as is probable, the proper thing will be to find them alternative employment whenever they are compelled to vacate their present positions.

## THE ART OF MANAGEMENT.

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THE art of management consists in two things: first, in securing the largest possible membership and trade, and, second, in keeping them. Next to this comes the art of storekeeping, the art which consists in getting people into the store and then in getting them out.

Thus in the art of management there is nothing occult. It is simply summed-up in good managers—managers with a keen eye to the extension of enterprise, the selection of men, and the organisation of affairs from buying to selling and from shop arranging to service. In short, the managerial post in a society with multiple stores is one calling for capacities of no common order—capacities in which initiative and directive ability take the leading place. As the initiator and director of operations it is essential that the manager should have free and full scope for the exercise of his talents and the discharge of his functions. Hence the necessity of leaving detail work to others whose competence forms the necessary guarantee that the work will be efficiently done. Skilled assistants, in fact, are all essential to the skilled manager, and his place is to get them, knowing as he does that shop management is an art in itself and one which takes smart men to perform with efficiency.

### The Matter of Enterprise.

In the matter of enterprise certain specific things come into consideration. To begin with, one may refer to the importance of an amplitude of departments and stores for the maximum satisfaction of wants. In this regard the plethora of private establishments, trading in all sorts of commodities, within range of co-operative stores is sufficient to indicate how much headway co-operative societies still have to make. If a man has a preference for "my lady Nicotine," why can't the stores install the lady in a shop of her own? And if a woman can get her tea and her bacon at the stores, why should she have to go elsewhere to procure a teapot, a kettle, and a frying-pan? True it is that in a large town, with a strong co-operative society, people can fit themselves out to a considerable degree at the central departments. But the multitude of people do not live in the centre of the town, and so it comes about that intending purchasers march off to the private shops in the immediate vicinity of their abodes, and so much trade is lost to the society. Multiply this *ad libitum* and it becomes obvious what co-operative societies could accomplish if they set themselves resolutely to the task. Obstacles there are, of course, but what is co-operation for if not to remove difficulties and to provide every facility for people getting all that they want in a co-operative way?

### Members' Maximum Trade.

Another point worthy of serious attention is the leakage of custom from stores as they stand, in regard to which the average purchases per member afford a clear indication, the average denoting with steely precision the tendency to revolve round a fixed point instead of ascending to the maximum. And, as everyone of experience knows, in a multitude of cases the leakage proceeds from no lack of loyalty to the stores, but from remediable causes. Given the requisite conditions, societies would have the pleasure of witnessing the ascending trend of the average, and in this connection quick service arrangements would go a long way.

### Make Way for Ability.

And another point which challenges regard is the necessity of utilising co-operative brains and ability, which are now apt to drift elsewhere to the detriment of the movement, a circumstance capable of an easy explanation. Capacity must needs seek scope for its exercise; must needs look out for a sphere of activity in which it can do itself justice, and, if possible, receive its due meed of reward. Hence, when capacity finds itself in a *cul-de-sac*, or, as sometimes occurs, is stopped on the threshold, there comes the impulse to turn one's footsteps elsewhere. As for the remedy, that is as obvious as the cause. Fling the doors wide open to ability and give it free scope. Let it be known and recognised that co-operation stands for *la carrière ouverte aux talents* (career open to talent), and the movement will be all the gainer thereby. Whatever the movement economises in it cannot afford to economise in capacity, which always pays for itself and repays any extra cost.

On all hands there is a national consensus that the war signifies a break with the past and its rule-of-thumb methods, that science and talent shall come into their own, and that the nation shall rise to heights of efficiency never before dreamed of. In view of this transformation of outlook the co-operative movement, which has already felt the spirit of the new time, will be put on its mettle as never before. For co-operation, as for the world, the new era bespeaks a new standard of efficiency and a new career of enterprise, demanding the best men and the best methods, and the former comes first—for, given the one, the other shall likewise be given unto you. A fuller comprehension of the bearing of these remarks will be gained by recalling to mind the fact that the utilisation of ability is the master secret of capitalist power. Let but the co-operative movement adopt the same plan and the co-operative commonwealth will cease to remain an ideal, but will in no remote time become a reality.

## THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

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FROM matters of organisation and management we pass on to the question of labour. And here, again, we have got to take stock of first principles, which may be formulated as follows:—

Under capitalism, labour is merely an instrument for the production of profit. Under co-operation, labour is an instrument for the abolition of profit, and for the extirpation of exploitation. The co-operative worker, in a word, is a co-worker in the co-operative cause, and his status is the hall-mark of the co-operative regime, whose declared object is the equitable distribution of wealth and the transformation of work into social service. Thus co-operation in principle stands for the abolition of the labour problem from first stage to last. Yet the labour problem is with us: the Hours and Wages Boards on one hand, and the A.U.C.E. on the other, proclaiming a divergence of forces which ought to be united on behalf of the common cause. True it is that the machinery in the shape of Conciliation Boards (sectional and national), recently established, has worked in the direction of harmony: but, for all that, the labour problem confronts us still.

### A Judicial Solution.

Under the circumstances, suppose for once that we don the wig and gown of the Lord Chief Justice, and deliver judgment as he might after listening with judicial gravity to learned counsel on both sides. "After an impartial consideration of all the evidence it is clear to me that the position is the normal one of employers and employed, in which trade union officials act in the interests of their clients and the boards of societies the same, although employers and employes both belong to the working-class fraternity. The circumstance that pacification machinery has been set up is all to the good, and it would certainly have been no misfortune if the problem had been dealt with earlier on. All the same, in view of the continuance of agitation, it would appear that the solution of the problem remains as yet incomplete. Plainly, what is wanted is a bold and flexible scheme of national application, a scheme according with the economic position and social principles of the movement, as well as with the aspirations of labour, and one calculated to prove as satisfactory in practice as unimpeachable in principle. Hence, on the one hand, it must be a joint scheme, and on the other it must embody the principle of a model wage standard definitely correlated with the cost of living and open to revision at stated periods. A scheme worked out on this basis by representatives of both parties, aided by experts and ratified by Congress and the employes' organisations, would be a boon to the movement, and would give a lead to the country. Morally the movement would gain highly

in prestige, and materially it would reap the advantage in more ways than one. A permanent settlement on a satisfactory basis—such is the achievement which comes within the province of the movement, and by which it may earn a distinguished name in the annals both of co-operation and labour.”

### **The Labour Problem Abroad.**

Not in England alone, but on the Continent also, the conditions of the war-period have brought the co-operative-labour problem to the front, and impelled continental movements one after the other to attempt a solution. With the Russian movement the urge was experienced even before the war broke out, with the result that Congress ratified the principle of mutual agreements in regard to standard rates and conditions, as well as giving a mandate for the settlement of disputes by jointly-elected tribunals, the plan embracing, in addition, a standard working day, arrangements for sick leave and subsistence during periods of illness; for women, sick-leave and support for ten weeks during the period of child-birth; medical attendance for employes, and a pension scheme also. The unfortunate circumstance is that the course of events has interrupted all projects.

Then there is the Norwegian movement, which, in 1916, set up a joint committee for the purpose of mediation, with the regulation that the committee, while taking into account the standard rates prevailing outside, must regard these rates as the minimum.

Holland was the next to take up the question. In 1917 the Dutch Co-operative Congress passed a resolution declaring for model regulations and standard rates. And in 1918 Congress supplemented its action by resolving on the establishment of a joint Co-operative and Trade Union Board for the settlement of disputes.

In 1918, also, the Swiss Co-operative Congress, by a unanimous vote, gave its sanction to the proposal for the entrance into a national co-operative compact with the workers' trade unions, the agreement to be made as soon as the necessary number of societies signified their readiness to headquarters.

In Germany the labour problem was settled some years ago (for normal times at least) by way of joint agreements for a term of years and the setting up of the *Tarifamt*, or Joint Board; similar measures being adopted by the Co-operative Union in Austria at a later date.

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The co-operative journal, *Spolem*, published in Lublin, gives appalling statistics concerning the depopulation of the kingdom of Poland during the war. In July, 1914, there was in the kingdom a total population of 13½ million inhabitants, whereas in 1916 there were only 10 millions; *i.e.*, the population had been depleted by 3½ millions. Out of every 100 men 26 have disappeared, and this brings the total to one-fourth of the former male population. In 1914 Warsaw comprised 881,544 inhabitants, whereas in 1918 the number had been reduced to 666,847.

## CO-OPERATION AS AN ECONOMIC FORCE.

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AS the ideal of the movement is the co-operatisation of trade and industry, so the continuous gaining of ground is essential to the attainment of this ultimate aim. If, however, private enterprise should be speeding ahead at a faster rate than co-operation, the necessity for a new standard of enterprise and for the requisite concentration of strength become clearer than ever. In any case, the time is ripe and over-ripe for consolidation measures, to the end that the movement may go full steam ahead and strike the public imagination by making every store the landmark of the neighbourhood, every society the talk of the town for dimension, extensions, and enterprise, and the co-operative campaign in every sectional area the predominant feature.

### **The Task of Consolidation.**

Yet how much remains to be done may be gauged by the aggregation of societies on the minor scale in many localities, by the overlapping of societies, both large and small, and by the unnecessary multiplicity in every area—all expressive of a huge waste of resources and energy, and proclaiming the need of a metamorphosis before societies in general can rank as exemplars of a movement strong and mighty enough to wipe the floor with all adversaries. Hence the vital importance of a fusion of forces by way of district amalgamations, a fusion signifying the transformation of weakness into strength, and the making of strength still more potent by the gain in economy, by the concentration of financial resources, by the gain in directive ability and in uniform action. When one conjures up the infinite possibilities of achievement by way of territorial consolidation, the impulse to marvel at the persistence of things requires an effort to resist. So patent are the possibilities that whenever descanted on they seldom fail to command a cheerful and smiling assent. But when the question comes to one of consent—well, that is just where the trouble begins, a circumstance clearly pointing to the need of preparatory measures.

### **The Need of Territorial Machinery.**

The absence of territorial machinery for the promotion of territorial economic programmes signifies a yawning gap requiring to be filled in the interests of the larger co-operation. This absence is all the more striking in view of the territorial arrangements for standardising activity and for promoting programmes so far as the non-commercial side of co-operation is concerned. In the matter of economic policy, generally speaking, each society steers its own course and determines its own rate of speed—which is to say that in every section the co-operative societies resemble, not an organised fleet, but a cloud of

vessels, ranging from Dreadnoughts to wooden three-deckers, and with equipments ranging from 150-ton guns to "long Toms," cutlasses, and marline-spikes; some ships under steam, others under sail, and all performing such evolutions as they list in the absence of any common code of action, despite the fact of having a common foe to confront. In this connection there seems a transparent necessity for scrapping obsolete craft, and for the organisation of a navy capable of defeating a greater armada than ever was scattered to the winds in the days of Queen Bess.

### **The Urgency of Comprehensive Measures.**

What is obviously required is a Co-operative Board of Admiralty—in other words, a National Co-operative Commercial Board, as the directive organ of a national policy of commercial organisation and super-organisation for the movement, with sectional and district boards as the necessary complement; and the specific task to make a detailed survey of the co-operative position throughout the country, an estimate of the scope for expansion, as well as of the requirements therefor; and last, but not least, the preparation of programmes necessary for united action and for going ahead full steam.

Apart from all talk of ideals, the urgency of comprehensive measures in the matter of the consolidation of co-operative strength is proclaimed by the following figures. In 1914 the co-operative movement commanded £43,000,000 of share capital and £21,000,000 in loan capital and reserves, or £64,000,000 in all. On the other hand, the number of registered companies (railway companies excluded) increased between 1900 and 1914 from 29,730 to 64,692, whilst their total paid-up capital, amounting in 1900 to £1,622,641,000, had increased by 1914 to £2,531,947,000. That is to say, during the first fourteen years of this century the paid-up capital of registered companies in the United Kingdom (railway companies not counted) increased by an amount equivalent to fourteen times that of the collective co-operative funds in 1914, with the result that in the year mentioned the registered companies commanded a paid-up capital 40 times the amount of the collective funds of the movement.

### **The Development of the C.W.S.**

Meanwhile, the development of the C.W.S., both as regards the expansion of trade and the advance of production, is a national co-operative matter, and one which in view of the "Forward" policy of the Wholesale calls for the support of the movement to the fullest extent, inasmuch as the embarkation on a new era of enterprise will call for still larger resources, procurable by ways and means which come within the province of experts to determine. And in this mobilisation of resources there is every reason why every section of the working-class movement should join.

### Alternative Methods of Advance.

The fact that Wholesale developments in different countries are indicative of alternative methods is interesting to note. Thus the C.W.S. advances by the method of making every extension its own—lock, stock, and barrel; whilst in Switzerland the experiment has been made, to a certain extent, of securing a controlling interest in more than one private enterprise. Thus, by becoming the preponderating shareholder in the largest butcher's meat concern in Switzerland, the Swiss Wholesale solved the problem of the meat supply for co-operators at a minimum outlay. And although this is an outstanding instance, other experiments might be cited as well. Needless to say, in the choice of alternatives, resources, requirements, and opportunities are factors which count.

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## CO-OPERATION AS A POLITICAL FORCE.

**A**MONGST the events of the period there have been few more dramatic than the political re-orientation proclaimed in 1917, when the Congress (at Swansea) cast aside its *Cassandras* and *shibboleths*, and blazoned the decision of the movement to take the field as a political force to make Britain a safe place for co-operation. In a manner of speaking, what the submarine policy did for America, the torpedo tactics of co-operation's adversaries did for the movement. The unscrupulous policy of Junkerdom, both in Germany and England, has had the effect of putting forces in motion it had not the wit to foresee. Moreover, the menace of co-operative hostilities proved the prologue to manoeuvres, only too reminiscent of the Teutonic type: avowals of amiability, professions of friendliness and peace palaver, but no hint of any intention to cease the levying of tribute, or to withdraw from co-operative territory except at the Government's convenience and at an indefinite date. Furthermore, the carrying on of an underground intrigue shows how far the parallel holds. In January, 1918, the exposure of this intrigue in the co-operative press, by the publication of a copy of a confidential circular issued from the headquarters of the Liberal Whip, revealed the design to organise a co-operative legion for enemy service, so to speak; the fact of a co-operative functionary's connection with the scheme also showing complicity in the manoeuvre. Then, in February, came a further revelation of forces at work. At the Prestwich by-election—the movement's first outpost engagement—the co-operative candidate, fighting single-handed against the alliance of the anti-co-operative parties, experienced a signal defeat, a circumstance not unremotely connected with active disloyalty in the division to the co-operative cause.

Such lessons point their own moral. They point to the need of bringing home to every co-operator the issues at stake, to the end that in every election in which the movement takes part co-operators shall march to the ballot box and cast their votes as one man. And all this necessitates the establishment of adequate propagandist machinery, as well as the adoption of vigorous measures with regard to intrigues afoot; intrigues which, in view of conference resolutions, constitute a deliberate betrayal of co-operative principles, a deliberate defiance of the will of the movement, and a deliberate design to wreck its policy.

### **Allies and the Why and the Wherefore.**

Next to the evil of intriguers who would lead the movement astray is the mischief of councillors who would have the movement play a lone hand, advice pretty much on a par with suggesting that America should fight her own battle and hold aloof from Great Britain, and so court all conceivable difficulties and prolong the war to infinity. Suffice it to say that the co-operative and labour movements are the natural allies arrayed against the "central powers" of capitalism and landlordism, whose dominance constitutes an eternal menace both to industrial and political democracy, and whose aggressive policy has forced the two movements one after the other to enter the political field against the common enemy. Their foe is the same, their cause is the same, their aims are akin, and, literally speaking, their fundamental unity is proclaimed by their membership being also largely composed of the same individuals; while the record of the Labour Party as the solitary champion of co-operative interests in the House of Commons shows its clear differentiation from all others, and constitutes a guarantee of fidelity which none can dispute. Hence the call to common action is the call of the blood, the call of joint interests and of a joint peril, and as such accords with the dictates of sanity, sound instincts, and common sense.

### **Objections and Bogies.**

As for the objection raised against the entrance of the movement into politics, on the ground that the Labour Party can always be relied upon to defend co-operative interests, it must be said that the facts clearly show that defence is one thing, and advocacy another: and that, in a legislature composed to the greatest extent of hostile interests, the presence of direct representatives as guardians of co-operative welfare, as authorities on co-operative affairs, and as acknowledged spokesmen for the movement, is a necessity both absolute and fundamental.

Another objection which has been compelled to work overtime is of more dubious origin. This is the objection that co-operative politics signify splitting the movement (on the economic plane), and

the fact that the same style of argument was once urged against the entrance of labour into politics has proved no deterrent to its being furbished up again, despite the fact that trade unionism is now stronger than before.

### **Political Aims.**

As a matter of fact, the first principle of co-operative politics is the national consolidation of the movement for the promotion of co-operative objects and the attainment of co-operative aims, which may be categorically stated as follows:—

- (1) The immediate aim: the direct defence of co-operative interests before the Parliamentary tribunal.
- (2) The intermediate aim: to make Britain a safe place for co-operative democracy.
- (3) The ultimate aim: to promote the realisation of the co-operative commonwealth, the ideal with which the movement was founded.

In other words, co-operative representation in Parliament is requisite as a constructive force: requisite, that is to say, for the shaping of legislation in accordance with co-operative principles and for the moulding of the co-operative state.

The bearing of these remarks will be the more easily grasped by recalling the prodigious extent to which the movement is debarred from free development by the fact that it has to operate in an anti-co-operative state—a state in which, normally speaking, the economic and political machinery in the realm is utilised by the dominant forces to maintain and promote the conditions favourable to the growth and development of private interests and the extraction of profit, conditions comprised in the private monopoly of land, of industry and commerce, of financial resources, as well as the monopoly of legislative power and the control of the State. Let the movement turn where it will, it is compelled to pay tribute. Not a rood of ground can it purchase, nor a ship, nor a cargo of grain, nor a wagon of coals, without paying toll to private interests. And in the matter of transport and everything else it is just the same. Not a stride can it take in any direction without paying gate money. But nationalise the land, mines, and railways, let the State and municipalities do their own banking, let the State do for co-operation what co-operation cannot do for itself, and the movement, freed from its shackles, will march on with redoubled strides. All this points to the lines of the political programme, through the materialisation of which the movement may hope to bring about a favourable change of environment.

### **The Movement and the State.**

Time and development have, of course, brought about a re-casting of thought in more ways than one. The conceptions of a self-sufficing

and of an all-sufficing movement are now seen to be the ideas of a bygone age. Self-sufficing the movement can never be, since its welfare is bound up with social arrangements as a whole. Neither can it be all-sufficing, for the reason that developments have shown that the State and municipality have a legitimate field of activity commensurate with public needs as a whole. Municipal and national libraries, for example, stand outside the range of rivalry, and yet at the same time enable co-operative libraries to specialise in co-operative literature and works devoted to the specific needs of the movement. Public education, whatever its defects, is an enterprise transcending the capacity of voluntary organisations; whilst the fact that it forms the indispensable groundwork of educational activities in the co-operative as in every other sphere shows how voluntarism benefits by corporate action; and the fact that the advance of co-operation means the betterment of citizens and the improvement of citizenship shows how corporate action derives benefit from the voluntary organisation of effort. Each is the complement of the other, and both are necessary and essential to the social weal.

### **Political Co-operation Abroad.**

As regards the development of political consciousness, continental movements afford an example, just as the movement in Britain furnishes an illustration of earlier development on the economic plane. Thus in Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy the movements have their Parliamentary advocates. In Belgium the movement is nothing if not politically conscious. In Finland leading co-operators have been in the ranks of the Government; and in Russia, during the Kerensky regime, representative co-operators held important offices in the State. In France the movement made itself felt at the last general election by bringing its influence to bear on candidates for the advantage of co-operation. In Germany and Austria political solidarity is as noticeable in the co-operative ranks as it is in the trade union movement. In fact, the trend of movements to seek for political expression (directly wherever possible, and indirectly through the Labour Parties, where the law blocks the way to direct representation) is practically universal abroad, and now that the movement at home has taken the plunge the trend acquires still greater significance.

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### **GERMAN FACTORIES IN 1918.**

In the course of a letter to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, written in March, 1918, a manufacturer stated:—

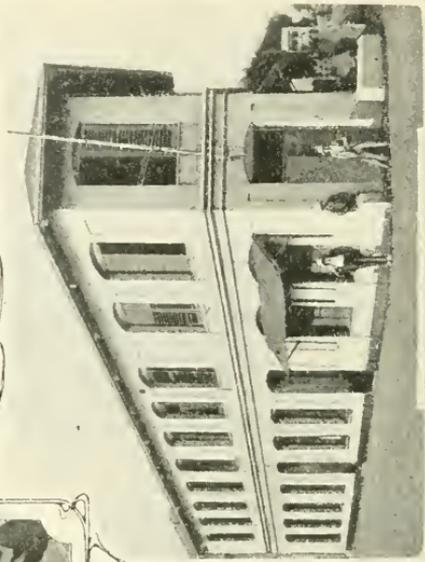
Out of 1,700 spinning and weaving mills only 70 are still running at high pressure, whilst in the boot and shoe industry 1,400 factories have been

amalgamated into 300. In the oil industry 15 factories, working at high pressure, have been formed out of 720 works previously existing. In the silk industry the number of spindles has been reduced from 45,000 to 2,500.

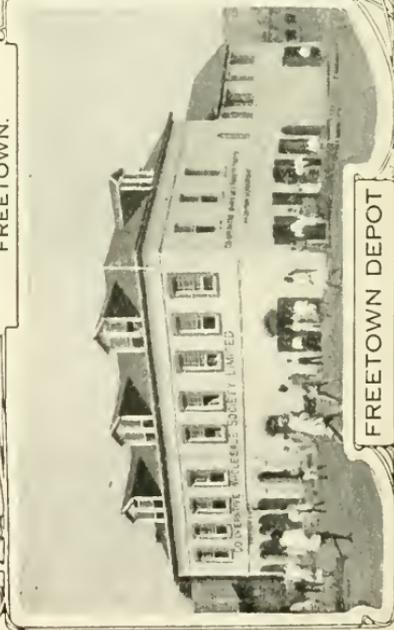
THE  
**CO OPERATIVE  
 WHOLESAL  
 SOCIETY LTD.**  
 IN  
**WEST AFRICA**



STREET SCENE IN  
 FREETOWN.



WAREHOUSE IN  
 LAGOS.



FREETOWN DEPOT

## THE BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

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TO those familiar with the ways of the Co-operative movement the offer of an itinerary would be as fantastic as the carrying of coals to Newcastle, or of antiquities to Stonehenge. But to the uninitiated (otherwise the larger number), struggling with perplexity in the midst of complexity, a few words of guidance will be welcome as the flowers in May, or as a pleasant change in the weather. And the puzzle is easily accounted for, even though there be no accounting for tastes. The fact is that the British co-operative movement, like the British constitution, possesses all the characteristics of a growth according to conditions and circumstances rather than of a structure organised in accordance with a definite, complete, and forethought-out scheme. Starting as the world's co-operative pioneer, the movement had no models to go by, and had to supply its wants as best it could. And so, in true British fashion, successive institutions have been improvised to suit the occasion—and improvised independently, so to speak, and without any particular regard to theoretical symmetry, or to the strict correlation of forces or the dovetailing of parts. The result is, as the neophyte sees it, a vast irregular pile of labyrinthine architecture, on the threshold of which the new-comer halts in bewilderment and breathes a heart-felt prayer for a clue. Hence the following exposition, which may be regarded as the answer thereto.

### The Co-operative Union.

Of the co-operative movement, with its imposing array of societies, the Co-operative Union and the Co-operative Wholesales constitute the two super-organisations, so to speak—organisations corresponding respectively to the psychological and material aspects and activities of the co-operative system. As the national organisation and psychological centre of unity, the Union embraces the retail societies (an inconsiderable number excepted) and the Wholesales (English and Scottish), and in addition thereto a number of other productive societies or federations of various kinds, together with sundry other societies of a miscellaneous character.

### The Congress and the Executive.

As regards the direction of affairs, the Union bears a distant resemblance to the State: the Cabinet having its analogue or homologue in the controlling executive presiding over the permanent staff, whilst Parliament may be said to be featured in the Annual Congress or co-operative legislature; but which, while endowed with the advantages of a single chamber, can enact moral and model ordinances mainly, and so differs from Parliament, whose acts become law—law so stringent that a man disobeys at his peril, and yet so accommodating

as to permit the driving of a coach and four through. Meantime the Union's controlling organ, composed of two boards—the United Board and the Central Board—may be likened to the Cabinet, plus a supervisory Privy Council thrown in. The Central Board (or Privy Council) is formed by the eight Sectional Boards assembling in session—the session usually taking place twice in the year, *i.e.*, once before the meeting of Congress, and once after. In the interval, duties are delegated to the United Board (composed of representatives of the Sectional Boards), which thus constitutes the quasi-permanent administrative organ, and meets several times a year.

What the Union means to the movement is revealed by the functions of the executive, which stands in the position of adviser to Congress and of executor of its mandates. Within the scope of executive duties come the survey of operations and the reporting of progress, the consideration of problems and the drafting out of solutions, and the preparation of projects and their advocacy in the movement after sanction by Congress. Within the movement the promotion of illumination and solidarity is its special task, and outside the movement its duty is to promote the spread of co-operative ideas, to look out for friends, and to keep a vigilant eye on foes. In other words, it exists to keep watch and ward, and to promote the interests and welfare of the movement to the full extent of its power.

Illustrative of these duties are the departmental affairs administered by the various committees of the United Board—that is to say, those of Education, Publications, Joint Propaganda, the Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, and the Committee for Co-operative Defence—in regard to whose composition a reference may also be made. Thus the Central Education Committee embraces, besides representatives of the United Board, representatives of Associations of Educational Committees, together with one from the Women's Guild and another from the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés. The Publications Committee comprises representatives both of the United Board and the Central Education Committee. On the Joint Propaganda Committee the Co-operative Union and the English Co-operative Wholesale are both represented. On the Joint Parliamentary Committee both the English and Scottish Wholesales have representatives as well as the Union. On the Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators representatives of the Union sit together with those of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, whilst the Defence Committee embraces representatives of the Union, the Co-operative Wholesale, and the Productive Federation.

The leading functionary of the Union is the general secretary or chief of the permanent staff, the assistant secretary ranking next in the official hierarchy. Within the category of experts and specialists come the adviser of studies and the labour adviser.

### **The Co-operative Wholesales.**

The Co-operative Wholesales next claim attention as the central economic organs of the movement and universal providers for the multiplicity of their affiliated societies. By reason of its towering proportions the C.W.S. forms the most conspicuous landmark amongst the world's wholesales—the Scottish Wholesale, though of much smaller proportions, coming next thereto. With estates and depôts in three overseas continents, with a striking array of warehouses and industrial establishments at home, and conducting home and foreign commercial operations on a prodigious scale, the C.W.S. in its ramifications, ranging from tea growing, corn milling, and tobacco manufacturing to coal mining, banking, and insurance, stands forth as the collective enterprise of the movement, and as the leading embodiment of the economic struggle for the democratisation of commerce and industry, and for the emancipation of the public from private and predatory interests. Joint action with the Scottish Wholesale in various directions affords evidence of the wider co-operation, whilst the lengthy array of estates and buildings purchased during war-time (particulars of which are given on another page), together with the inauguration of a Publicity Department, signalling itself by new publications—all this is significant as to the forward policy of the C.W.S., whose central offices in Balloon Street, Manchester, with the board, chairman, and general secretary, constitute the head-centre of English co-operative action in the mercantile and industrial sphere.

### **Minor Organisations.**

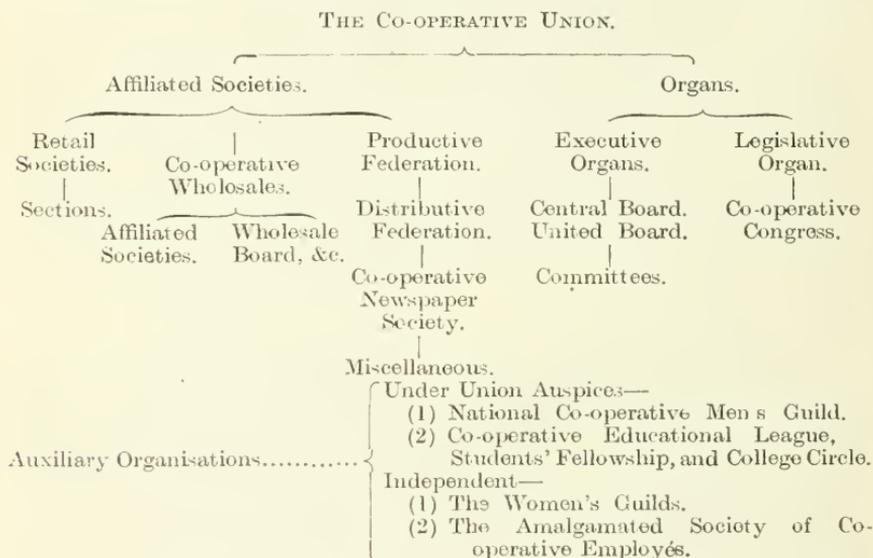
Minor organisations of special types may also be accorded a reference. Of such are the societies comprised within the Co-operative Productive Federation—societies of composite constitution, including workers, private shareholders, and consumers' societies in varying degrees and engaged in undertakings of a diversified character: whilst the Co-operative Newspaper Society, composed of a group of retail societies as well as of productives, may be said to revolve in an orbit of its own.

### **Individual Organisations.**

From the organisations of societies we now turn to the organisations of individuals for specific objects and purposes. In these we behold another phase of the movement. These organisations may broadly be classified as constituting two groups, viz., those coming under the auspices of the Co-operative Union, and those which do not. To the first-named group belong the National Co-operative Men's Guild and the Co-operative Educational League, and also the Students' Fellowship and the Co-operative College Circle. To the

second group belong the Women's Guilds and the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés: the former being specially characterised by their activities for the improvement of women's status inside and outside the co-operative ranks, and their arour in the cause of social reform; in addition to which the Guilds form a bond of social union, and devote themselves to feminine co-operative culture, and the advancement of the movement in general. As for the A.U.C.E., suffice it to say that by a variety of the boards of societies it is regarded as the *enfant terrible* of co-operation, and by the rank and file of employés as a stalwart pioneer of industrial unionism: that is to say, industrial unionism in the British, in contradistinction to the continental, sense of the term.

After the foregoing particulars the table annexed will enable the reader to obtain a comprehensive view of the movement as a whole:—



The subjoined details with regard to the issue of publications will help to elucidate matters still further, and will serve to round off this sketch:—

The Co-operative Union issues:

The Congress Reports.

The Congress Handbooks.

The Co-operative Directory.

Propagandist and Educational Literature.

*The Co-operative Union Quarterly Review* (the official organ of the Union).

*The Co-operative Educator.*

The Co-operative Wholesale issues:

*The Producer* (the technical organ of the movement).

*The Wheatshaf* (a national co-operative record).

*The People's Year Book.*

The Co-operative Newspaper Society issues:

*The Co-operative News.*

*The Millgate Monthly.*

*Our Circle.*

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FRANCE.

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**Establishment of a Council for Developing Co-operation.**

**F**ROM the following announcement made in the *Labour Gazette* it will be seen that the French Government has set an example:—

A French decree, dated February 22nd, 1918, establishes a permanent council, attached to the Ministry of Labour and Social Thrift, whose functions shall be to study all questions relating to the development of the co-operative movement. The Council is to consist of forty-three members, as follows: Fifteen members selected from the Legislature, Government Departments, the Bank of France, and the University Professors of Law; twelve members elected by co-operative distributive societies or federations thereof; a representative of groups of purchasers other than co-operative distributive societies; a person chosen by the Minister from a list put forward by distributive societies; twelve members elected by co-operative productive societies of working-men, a representative selected by the Minister from names put forward by such productive societies; and a representative, also selected by the Minister, from a list supplied by co-operative banks of working-men. Each member is elected for a period of three years. The Council is to be divided into two independent sections, one representing productive and the other distributive co-operation. Each section is to meet separately at least once in each year, or on dates fixed by the chairman, or on demand of half the number of its members. The duty of the Council, or of each section, is to examine questions which shall be submitted to it by the Minister. The Council is to meet in full session on dates to be fixed by ministerial decree. The subjects in respect of which the Council will be asked to give its opinion comprise the following: legislation or administrative regulations directly or indirectly affecting co-operation; the relations of co-operative societies for production and distribution with public authorities generally and with vocational groups; the relations of such societies with other forms of co-operation, and with industry and commerce; and the position of co-operation with respect to the defence of the interests of consumers and of producers.

## CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATION ABROAD.

AT a time when "reconstruction" has become the watchword of British co-operators a brief sketch of the divers types of organisation embodying the constructive ideas of world-wide co-operation can hardly be deemed lacking in interest. So, in default of a Royal Commission, let us, for the nonce, undertake an informal investigation and see how they order matters abroad. Whether the facts prove instructive or not they will be worth the trouble of collection if they add to one's knowledge.

### THE TWO GROUPS.

Continental movements, to begin with, may be divided into two groups. In the first group come the movements in which psychological and material activities are centralised in the Union which carries on the work of propaganda and defence as well as wholesale trading operations. The Unions of Russia, Switzerland, and Sweden fall in this category.

In the second category come the movements in which the Co-operative Wholesale forms a legally distinct entity from the Union as is the case in France, Germany, Holland, and Italy.

### A CENTRALISED TYPE.

As regards the centralised Unions it will suffice if we select the Swiss Union for the purpose of studying the type. In the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies the three links in the chain of co-operative government are the Administrative Committee or Executive, the Supervisory Council or Board of Control, and the Congress or legislative mandatory organ. As the congress elects the supervisory council, so the supervisory council elects the administrative committee or executive. The supervisory council is composed of 21 members, who are elected for three years at the rate of one-third of their number each year. The council's powers include, beside the election of the administrative board and the supervision and control thereof, the appointment of committees and of the higher-salaried members of the staff, the determination of the scale of salaries, the ratification of labour contracts, the purchase of property, the determination of the date and order of congresses, and so forth. The council also fixes its own scale of indemnity, and holds its meetings quarterly, its functions being delegated in the interim to a committee of five of its members (resident in the Union headquarter's area). This committee of five, termed the Bureau du Conseil, is the standing or acting committee of control.

Subordinate to the committee of control is the administrative committee or executive board, consisting of from three to five members,

who, in the capacity of a board of directors, are collectively responsible for the conducting of the operations of the Union and the carrying on of affairs. The affairs of the Union are carried on in three departments, each department having at its head one to three members of the administrative committee. The first department is that of organisation and accountancy, and comprises the sub-departments of banking, accountancy, insurance, printing, construction, and agriculture. The second department is that of the secretaryship and propaganda, and includes the editorial departments of the various periodicals issued by the Union. The third department is that of wholesale enterprise (commercial and manufacturing). From the following list the whole hierarchy of functions and functionaries may be seen at a glance:—

- (1) The co-operative congress.
- (2) The supervisory council; the acting council.
- (3) The administrative committee or executive.
- (4) The three departments: each with members of the administrative committee at its head, and each with its chancellerie and chief; and the Wholesale with two or three chiefs in addition.
- (5) Sub-departments and sub-chiefs.

From the above particulars it will be seen that the Swiss Union presents itself as a type of organisation in which the feature of co-ordination stands out in bold relief.

#### ORGANISATION IN GERMANY.

Coming next to the movements in which the Wholesale Society constitutes a special entity it will be as well to have a glance at the organisation of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies in which the congress, the general council, the supervisory committee, and the Vorstand or executive board constitute the main links in the chain of authority.

The general council (which meets twice a year, once in autumn or in spring and once before the assembling of congress) consists of 120 persons: the nine sectional federations and Co-operative Wholesale being entitled to elect 12 representatives each to the general council; the representatives of the Wholesale being elected by the Wholesale's supervisory committee, while the representatives of the Federations must be members of their respective executive board's supervisory councils.

The supervisory committee of the Central Union is composed of thirteen persons, *i.e.*, nine representatives of the nine Sectional Federations (*i.e.*, one for each federation, the representative of each federation being usually its chairman or vice-chairman), and one representative of the Wholesale, together with three representatives elected by Congress.

The executive board (Vorstand) of the Union consists of seven persons—four honorary members and three salaried officials. These three officials constitute the permanent or acting executive board. The acting executive and the honorary executive meet together as a full board some four times per annum, and the full executive board and the supervisory board assemble together in conclave at similar periods; while the full executive board, the supervisory council, and the general council meet together twice in the year.

Thus the general council and the supervisory committee are pretty much like the central board and the united board of the Co-operative Union in England. It is the executive board which constitutes the special feature of the German Union, constituting as it does a permanent triumvirate, meeting daily for deliberation on current affairs and holding special meetings as occasion requires. The same triumvirate also conducts the affairs of the co-operative press which, though nominally an institution legally distinct from the Union, is made an organic part of the Union by the fact of both institutions having one and the same directorate. As for the honorary members of the executive, who dwell at a distance from the Union's headquarters and so only meet the permanent officials four times a year, it works out that the tasks of the full board are limited to reports with regard to the course of affairs, to resolutions on questions of principle or of special importance and to preparations for the joint sittings of the executive, the supervisory committee, and the general council, as well as for Congress.

With regard to the regional federations it may be stated that the plan of each organisation embraces a conference, a supervisory council, and an executive board. The supervisory councils of the federations are each composed of from five to seven members elected by the districts, which are to a large extent identical with the districts of wholesale purchasing federations.

#### THE GERMAN WHOLESALE.

The Co-operative Wholesale, which is conducted under the form of a limited company affiliated to the Union, is organised after the manner of the regional federations, *i.e.*, with yearly meetings, and with a supervisory council consisting of eighteen members, while the executive board, like that of the Union, consists of a managing triumvirate, in the shape of three directors, with collective control and collective responsibility.

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### WAR DAMAGE IN BELGIUM.

The first inquiry made by the Central Industrial Committee of Belgium estimates the value of damage caused by military operations and the removal of important machinery and of raw material at 6,560 million francs (£262,400,000).

## THE CONTINENTAL CO-OPERATIVE PRESS.

IF one were asked to name the most significant feature of the continental co-operative movements of the present century, the answer would be the advent and growth of the co-operative press. Isolated periodicals there are of course, descending from an earlier period, such as *L' Emancipation de Nîmes*, founded in 1886, and *Les Coopérateurs Belges* (if it has survived the effects of German Kultur), founded in the same year. But periodicals like these cannot be said to stand on the same level as the organ of a movement like *La Cooperazione Italiana* (the official Italian organ), which ranks as the Nestor of national organs of co-operative distributive movements on the Continent, and whose characteristics to-day, after a career of 32 years, proclaim that age cannot wither nor custom stale its missionary fervour nor its infinite capacity for propaganda and agitation.

How truly the official organs of distributive co-operative movements abroad are the product of the century, and to what extent developments have taken place, may be seen from a review of the years in which national organs in various countries first saw the light: Switzerland 1901, Belgium 1902, Austria 1903, Russia 1903, Germany 1904, Holland 1904 (re-organised 1913), Finland 1905, Norway 1906, Bohemia 1909, Sweden 1914.

In France the co-operative press was reorganised in 1912 on the fusion of the neutral and socialist co-operative movements.

Needless to say the diversity of national conditions and temperaments is reflected in the diverse characteristics of the co-operative press just as the diversity of movements is reflected in the number and circulation of periodicals as well as their format ranging from the shape of a magazine to newspaper size. Speaking generally the leading organs show a marked absence of exclusiveness in their attitude to kindred movements, whilst all of them (with scarcely an exception) reveal by the constant record of events pertaining to the movement in other countries, an absence of insularity and a spirit of internationalism which is gratifying to see.

### DIFFERENTIATION AND SPECIALISATION.

From amongst the general characteristics the differentiation and specialisation of organs may be singled out as worthy of particular note—the specialisation taking the form of one periodical dealing with topics and problems of special concern and of another periodical of a popular character and with a propagandist circulation. For examples of this specialisation one may refer to the periodicals of various movements, giving at the same time the names in translated form for convenience.

## The People's Year Book.

	For Special Reading.	For General Reading.
Russia .....	<i>The Union of Consumers</i> .....	<i>Unification</i> (for town s co-operators). <i>The Common Cause</i> (for rural co-operators).
Germany .....	<i>The Co-operative Review</i> .....	<i>The Co-operative People's Journal</i> .
Sweden.....	<i>The Co-operator</i> .....	<i>The Consumer's Journal</i> .
Switzerland .....	<i>The Swiss Consumers' Society</i> ....	<i>The Co-operative People's Journal</i> (for the co-operators of German-speaking Switzerland, and two others for the co-operators of French-speaking and Italian-speaking Switzerland respectively).

This differentiation offers a dual advantage. One periodical specialises in the writings of experts and critics; in the other are the matters of interest to the general co-operative reader. Each type of journal is adapted to a different circle of readers, and each circle finds what it wants without having thrust upon it matters outside the range of its interests. This concentration on matters of interest is also shown conspicuously with regard to news. Here there is no dead weight of items devoid of all interest except to an infinitesimal group. What news there is is calculated to be of interest to the movement at large, and items of purely local interest are rigidly excluded, and the space devoted to information of sufficient importance. Items such as reports of smoking concerts, local entertainments, and minor meetings one may search for in vain. Their appearance in journals catering for a whole movement would be regarded as purely irrelevant. Local organs are regarded as the fit and proper things for local items of news.

### ORGANISATION AND CONTROL.

On the Continent the issue of the official organs of the movements is undertaken by the Unions themselves. How far this is the general rule may be gauged by the fact that in Russia, Finland, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Norway, France, and Italy the organs of the movements are such in the literal sense of the term. Such a thing as an independent official organ would be regarded as a contradiction in terms. Even where (as in Germany) the official organs are issued nominally through the medium of a special organisation, this organisation is controlled by the Union by the fact that the Board of the one is also the Board of the other, whilst the extent to which the movement is directly interested in the publishing concern is shown by the membership, including the Co-operative Wholesale, the sectional federations (through trustees), as well as a host of societies. As was officially stated before the war, the publishing

concern (Verlagsgessellschaft) occupies a special position with regard to the Central Union of German Co-operative Societies. It is not a member of the Central Union, but stands in personal union therewith inasmuch as the executive board (Vorstand) of the Central Union is likewise the executive board of the Verlagsgessellschaft; the supervisory committee of the Union also being the supervisory committee of the Verlagsgessellschaft. All societies of the Central Union are beholden to become members of the concern. The great majority of the societies have already become members, or given in their announcement to become such.

With regard to specific organs abroad it may also be stated that their national status gains an added distinction by the character of the personal control, in other words by the fact that the organs of the movements are controlled by leading men, as in the case of those in France, Germany, Russia, and Denmark, with Daudé-Bancel, Dr. August Müller, V. N. Selheim, and Anders Nielsen respectively, as editors, or as in Italy where Antonio Vergnanini is the director of the organ of the Italian League of Co-operative Societies, or as in Holland, where the chairman of the Union is the chairman of the newspaper committee, or as in Switzerland, where the department of propaganda has as its presiding chiefs B. Jaeggi and Dr. O. Schär, who are likewise the chairman and vice-chairman of the Executive Board of the Union, to say nothing of the fact that the former was until recently a member of the legislature, and that the latter is so at the present time. Hence there is no challenging the fact that organs such as those referred to constitute the authentic voice of respective movements, and carry a special weight of authority.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS IN RUSSIA.

A reference, in conclusion, may be made to the Russian co-operative press, which, like the movement itself, has undergone a surprising expansion of late years. As to the quality the following statement may be allowed to speak for itself: "The general standard of our co-operative literature is high, and its comparison with the co-operative literature of other countries it can sustain with honour to itself. It is permeated with idealistic tendencies, and unweariedly carries on its onerous and important work of promoting the self-determination and spiritualisation of co-operation."

As Russia possesses in the *Co-operative Messenger* (Vvestnik Kooperatsii), the most intellectual co-operative periodical in the world it will be seen that the preceding statement is by no means an overstatement. By the issue of *Vlast Naroda* (The Power of the People), the Council of Co-operative Congresses signalled itself after the Revolution by the establishment of the world's first co-operative daily paper.

## CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES ABROAD, 1918.

A RETROSPECTIVE glance at the constructive tasks engaged in by Continental Congresses during the past year reveals the attention paid to developments in organisation and to the settlement of important problems, which has been a distinguishing feature of the year 1918, notwithstanding the titanic conflict in Europe and all the thunders and reverberations of war.

### HOLLAND.

The measure by which the Dutch Congress (held in Rotterdam on June 22nd last) mainly signalised itself was the resolution for the establishment of a joint Co-operative and Trade Union Wages Board for the settlement of disputes and the promotion of a standard wage scale—a measure which may be regarded as completing the work commenced last year when the Congress emphatically declared in favour of the observance of standard wages and conditions throughout the movement. As the Wages Board was established within a couple of months of the decision of last year's Congress it will be seen that no time was lost. The Congress of 1918 also showed its approval of Women's Guilds by passing (without discussion) a motion urging their extension.

### SWITZERLAND.

At the Congress of the Swiss Co-operative Union (held in Geneva from June 21st to 23rd) a measure for the settlement of the labour problem formed one of the two leading topics of debate, as the outcome of which the Congress unanimously declared in favour of a national compact between the two movements of Co-operation and Trade Unionism with regard to a standard scale of wages (with local variations) for co-operative employees. The second absorbing question was with regard to the collaboration of the two movements in productive enterprise, in which regard the Congress, by resolution, held out the prospect of admitting the Trade Union move-

ment within the sphere of co-operative activity, but at the same time declared for co-operative liberty of action as regards participation in private undertakings. Considering that the Union is the preponderating shareholder in the largest slaughter-house firm in Switzerland, it will be seen that the declaration of Congress was amply justified.

### ITALY.

In Italy the co-ordination of the two co-operative movements of distribution and labour was the question which overshadowed all others at the trio of Congresses held in Milan in July last for the purpose of advancing the collective welfare of the movement as well as of the nations thereof; the National Congress of Distributive Societies being held on July 13th, the National Congress of Societies of Production and Labour on the 14th, and the General Congress of Italian Co-operation on the 15th; and when the programme adopted is carried into effect the outcome will be a movement reinforced in strength and advancing at an accelerated pace. On the lines marked out the unions will retain their autonomy, but co-ordination will be assured by means of a joint committee, whilst the National League of Co-operative Societies will continue as before to act as the initiating and guiding force in the sphere of politics, education, and propaganda.

### SWEDEN.

In Sweden the Congress which assembled in Stockholm from June 26th to 27th concentrated its attention on matters of reorganisation and on the revision of statutes, but in view of the fact that various points were held over for discussion at district conferences, the task of completing the work will have to be undertaken by the Congress of 1919. In the matter of promoting the material and mental development of the movement the Congress showed its wisdom by declaring for the utilising of surplus savings by societies for purposes of

expansion and by recommending that societies should allocate 5 kr. per 1,000 of their profits to a fund to be used partly for educational purposes, and to be administered by the Board of the Union. Considering the importance of the agenda the proceedings passed off with exemplary smoothness and dispatch.

#### RUSSIA.

In contrast with the Congress of 1917, which was held in the jubilant days of the revolutionary era, the Congress of 1918, held in the days of debacle, was mantled in gloom. Nevertheless, the Congress, realising the needs of the time, bent its efforts to the task of giving a lead to the movement and to the nation at large. To co-operative organisations—the only organisations which have survived the universal crash—the Congress sounded a clarion call to apply all their energies to the work of economic and social reconstruction, and at the same time traced out a comprehensive scheme of operations for the utilisation and development of co-operative powers and resources. The measures suggested for the redemption of Russia showed an equally comprehensive grasp. With regard to the political situation, the Congress expressed its attitude in the following terms: "The

Congress calls for the immediate stoppage of civil warfare, rejects a separate peace, and calls for energetic resistance to the enemy and for the immediate restoration of the organs of local government, and demands that the Soviet of People's Commissioners shall at once lay aside its authority. The Congress considers that the immediate renewal of the work of the Constituent Assembly is an obligation at a most harassing period, and that the rallying of all forces for the salvation of the country and of the conquests of the revolution, is the first of its tasks. . . . The Congress calls on members of co-operative organisations to perform their civic duty and to prevent the development of anarchy and internal dissolution by their active intervention in the life of the mass."

#### FRANCE.

The French Co-operative Congress (held in Paris in September) acclaimed the prospect of government aid for the co-operative movement in the great work of economic reconstruction to be undertaken on the advent of peace. The general assembly of the Wholesale also prepared for contingencies by giving the necessary sanction for an increase of capital.

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## WAR-TIME COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES.

Up to April, 1918, no fewer than 270 Commissions and Committees of Inquiry with reference to various matters arising from the war had been appointed by the Government. Since then others have been instituted by various departments, including the Ministry of Food. This has appointed a

#### MILK WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTION SUB-COMMITTEE,

to consider steps for the control or collection, utilisation, and distribution of milk sold by wholesale, and the need for establishing new depots. Mr. W. Buckley is the chairman, the members including Mrs. Cotterell, of the Con-

sumers' Council, and Mr. H. J. Youngs, of the C.W.S.

A Butter and Cheese Imports Committee has been appointed to deal with the import of butter and cheese and their distribution to retailers. Mr. A. W. Lobb, of the C.W.S., is a member.

To the Committee on State and Municipal Housing Bank Facilities, set up by the Local Government Board, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, C.W.S. Bank, has been appointed.

The Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage; one of the members of which is Mr. George Hayhurst, Director of the C.W.S.

## INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895): 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London. S.W.1. Secretary: H. J. May.

### UNITED KINGDOM.

*For a complete list of Co-operative bodies in the United Kingdom see pages 321 to 324.*

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Zentralverband österreichischer Konsumvereine: Kolingasse 19, Vienna. (Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies.) Established 1904.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft österreichischer Konsumvereine: Kolingasse 19, Vienna. (Austrian Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1905.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Lindengasse 5, Vienna. (The General Union is a composite organisation).

Landes Kredit Verband, Ringplatz 10, Lemberg (Galicia). (National Credit Union).

Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszö vetség Foggyasztasi és Ertökcsitö Svövetkezete: Közraktar-utca 34, Budapest. (The Hangya Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1898.

Magyarországi szövctkezctek szövctsege (General Co-operative Union): Ullöi-út 25, Budapest.

Landes Central Kreditgenossenschaft, Baross-utca 13-szam: Budapest. (National Central Credit Society).

Ustředni svaz ceskoslovanských družstev v Praze (Central Association of Czech-Slav Co-operative Societies, Prague). Established 1907.

Velkonákupní společnost konsumních družstev v Praze (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Prague). Established 1909.

### BELGIUM.

Fédération des Sociétés coopératives belges: 48, rue du Rupel, Brussels (established 1901). Secretary: Victor Serwy. Office coopératif belge Brussels.

### DENMARK.

Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Copenhagen. (The Danish Distributive Wholesale.) Established 1896.

Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. (The All-Danish Central Co-operative Board).

### FINLAND.

Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta r.l. (The Finnish Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society): Helsingfors. Established 1904.

Pellervo Society: Helsingfors. Secretary: Onni Kurhunen. (Society for the Promotion and Propagation of Co-operation.) Established 1901.

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- Kultusosuuskuntien Keskuslütto: Djurgardsvägen 1, Helsingfors. Secretary: Wämö Hüpli. (Central Union of Distributive Societies.) Established 1916.
- Suomen Osuustukkukauppa: Broholmsgatan 8, Helsingfors. (Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1917.

### FRANCE.

- Fédération nationale des Cooperatives de Consommation: 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Chairman: Charles Gide. Secretaries: A. Daudé-Bancel and E. Poisson. (National Federation of Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1912.
- Magasin de Gros des Cooperatives de France: 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. (The French Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1913.
- Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production: 44, Rue du Renard, Paris.

### GERMANY.

- Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine: Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. Secretary: Heinrich Kaufmann. (Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1903.
- Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine: Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. (The Wholesale of the Central Union.) Established 1892.
- Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Berlinerstrasse 102, Charlottenburg, Berlin. (The General or Composite Union, founded in 1864 by Schulze-Delitzsch).
- Reichsverband der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften: Bernburgerstrasse 21, Berlin. (Imperial Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1883.
- Generalverband ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland: Dorotheenstrasse 11, Berlin. (The Raiffeisen Organisation.) Established 1877.
- Hauptverband deutscher gewerblichen Genossenschaften: Berlin. (Head Union of German Operative Co-operative Societies.) Established 1901.

### HOLLAND.

- Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Bond: Jan van Nassaustraat 93, The Hague. Secretary: H. van der Mandere. (The Co-operative Union.) Established 1889.
- Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereniging „De Handelskamer“: Ruigeplaatweg 29, Rotterdam. President: J. Warmolts. (The Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1890.
- Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Vrouwenbond. Secretary: Mej. Marg. Meijboom, Westerbro, Rijswijk (Z. H.). (Women's Co-operative Guild).
- Bond van Nederlandsche Arbeiderscoöperaties: Leidschestrant 35, Amsterdam. (Union of Workers' Productive Societies.) Established 1907.
- Bond van Coöperatieve Vereenigingen in Nederland, Hertogenbosch. (R.C. Co-operative Union.) Established 1902.
- Allgemeene Nederlandsche Zuivelbond: Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. (Union of Dairy Societies.) Established 1900.
- Coöperatieve Centrale Boerealeenbank, Eindhoven. (Farmers' Co-operative Credit Bank).

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**ITALY.**

Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative: Via Pace, Milan. (National League of Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.

Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative di Consumo: Milan. (The Italian Wholesale).

**NORWAY.**

Norges Kooperative Landsforening: 4, Kirkegaden, Christiania. Chairman: O Dehli. (The Norwegian Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1906.

**POLAND.**

Związek stowarzyszeń spożywczych: Warsaw. (Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1911.

**ROUMANIA.**

Casa Centrale a Bancilor populare si cooperative tor Satesti: Bucharest. (Co-operative Credit Banking Central.) Established 1903.

**RUSSIA.**

Vserossiiskiy Tsentralny Soyuz Potrebiteľnykh Obshtshostv: Moscow. (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1898.

Komitet o selskyykh 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, 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-Nikolævsk, Siberia.

**SERBIA.**

General Union of Serbian Agricultural Co-operative Societies: Belgrade. Established 1895.

**SPAIN.**

Camara Regional des Societades Cooperativas de Cataluña: Pasaje de San José, Letra D. Barcelona. (Catalonian Wholesale.) Established 1900.

Federacion de las Cooperativas Integrales y Populares: Madrid.

**SWEDEN.**

Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverige: Stadsgården 12, Stockholm. (Co-operative Union and Wholesale of Sweden.) Established 1899.

**SWITZERLAND.**

Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine: Thiersteineralle 14, Bâle. (Union and Wholesale of Swiss Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1890.

Verband Ostschweizerischer landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften: Winterthur. (Union of East Swiss Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.

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**JAPAN.**

Central Union of Distributive and other Co-operative Societies: Tokio.  
Established 1903.

**INDIA.**

Co-operative Union of India: Calcutta.

Dharon Samavaya Ltd.: Calcutta. (Co-operative Wholesale).

**CANADA.**

Canadian Co-operative Concern: Hamilton, Ontario.

Co-operative Union of Canada: 136, Rawdon Street, Brantford, Ontario.

**UNITED STATES.**

Co-operative League of America: 2, West 13th Street, New York.

Pacific Co-operative League. 236, Commercial Street, San Francisco.

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**INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PRESS  
DIRECTORY.**

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**AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.**

**Der Konsumverein:** Vienna. Organ of the Central Union of Austrian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1903. Also **Für Unsere Hausmütter**. Issued as a household supplement to the **Konsumverein**.

**Die Genossenschaft:** Vienna. Official organ of the General Union or Allgemeine Verband. Established 1872.

**Oesterreichische Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaftspresse:** Vienna. Organ of agricultural co-operation. Fortnightly. Established 1904.

**Szovetkezes:** Budapest. Issued by the "Hangya" Wholesale Society. Bi-weekly.

**Mezőgazdak:** Budapest. Organ of agricultural co-operation.

**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.

**Družstevník (Co-operator):** Palackého 63, Prague, Bohemia. Organ of the Union of Czech-Slavonic Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1909. Monthly Supplement: **Průkopník**.

**BELGIUM.**

**La Coopération.** Organ of the Belgian Federation of Co-operative Societies. Established 1902.

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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.

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.

**Kuluttajain Lehti (Consumers' Newspaper):** Helsingfors. Organ of the recently-formed Central Union of Consumers' Societies.

**Pellervo:** Helsingfors. Propagandist organ issued by the Pellervo Society. Established 1900. Editor: Dr. Hannes Gebhard.

FRANCE.

**Action Cooperative:** Paris. Organ of the National Federation of French Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1912. Editors: A. Daudé-Baneel and E. Poisson.

**L'Emancipation:** Nîmes. Journal of Political and social economy. Monthly. Established 1887.

**Le Consommateur:** Paris. Organ of the Consumers' League. Monthly. Established 1911.

**Association Ouvrière:** Paris. Official organ of productive co-operation. Issued three times per month. Established 1894.

GERMANY.

**Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau (Co-operative Review):** Beim Strohhause, Hamburg. Official organ of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1904.

**Konsumgenossenschaftliches Volksblatt (Co-operative People's Journal).** The household propagandist periodical of the Central Union. Established 1904.

**Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen (Journal of Co-operation):** Berlin. Official organ of the Allgemeine Verband—the composite union originally instituted by Schulze-Delitzsch. Weekly. Established 1882. Editor: Dr. Hans Crüger.

**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.

**De Coöperator:** Jan van Nassaustraet 93, The Hague. Official organ of the Co-operative Union of the Netherlands. Fortnightly. Established 1913. A continuance of the Co-operative Monthly, established 1904. Editor: H. Ch. G. J. van der Mandere.

**De Coöperatiegids (Co-operative Guide):** Tolstraat 61, Amsterdam. Organ of the Union of Workers Productive Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1911. Edited by the Board.

**Koöperatief Volksblad (Co-operative People's Journal).** Issued by the Union last named. Bi-monthly. Established 1916. Editor: K. de Boer.

**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.

### ITALY.

**La Cooperazione Italiana:** Via Pace, Milan. Official organ of the National League of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1886. Director: Antonio Vergamini.

### NORWAY.

**Kooperatören:** Kirkegaten 4, Christiania. Organ of the Norwegian Wholesale Co-operative Society. Monthly. Established 1906.

### RUSSIA.

**Soyuz Potrebitelei (Union of Consumers):** Moscow. Organ of the Central Union of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1903.

**Obedinenie (Unification) and Obshtsbe 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. Issued by the Petrograd Section of the Committee for Rural Loan-savings and Industrial Associations. A monthly journal dealing with the theory and practice of co-operation, both in Russia and elsewhere. Established 1909.

**Narodnaya Gazeta (People's Paper):** Kurgan, Western Siberia. Weekly organ of the Siberian Union of Creamery Associations. Established 1906.

**Artelnoe Dyelo:** Petrograd. Monthly organ of the Society for the Promotion of Operative Associations. Established 1915.

**Vyestnik Kustarnoy Promyshlennosti:** Petrograd. Official organ of the Peasant Industries Organisation. Monthly. Established 1913.

**N. B.**—In addition to the above there are about a score of provincial co-operative periodicals. A daily paper, entitled **Vlast Naroda (the Power of the People)**, was established under co-operative auspices in Moscow in 1917.

### RUSSIAN POLAND.

**Spolem:** Warsaw. Organ of Polish Co-operation. Weekly, from July, 1918.

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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.

**SWITZERLAND.**

- Schweiz. Konsum-Verein:** Thiersteinallee 14, Bâle. Official organ of the Swiss Co-operative Union. Weekly. Established 1901. Editor: Dr. Henry Faucherre.
- 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.
- Genossenschafter (Co-operator):** Winterthur. The official organ of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in East Switzerland.

**THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.**

- La Cooperacion Libre:** Martin Garcia 465, Buenos Ayres. Monthly.

**CANADA.**

- Canadian Co-operator:** Brantford, Ontario. Issued under the auspices of the Co-operative Union of Canada. Monthly.

**U.S.A.**

- Co-operative Consumer:** 2, West 13th Street, New York. Published by the Co-operative League of America.
- 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.

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**INQUIRY INTO THE COST OF LIVING.**

Mr. Bonar Law (Chancellor of the Exchequer) announced in the House of Commons on March 21st, 1918, that he had appointed a Committee with the following terms of reference:—To inquire into and report upon (1) the actual increase since June, 1914, in the cost of living to the working classes, and (2) any counter-balancing factors (apart from increases of wages) which may have arisen under war conditions.

The Committee is constituted as follows:—

Lord Sumner (chairman).  
Professor Sir W. J. Ashley.  
Professor A. L. Bowley.  
Mr. W. Coggan.  
Mrs. Knowles.  
Mr. J. J. Mallon.  
Mrs. Pember Reeves.  
Mr. Newton E. Smith.

## 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 Co-operative Newspaper Society Limited. Weekly, 1d. Established 1871. Editor: W. M. Bamford.

**Scottish Co-operator:** 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow. Issued by the S.C.W.S. Weekly, 1d. Established 1900. Editor: Mr. W. Reid.

**Irish Homestead:** 34, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. Official organ of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Weekly, 1d. Established 1895. Editor: G. W. Russell.

**Producer:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Technical organ for the British movement. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly, 2d. Established 1916. Editor: James Haslam.

**Wheatsheaf:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Organ for household propaganda. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly. Established 1897. Editor: Percy Redfern.

**Millgate Monthly:** Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine of progress. Illustrated. Monthly, 3d.

**Our Circle:** Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine for young people. Monthly. Editor: Mrs. A. Bamford-Tomlinson.

**Co-operative Educator:** Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Educational organ of the Co-operative Union Limited. Established December, 1916. Quarterly, 2d. Editor: F. Hall.

**A.U.C.E. Journal:** 22, Long Millgate, Manchester. Official organ of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employés and Allied Workers. Monthly. Editor: A. Hewitt.

**International Co-operative Bulletin:** 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Official organ of the International Co-operative Alliance. Monthly. Established 1908. Editor: H. J. May.

**Russian Co-operator:** Published monthly at 83, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.4, in the interest of Russian co-operation. Established December, 1917.

**The People's Year Book:** 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Published by the C.W.S. and the S.C.W.S.

**Copartnership:** 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. Monthly, 1d.

# CO-OPERATORS

WHO HAVE NOT ALREADY  
JOINED AN APPROVED  
SOCIETY, OR WHO ARE  
ABOUT TO REACH THE  
AGE OF 16 YEARS, SHOULD  
APPLY FOR MEMBERSHIP  
IN THE CO-OPERATIVE  
WHOLESALE SOCIETY'S

## **NATIONAL · HEALTH INSURANCE SECTION**

1, BALLOON STREET : MANCHESTER

YOU MAY OBTAIN APPLI-  
CATION FORM AT THE  
OFFICE OF THE NEAREST  
CO-OPERATIVE STORE.  
APPLY AT ONCE; DON'T  
WAIT UNTIL YOU ARE 16  
YEARS OF AGE.

♦ ♦

Membership, 250,000.  
Benefits Paid, £506,000.  
Invested Funds, £500,000.

Compensation secured for  
Members, £72,000.  
War Pensions granted to  
Members, £70,000.

# Co-operative Movements Abroad.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

### (1) AUSTRIA.

IN Austria the growth of co-operation has been hindered by racial distinctions, and owing to the same circumstance a homogeneous movement has been rendered impossible. Hence the representative Union—the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies, founded in 1904—has never attained to the position of comprising the majority of the whole number of consumers' societies in the country. The following figures show that there has been a growth during the war-period, even though the figures of turnover are in no small measure due to soaring prices:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kroner.	£
1913 .....	463 ...	300,934 ...	97,753,641 ...	4,073,068
1914 .....	508 ...	298,605 ...	94,750,000 ...	3,947,916
1915 .....	476 ...	314,814 ...	101,826,000 ...	4,242,750
1916 .....	— ...	337,003 ...	121,000,000 ...	5,458,333
1917 .....	— ...	367,538 ...	158,000,000 ...	6,583,333

### THE WHOLESALE.

The Wholesale (established in 1905) has had an anxious time for several years. The subjoined figures indicate the upward trend during the war period:—

Year.	Total Turnover.	
	Kroner.	£
1913.....	26,348,429 ...	1,097,851
1914.....	26,802,153 ...	1,116,756
1915.....	28,928,296 ...	1,205,346
1916.....	50,692,772 ...	2,087,199

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

In 1914, co-operation in Austria embraced 19,296 societies of all kinds, of which 15,928 pertained to agriculture, whilst the total of distributive societies was 1,433, or about 6½ per cent of the whole.

### (2) HUNGARY.

In Hungary, the outstanding distributive organisation is the Hangya (Ant) Union of distributive and sales co-operative societies. Though founded in 1890, the Hangya Union had to wait till the dawn of the present century before it entered on that career of expansion

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which has been its characteristic down to the present time, as portrayed in the following figures:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kroner.	£
1900 .....	122 ...	22,500 ...	28,000,000 ...	1,120,000
1912 .....	1,195 ...	182,300 ...	53,400,000 ...	2,136,000
1915 .....	1,307 ...	228,400 ...	77,069,000 ...	3,082,762
1916 .....	1,386 ...	292,000 ...	107,278,800 ...	4,465,783

No fewer than 470 societies have been added between 1914 and 1917.

The subjoined figures show the advance of the Wholesale, an advance unabated apart from a temporary check in the year 1914 when the war broke out:—

Year.	Total Sales of the Wholesale.	
	Kroner.	£
1900.....	1,225,447 ...	51,060
1910.....	19,016,418 ...	792,350
1913.....	30,348,436 ...	1,264,185
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

Besides running various industrial undertakings (including a corn mill and a soap works) through the medium of an auxiliary company, the Hangya is a participator in the Hungarian Export Co. Ltd., founded with a special view to developments after the inauguration of peace.

During the war period, also, the Hangya has shown its munificence by the sums granted for the benefit of war victims, and its public spirit by the contribution of a million kroner (over £41,000) towards the establishment of a co-operative college in Budapest.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

The fact that all the various Unions, distributive, credit, insurance, Raiffeisen, agricultural, &c., are affiliated to the Hungarian Union of Co-operative Societies, which altogether embraces 6,072 societies, signifies a marked development of unification: another illustration of solidarity being found in the fact that there are co-operative representatives in both Houses of the legislature.

THE BALKAN STATES.

The relative position of Serbia, Roumania, and Bulgaria in the matter of distributive co-operation is indicated by pre-war figures—Serbia, with 200 consumers' societies, embracing nearly 10,000 members, and an annual turnover of about £60,000;

Roumania, with 231 societies, comprising about 11,000 members; and Bulgaria, with some 76 societies all told.

On the other hand, agrarian co-operation (especially as regards credit banks) had made notable strides. The probability is that in the era of re-construction, all forms of co-operation in the Balkan States will receive a great impetus.

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## BELGIUM.

At the time these lines are being written all the signs and tokens proclaim the speedy deliverance of Belgium from the German nightmare, after which we shall learn of all the co-operative movement has had to endure during the regime of kultur; and the co-operative bill against Germany for pillage and material damages should prove an interesting item. As regards the crushing blow to co-operative trade, we have a lurid illustration in the reduction of the turnover of the Co-operative Wholesale of the Belgian Union from nearly half a million pounds in 1913 to £80,000 in 1915. Meanwhile, there is evidence to show that the movement has gained in solidarity, and with the advent of peace the 500 and odd distributive societies in Belgium, and especially those of the Belgian Union (which comprise about half the total) will undoubtedly prove a distinct factor in the task of restoration.

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## DENMARK.

In Denmark, the Wholesale Society known as "Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger" (Joint Society for Denmark's Consumption Societies), which was established in 1896, occupies the representative position in the distributive movement, and its record for the century has been one of uninterrupted progress down to last year, when the abnormal conditions of the period brought about a temporary set-back in the matter of sales, but not of membership.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Total Sales of Wholesale.	
			Kroner.	£
1902 .....	791 ...	105,326 ...	16,915,092 ...	939,727
1910 .....	1,259 ...	177,519 ...	46,093,058 ...	2,560,725
1913 .....	1,359 ...	194,337 ...	61,999,490 ...	3,444,416
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 ...	81,510,390 ...	4,695,022
*1917 .....	1,574 ...	245,544 ...	81,581,786 ...	4,532,321

\*In view of the increase of societies and their membership since 1914, up-to-date figures of their collective trade would be of some interest, but unfortunately none are available.

As regards production, the following figures reveal the continuously enlarged scale of the Wholesale's operations down till last year:—

	Kroner.	...	£
1902 .....	1,274,789	...	70,281
1913 .....	10,049,689	...	588,316
1916 .....	17,668,395	...	981,189
1917 .....	16,377,979	...	909,888

The productive establishments comprise a hosiery and a ready-made clothing manufactory, and a cycle works in Copenhagen; a coffee roastery, and a chocolate and a sweetmeat manufactory at Kolding; a cigar and tobacco manufactory at Esbjerg; and a rope walk, a soap works, and margarine and mustard manufactories at Viby. The Wholesale has also a seed-testing and growing farm at Lyngby, and another at Taastrup, held conjointly with the Farmers Seed Supply Society.

Meantime, the further productive undertakings which the Wholesale has had in view—such as a tannery, a boot factory, and a grit mill, as well as a coffee plantation overseas—have all had to be temporarily postponed owing to the circumstances of the war period.

#### THE ALLIED CO-OPERATIVE FORCES.

In Denmark, the co-operation of allied forces is exemplified by the *Andelsudvalget*, or National Co-operative Board, on which the distributive movement, the agricultural purchase societies, the co-operative dairy societies, the butter exporting societies, and the slaughter-house societies are all represented. Herewith are the collective trading figures of the allied forces for recent years:—

Year.	Total Turnover	
	Kroner.	£
1913-14 .....	745,500,000	41,416,000
1914-15 .....	868,600,000	48,265,000
1915-16 .....	1,082,700,000	60,150,000
1916-17 .....	1,157,200,000	64,288,000

#### FINLAND.

The remarkable strides made by the Finnish distributive movement during the present century is indicated by the increase from seven societies, with a total membership of 1,000 and collective sales of £12,000 in the year 1901, to 486 societies with a total membership of 181,752 and a collective turnover of £6,505,933 in 1916, in which year 88 per cent of the societies were affiliated to the representative organisation, the Finnish Wholesale Society (S.O.K.), which, in addition to trading and productive operations, carries on the work of propaganda, and issues the official organs as well.

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### THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

Founded in 1904, the progress of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale (Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta, or, tersely, S.O.K.) has been as follows:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Wholesale Turnover.	
		Finnish Marks.	£
1905.....	27 ...	1,004,000 ...	40,160
1913.....	196 ...	22,968,000 ...	918,720
1914.....	244 ...	24,285,756 ...	971,440
1915.....	341 ...	35,098,521 ...	1,430,940
1916.....	432 ...	72,160,139 ...	2,886,406
1917.....	438 ...	91,121,357 ...	3,644,854

The collective trade of the 438 societies in 1917 amounted to £8,720,000.

In 1916, owing to differences between the urban and rural sections, there was a recession of urban societies and the formation of a separate union (The Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies) which, in March, 1917, embraced 121 societies with a collective membership of close on 90,000—*i.e.*, one-fourth of the distributive societies, with one-half the distributive membership in all Finland. The establishment of an official organ, and subsequently the decision at the end of 1917 to establish a separate wholesale, serve to show that the breach is final. The latest figures, however, show that the old Wholesale has recovered from the double blow of separation and civil warfare. In August, 1918, its affiliated societies had increased to 481, and its turnover showed a 21 per cent increase over the same period in 1917—and this despite a big falling off in the early months of 1918.

## FRANCE.

Distributive Co-operation in France, owing to adverse conditions (political and other), had little opportunity of making its mark until the days of the Third Republic. Hence the modern movement may be said to date back to the revival which took place in the 'eighties of last century—a revival which, however, manifested itself in two movements instead of one, which worked apart till the fusion in 1913 of the neutral and socialistic organisations in the National Federation of Co-operative Societies.

The growth of distributive co-operation as a whole in the present century is shown by the fact that the number of societies nearly doubled, and their turnover nearly quadrupled in the course of a single decade:—

Year.	Total Number of Distributive Societies.	Total Turnover.
		£
1903.....	1,880 ...	3,405,000
1914 (Jan. 1st) .....	3,156 ...	12,608,000

Since the advent of war, the movement has signalled itself by the institution of a considerable number of co-operative restaurants in munition areas.

#### THE FRENCH WHOLESALE.

The French Wholesale, or Magasin de Gros, founded in 1906, had attained a turnover of £440,000 in 1913—the year of its absorption of the Wholesale styled the Co-operative de Gros. On the occupation of French territory by the German armies the Wholesale received a severe blow both by the loss of trade and the loss of two warehouses. The figures since then indicate a marvellous recuperation.

Year.	Turnover.	
	Francs.	£
1906-7.....	1,900,000	76,000
1910-11 .....	10,500,000	420,000
1912-13 .....	10,600,000	424,000
1913-14 .....	13,700,000	548,000
1914-15 .....	9,000,000	360,000
1915-16 .....	12,000,000	480,000
1916-17 .....	26,000,000	1,040,000
1917-18 .....	42,000,000	1,680,000

Apart from the two depots at Chateau-Regnault (Ardennes), and at Lens (Pas-de-Calais), which were lost till the latter end of 1918 by reason of the German occupation, the Wholesale has depots at Montceau-les-Mines, Nantes, Bordeaux, and Lyons, besides boot factories at Fougères, Amiens, and Lillers—the transference of businesses from the last-named places to Fougères during war-time, being a temporary measure. Since the outbreak of war the Wholesale has signalled itself by the institution of co-operative canteens for the army, as well as by the establishment of two frozen meat depots in Paris—a circumstance which has been a boon to the population in view of the high price of ordinary butcher's meat.

#### OTHER FORMS OF CO-OPERATION.

The position of co-operative craft societies—*i.e.*, workmen's productive societies—is indicated by the figures for 1910, recording about 500 societies with a total of membership 20,000, and a collective turnover of £2,500,000.

As regards agrarian co-operation, the following figures indicate the extent before the outbreak of war:—

Cheesemaking Societies .....	1,200
Co-operative Dairies .....	500
Agricultural Sales Societies .....	2,000
Agricultural Purchase and Sales Societies .....	6,500
Co-operative Credit Societies .....	4,700

The purchase and sales societies had a membership of a million, and the credit societies a membership of 100,000.

## GERMANY.

The Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies (Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine), founded in 1903 by societies seceding from the General Union originated by Schulze-Delitzsch, had attained to a membership of 2,052,139, comprised in 1,077 societies, in the year 1913. Herewith is the statistical record during the four years of war:—

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

The societies other than distributive in 1917 numbered 30, with a membership of 9,666, and a turnover of £627,508.

The productive turnover of distributive societies during the period 1914-17, is recorded as follows:—

	Marks.	£
1914 .....	106,389,789	5,319,489
1915 .....	120,070,000	6,003,500
1916 .....	139,752,231	6,987,611
1917 .....	143,599,492	7,179,974

## THE WHOLESALE.

The sales figures of the Wholesale have shown a continuous decline since 1914, whereas, despite two set-backs in the matter of production, the productive figures are twice as large as those for the pre-war year 1913:—

Year.	Wholesale's Turnover.		Wholesale's Production.	
	Marks.	£	Marks.	£
1913 .....	154,047,300	7,702,365	11,076,580	553,829
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

The productive establishments of the Wholesale include three sugar manufactories, a tobacco manufactory, two match factories, and two soap works.

In the banking department the deposits in 1917 amounted to 71,725,623 marks (£3,586,281), as compared with 21,665,170 marks (£1,083,258) in 1914.

## CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE.

According to the figures given in the Year Book of the Imperial Union of German Agricultural Co-operative Societies, the position of

the agricultural co-operative movement in the middle of 1917 was as follows:—

Central Societies .....	95
Savings and Loan Banks .....	12,912
Purchasing Societies .....	2,945
Co-operative Dairies .....	3,594
Miscellaneous Societies .....	4,536
	29,082

The total membership was estimated at 2,800,000, and 330 new societies were recorded for 1916-17 as compared with 197 for 1915-16.

## HOLLAND.

Established in 1889, the Co-operative Union of the Netherlands (Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Bond) comprised in 1899-1900 67 societies with 21,623 members, and in 1909-10 105 societies with a membership of 56,060. During the war period its growth has been as follows:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership of Societies.
1914 .....	162	99,234
1915 .....	151	99,785
1916 .....	161	135,079
1917 .....	160	over 150,000

At the present time the Union is directing its efforts to the establishment of closer relations between the distributive and agricultural productive movements.

### THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

From 1890 down to 1914, that is for nearly a quarter of a century, the Union embraced wholesale affairs in its sphere of activities; but from 1914 the Co-operative Wholesale (Handelskamer) has been conducted as a distinct entity. Herewith are the Wholesale statistics:

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership.	Total Turnover.	
			Florins.	£
1890-91 .....	16	7,110	526,500	42,120
1899-1900 ...	46	16,831	1,006,712	80,537
1909-10 .....	78	48,981	2,656,860	212,549
1913-14 .....	133	90,189	4,561,444	364,915
1915.....	159	111,214	6,236,095	498,888
1916.....	225	143,127	8,977,305	718,184
1917.....	—	—	10,000,298	800,024

The productive establishments of the Handelskamer comprise a soap manufactory near Moerdijk (first established at Rijswijk in 1900), the coffee roastery in Rotterdam (since 1911), and a butcher's meat establishment since 1913.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

The following organisations afford a glimpse of the further ramifications of co-operation: The Union of Netherlandish Labour Co-operative Societies, comprising 38 societies and a membership of 29,084 (1916); The Limburg Union of R.C. Co-op. Societies; The General Dairy Union of the Netherlands, comprising 465 dairies (1914); The Co-operative Central Raiffeisen Bank, embracing 560 banks and 46,000 members (1913); The Co-operative Central Farmers' Loan Bank, comprising 378 banks with 37,663 members (1914); The Co-operative Central and Horticultural Bank (Alkmaar), comprising 36 banks and 3,238 members (1915).

ITALY.

Since the co-operative revival in the 'eighties of last century the distributive movement in Italy has continued to gain ground, and at a rate which, though comparatively slow, may be regarded as sure, as indicated by the comparative figures for the years preceding the advent of Italy into the circle of European belligerents:—

Year.	Total Societies.	Total Reporting.	Total Membership.	Total Turnover.	
				Lire.	£
1910 .....	1,764	1,623	346,474	—	—
1914 .....	2,408	1,970	411,358	156,841,214 ...	6,273,648

Including non-reporting societies, the total turnover was estimated at 180 million lire, or £7,200,000.

The position of the representative Union (the National League of Co-operative Societies, founded in 1887) is indicated by the number of its 2,182 affiliated societies as compared with 1,933 in 1910.

An investigation made in 1918, under the auspices of the League, is indicative of progress made during the war period, inasmuch as the data supplied pointed to a total distributive membership in Italy approximating, in round figures, to half a million. The total number of persons supplied is, however, very much larger—the latest estimate makes it about 4½ million.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

The trade of the Wholesale (Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative di Consumo) though increasing, is far from commensurate with the trade of the movement:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Wholesale Turnover.	
		Lire.	£
1913 .....	—	1,210,000	48,400
1914 .....	—	1,410,000	56,400
1915 .....	210	2,502,170	100,087
1916 .....	314	3,240,000	129,600

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

The following statistics afford a bird's-eye view of the co-operative movements collectively in accordance with their position in 1914:—

	Total Number of Societies.	Number Reporting.	Total Member- ship.	Total Turnover.	
				Lire.	£
Distributive Societies	2,408	1,970	411,358	156,841,214	6,273,648
Production & Labour .	3,015	1,884	257,149	163,732,001	6,549,280
Building .....	751	471	91,812	116,160,073	4,646,403
Agricultural .....	1,143	711	195,766	211,246,782	8,460,591
	7,317	5,036	956,085	648,248,070	25,929,922

The National Co-operative Credit Institute.—The number of societies having relation direct, or indirect through their federations, numbered 1,493 at the end of 1916.

NORWAY.

At the end of 1916 the number of distributive co-operative societies in Norway amounted to 598, of which 521 (or about 87 per cent) have been established during the present century. Of the total number of societies, about a third, with nearly half the collective membership, are affiliated to the Norwegian Co-operative Wholesale Society (Norges Kooperativ Landsforening). The growth of the affiliated societies during the war era is shown as follows:—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kroner.	£
1913.....	136	23,769	9,379,200	521,067
1917.....	237*	59,969	39,866,000	2,214,778

THE WHOLESALE.

The figures of the Wholesale, which commenced operations in 1907, reveal unabated progress down to the present time:—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kroner.	£
1908 .....	615,017	34,168
1910 .....	643,631	35,757
1913 .....	2,437,100	135,394
1914 .....	3,097,017	172,055
1915 .....	4,457,900	247,650
1916 .....	6,021,100	334,505
1917 .....	8,332,311	462,906

The productive operations comprise (in addition to coffee roasting) the manufacture of margarine and of tobacco.

The banking department during 1917 witnessed an increase of deposits to the extent of 43 per cent.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

In 1913, agricultural co-operation in its entirety embraced 757 societies, of which 678 furnishing data had a collective turnover of £2,435,000.

RUSSIA.

Characterised by an abnormal tardiness of growth up to the upheaval of 1905, co-operation in Russia since that epoch-making event has been distinguished by its abnormal rate of advance—how abnormal, is shown by the increase of consumers' societies (numbering 1,000 in 1905) to 10,080 in 1914, and to 20,000 at the beginning of 1917, with an approximate collective membership of 3,000,000. Notable also has been the growth of productive undertakings as revealed by the investigation made by the Central Union of Consumers' Societies in the latter half of 1917—the productive undertakings by distributive organisations numbering 148 of all kinds, and including 19 flour mills, 18 soap works, 15 confectionery manufactories, 14 boot and shoe factories, 11 oil-pressing works, 9 clothing factories, 8 tanneries, 8 typographical printing establishments, 5 brickworks, 3 sawmills, 2 sugar refineries, &c., &c., while the investigation as a whole revealed a total of 416 undertakings belonging, in the overwhelming majority, to distributive and credit organisations, and this exclusive of bread bakeries and dairies, &c.

THE CENTRAL UNION.

The supreme organisation of the distributive movement is the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies: the growth of the Moscow Union having led to its reconstitution under the above title. Founded in 1898, the Union, in 1910, comprised 393 societies, and in 1912, 776. During the war period its advance has been striking:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Wholesale Turnover.	
		Roubles.	£
1913 .....	998 ...	7,985,000 ...	840,526
1914 .....	1,260 ...	10,343,000 ...	1,088,737
1915 .....	1,737 ...	22,800,000 ...	2,400,000
1916 .....	3,164 ...	85,000,000 ...	8,947,368

In the ten months January to October 31st, 1917, its turnover reached 132,378,433 roubles (£13,789,420) as compared with 51,321,512 roubles (£5,345,990) for the same period in the previous year.

For the whole year 1917 the Wholesale turnover has been estimated at over 150 million roubles, or exceeding £15,625,000.

Besides possessing various productive enterprises, the Union, whose seat is in Moscow, has branches in the leading centres, and its trading operations extend from Moscow to Astrakhan and on to Samarcand.

THE MOSCOW NARODNY BANK.

A special factor in the Russian co-operative movement is also the Moscow Narodny Bank (established in 1912), whose enormous expansion of business in recent years is shown by the following turnover:

Year.	Roubles.	£
1915 .....	243,234,650 ...	25,603,647
1916 .....	1,118,463,936 ...	117,733,046
1917 .....over	3,000,000,000	over 312,500,000

CO-OPERATION OF ALL FORMS.

The total membership of all co-operative organisations at the beginning of 1917 was estimated at 13,000,000. The subjoined table shows the growth of co-operation in its various branches:—

Societies.	1905.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Credit & Loan-Sav'gs	1,434	12,751	14,350	15,450	16,057
Consumers'.....	1,000	10,080	10,900	15,205	20,000
Agricultural .....	1,275	5,000	5,000	5,500	6,000
Kustar Artels and Butter-making .....	2,000	3,000	3,300	3,600	4,000
Total .....	5,709	30,831	33,550	39,755	46,057

For the movement in its entirety the psychological centre and organ is the All-Russian Co-operative Congressional Council. How far the movement has been effected by the internecine struggle in Russia will be known later on.

SIBERIA.

Co-operative developments in Siberia also merit a reference. As the first illustration of these developments we may take the the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations (founded at Kurgan in 1908), which, in 1916, mustered 1,000 creameries and 800 stores, and had a turnover of £7,684,000; whilst in 1917 the sales of butter for 10½ months approximated to £10,750,000.

The second illustration is afforded by the Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupsbyt," founded in May, 1916, as a purchasing and sales institution for the affiliated Unions as well as for the promotion of development in every necessary way. On the one hand the Zakupsbyt disposes of dairy produce, fish and raw materials, and on the other hand supplies the affiliated organisation with their requisites. It comprises some 29 Unions, embracing 8,362 societies with a collective membership of 1,728,000. In 1917 its turnover in the matter of goods bought and delivered amounted to

over 40,000,000 roubles, or about £4,167,600. The Union has also established agencies in London, Copenhagen, and New York.

## SWEDEN.

Of the 633 co-operative distributive societies in Sweden in 1913, the Co-operative Union (Kooperativa Förbundet), founded in 1899, embraced over four-fifths. From 1913 onward the Union's progress is expressed as follows:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies Reporting.	Membership.	Turnover of Societies.	
				Kronor.	£
1913 .....	560	409	103,369	32,710,818	1,817,268
1914 .....	583	537	111,293	39,466,473	2,192,582
1915 .....	687	581	127,876	54,608,695	3,033,816
1916 .....	785	737	169,063	81,661,807	4,536,767
1917 .....	849	—	177,473	—	—

The Union has also, through the medium of its affiliated Insurance Societies, an insurance membership which amounted to 77,946 in 1916—an advance of over 18,000 during the course of the year.

### THE UNION'S WHOLESALE.

Commencing operations in 1903 the Wholesale, by the end of its first decade, showed a turnover of £423,406. In 1917 it experienced the first set-back during the war period:—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kronor.	£
1913.....	7,621,304	423,406
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

For 1917 the savings bank recorded 16,849 depositors, and £291,469 in deposits, as compared with 9,772 depositors, and £100,940 in deposits for 1913.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

Outside the distributive sphere 4,000 societies of all kinds may be given as a rough estimate in the absence of precise statistics.

## SWITZERLAND.

The Distributive Co-operative movement in Switzerland which was the pioneer of the Rochdale system on the Continent, is represented by the Union of Swiss Consumers Societies (Verband Schweiz. Konsum-vereine, or V.S.K.). In 1890, the year of its establishment, the Union had 43 societies, and its growth since then is indicated by the following figures: In 1900, 116 societies; in 1910, 328; in

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1911, 350; in 1912, 369; in 1913, 387; in 1914, 396; in 1915, 407; in 1916, 421; and in 1917, 434. Herewith are fuller figures for the two latest years for which data are available:—

Year.	Total of Societies.	Societies Reporting.	Total Membership.	Collective Turnover.	
				Francs.	£
1916 .....	421	407	305,326	159,799,945	6,391,998
1917 .....	434	422	324,948	197,435,555	7,897,422

THE WHOLESALE.

The Union commenced Wholesale trading in 1893, and from that year down to the present time larger figures of turnover have been an annual event. The growth of the Wholesale trade is indicated as follows:—

Year.	Wholesale Trade.	
	Francs.	£
1893.....	386,524	15,461
1900.....	3,657,366	146,295
1910.....	27,765,801	1,110,632
1913.....	44,400,428	1,776,017
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

The productive enterprises of the Union comprise a boot and shoe manufactory, a spice mill, a coffee roastery, and an establishment for the manufacture of pickled cabbage. During the war period, operations have been extended to the sphere of agriculture by the acquirement of four estates (two in 1916, and two others in 1917), the whole embracing 220 hectares, or about 550 acres.

The movement likewise possesses two flour mills (run as separate undertakings), one at Zurich, and the other near Lake Lemán—the latter being established in 1917. And besides being the chief shareholder in the chief butcher's meat firm in Switzerland, is also a partner in various other private enterprises.

OTHER BRANCHES OF CO-OPERATION.

The general growth of co-operation in Switzerland is shown by the total of societies of all kinds (including distributive) amounting to 9,693 in 1916, as against 9,263 in 1915, and 6,841 in 1910. The cheese and milk converting societies in 1916 were nearly 2,500.

Under the initiative of the Co-operative Union, a co-operative mutual insurance society was founded in 1917.

SPAIN.

In Spain, the chief stronghold of distributive co-operation is the industrial province of Catalonia, wherein the progress made between 1906 and 1914 is betokened by the increase from 150

societies with a total membership of 8,000 and a collective turnover of £400,000, to 308 societies with a collective membership of 27,947 and a total turnover of nearly £600,000: whilst the re-institution of the Co-operative Congress in 1913 and the opening of a new regional wholesale in 1915 constitute further indications of the "forward movement" in Catalonia. But taking Spain as a whole, the existence of three separate co-operative movements—neutral, socialist, and clericalist—bespeaks an absence of unity by no means conducive to strength.

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## AUSTRALIA.

In Australia, distributive co-operation is still in the sectional stage—a circumstance not surprising considering the youth of the movement and the vast extent of the territory. That co-operation is moving, however, is shown by the foundation some four years ago of a Wholesale at Newcastle for the societies in New South Wales, and by the movement on foot for the establishment of a Wholesale in Adelaide for the societies in South Australia.

Meanwhile, agrarian co-operation (the sales organisations of which in Australia have now a collective turnover of £11,000,000 or £12,000,000) has led the way in the matter of unification, as shown by the first inter-state conference of co-operative companies held at Melbourne, May 14th to 16th, 1918, and opened by the Governor-General, at which conference it was decided to establish a Federal Wholesale Society under the title of "The Australian Producers Wholesale Co-operative Federation, Ltd.," with a nominal capital of £50,000 in 5,000 shares of £10 each.

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## CANADA.

During the present century distributive co-operation has taken root in Canada, and mainly in the province of Ontario, though the fact that there are half-a-dozen stores in the mining district of Nova Scotia and one even in Vancouver, shows that co-operation is represented also as far as the extreme east and the extreme west. For the last ten years there has been an organisation engaged in the promotion of unification, and the fact that this organisation now embraces representative societies in nearly every province of the Dominion, shows the progress being made.

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## AMERICA.

The advance of co-operation in the United States since the dawn of the century is indicated by the advent of promotive

agencies such as the Right Relationship League (1900), and the National Co-operative League (1904), together with the increase of distributive stores from 343 in 1905 to three times that number or more at the present time. Meanwhile the aspirations towards national unity have been revealed by the National Convention of Co-operators held at St. Louis in 1904 (which eventuated in the foundation of the National Co-operative League), and the National Convention of American Consumers' Co-operative Societies, held in Springfield, Illinois, in September, 1918. The latter Congress would appear to foreshadow the realisation of the aspiration long held, *i.e.*, the formation of an American Co-operative Union embracing all the distributive societies from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Coast, and bringing American co-operation within the circle of organised world movements.

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## MEXICO.

Co-operation in Mexico is in its early infancy, a fact by no means surprising considering the troubled history of the State. That there is evidence of growth, however, is indicated by the record of the leading society—the National Co-operative Society—founded in the city of Mexico in 1915 with a loan capital of 100,000 pesos (£10,000), and which nine months afterwards was in a position to pay back the capital lent by the government. According to recent information the Society has 13 branches, a staff of 200 employees, and a membership of 4,200. The running of co-operative candidates for the City Council has also met with success.

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## THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

Distributive Co-operation is represented in the Argentine as yet by a few societies, chief among which is the society in Buenos Ayres known as The "Worker's Household" Credit, Building and Distributive Co-operative Society (El Hogar obrero Cooperativo de credito, edificacion y consumo), and which was founded in 1905. In 1916 the Society possessed over 3,000 members, and in 1918 between 5,000 and 6,000. The Society commenced storekeeping in 1911, and at the present time runs an up-to-date bakery, engages in the work of co-operative insurance, and conducts a monthly periodical as part of its multifarious operations.

## AN INTERNATIONAL WHOLESALE.

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**I**N the way of international development the most notable event of the year 1918 has been the initiation of an international importing Wholesale for the Wholesales of the four northern lands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The initiative was taken by the Board of the Swedish Union, and the outcome of negotiations and of the ratification of arrangements by the respective Co-operative Congresses is the "Nordisk Andelsforbund," or Northern Co-operative Union, which will conduct operations from Copenhagen, as the most convenient centre for the benefit of the four northern Wholesales whose collective trade is estimated at 165 million kr., or over £9,000,000, and whose collective capital amounts to a sum nearly equivalent to 2¼ million pounds.

The Northern Co-operative Union will commence in a modest way with an initial capital of a million kr., *i.e.*, something over £55,000, and its operations, to begin with, will comprise the import of the most necessary commodities, such as coffee, rice, fruits, groceries, &c.—commodities which in pre-war time were purchased by the Wholesales individually through agents in London, Hamburg, and other places. Should developments proceed according to anticipation the scope of operations will be enlarged so as to embrace plantations, shipping, manufacture, and so forth. Meanwhile the Northern Union is to be conducted on co-operative business principles. Each of the connected Wholesales will be a shareholder proportionally to its trade, and after the International Wholesale has commenced operations the representation of the individual Wholesales will be based on their purchases through the institution. Co-operators throughout the world will watch the enterprise with keen interest and wish it every success.

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## INQUIRY COMMITTEE ON WAGE AWARDS.

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The appointment of an inquiry committee (with Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., as chairman), composed of representatives of employers and trade unions, besides representatives of the Government departments concerned, for the purpose of throwing light on the question of wage awards, points to the importance of this specific problem in relation to the policy of reconstruction. The committee will investigate the following specific points:—

1. Whether the compulsory operation of awards made under the

Munitions of War Acts, of Orders extending such awards, and of Orders regulating wages made under these Acts, should be continued after the war.

2. Whether the power to make such awards or Orders should be continued after the war.

3. The manner in which awards and Orders, if made or continued, should be enforced after the war, and for what period.

## BRITISH AFFORESTATION.

### Good Opportunity for State Enterprise.

WHAT an essential commodity timber really is has been amply demonstrated during the war. Without it we could not possibly have housed during the period of training the millions of men who have passed into our armies, nor have had transported to them the vast quantities of ammunition, food, clothing, and other supplies required on the various battle fronts. The experience of the past four and a half years has again directed attention to the question of afforestation—a subject that has been periodically “sat on” by Commissions and Inquiry Committees for generations. In the past these Commissions have duly issued reports, making academical recommendations, but, beyond that, next to nothing of practical value has been accomplished.

The latest inquiry—born of war experiences—is that of the Forestry Sub-committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, appointed in July, 1916. The committee was composed of fourteen gentlemen, and its terms of reference were “to consider and report upon the best means of conserving and developing the woodland and forestry resources of the United Kingdom, having regard to the experience gained during the war.” The committee duly issued a report in May, 1917, and a final report has been published this year.

Before dealing with the report it will be an advantage to examine briefly, and by means of statistical illustration, the position of the timber supplies of this country previous to 1914: importations, home production comparison with other countries, &c.

Taking the last completed year before the war, 1913, our timber imports were, approximately, as follows:—

	Loads.
Sawn and Planed Timbers	6,636,137
Hewn and Pitprops.....	4,380,321
Staves, Mahogany, and	
Hardwoods .....	573,353
Total.....	11,589,811

For the year 1917 the imports had fallen to:—

Sawn and Planed Timbers .....	1,720,977
Hewn and Pitprops.....	1,049,150
Staves, Mahogany, and Hardwoods.....	105,016
Total.....	2,875,143

This big decline in the imports was brought about as the result of the appointment of a Timber Control Department and an Advisory Committee, who prohibited all imports of softwoods, except on a licence granted by the Timber Controller. This was considered essential in order to divert tonnage to other purposes, timber being bulky cargo compared with some other commodities urgently required for war purposes.

Importation of timber thus being curtailed, it was necessary that our own resources should be developed. One class of timber in particular was required, namely, pitwood. On a plentiful supply of mining timber depends our coal output. It is estimated that in maintaining an output of 250,000,000 tons of coal about 3,500,000 tons of pitprops and mining timber are consumed. Previous to the war we obtained the bulk of our mining timber from North European countries outside Great Britain. Therefore, it became imperative, when timber imports were so drastically restricted, that we should attempt to tap home sources. Operations were accordingly commenced, and, taking again the two years 1913 and 1917, we find the home productions of *all* classes of timber was approximately:—

1913.....	1,000,000 loads
1917.....	3,500,000 „

This was an increase of three and a half times in 1917 over 1913, and it is estimated, at the rate of felling that has taken place for the ten months, January-October, the production of native timbers for 1918 will be nearly

6,000,000 loads, of which half will be pitwood.

This achievement of production is more remarkable really than the figures indicate. It has been accomplished in the face of extraordinary difficulties, and in the main by men—and women—inexperienced in the handling of native timbers, and with little or no knowledge of forestry or woodcraft. And it is only the beginning—if this country is wise. Conservative estimates put the present available quantity of home-grown pitwood—to name only one class of timber—at more than 18,000,000 loads, exclusive of young plantations not yet of pitwood size. This represents about six years' supply, but practical foresters give a much higher estimate, one authority putting the available quantity as high as twenty years' supply.

The anomalous part of the situation is that we were, just previous to August, 1914, paying about £40,000,000 a year for imported timbers, a big proportion of which can be grown in the United Kingdom. For our neglect of forestry in the past we have been compelled to pay something like £50,000,000 more for timber imported during the war for smaller quantities, owing to high freights, adverse rate of exchanges, and war risk insurances.

Great Britain, in this matter, has lagged behind almost every other country in the world, as will be seen by the appended table of forest areas in (1) timber-exporting countries and (2) non-exporting countries, who, while having to import a portion of their timber requirements, yet have a considerable home production. The area figures are approximate only, but the timber yield can be taken as fairly accurate according to the Government returns of the countries concerned.

TIMBER EXPORTING COUNTRIES.

	Forest Area in Acres.	Timber Yield in Standards of 165 c. ft.
Russia (European).....	350,000,000	1,500,000
(in Asia).....	250,000,000	
Sweden.....	50,000,000	1,000,000
Finland.....	52,000,000	650,000
Norway.....	20,000,000	350,000
Canada.....	500,000,000	2,500,000
United States.....	550,000,000	20,000,000

Of the non-exporting countries France has about 20,750,000 acres of forests, of which 11 per cent are State forests and 23 per cent communal, the remainder being privately owned but utilised for commercial purposes. From her State and communal forests of about 7,000,000 acres France draws a net revenue of something like £1,000,000 annually. Germany also has vast forests, State owned, and the spruce forests of Saxony are said to be the most productive in Europe. In 70 years the timber yield in Germany and the Prussian States has increased ninefold, and the money yield tenfold. The five chief German States have an annual net income from their forests of £8,000,000. These figures indicate that, properly developed, a policy of State (or State-controlled) forestry can be made an economically sound investment, whilst a comprehensive scheme of afforestation is a measure of national safety.

Experts in both imported and home-grown timbers are unanimous that practically the whole of the softwoods—and many hardwoods—commonly used can be grown within the British Isles. It is stated that three native hardwoods (oak, ash, and elm) are of a quality unsurpassed by any of these varieties imported from abroad. Of the softwoods, Scotch pine and larch are quite equal for most purposes to, and have now been used instead of, Oregon pine, Baltic redwood, or pitch pine; British black spruce is equal to Canadian St. John spruce. Silver fir is another native wood growing to immense size. It is a capital timber for constructional purposes. One could go on and give a whole range of home-grown timbers which are at least equal in every respect—quality, size, and uses—to imported timbers.

The doubt arises in many minds, however, as to whether they can be produced here in sufficient quantities to satisfy our needs. Perhaps not immediately, though the production during the war—purely as an emergency measure, and with all the inexperience, lack of suitable labour, and difficulties of transport—has been

a revelation to those who in the past have scoffed at the idea of Britain's needs being supplied from British forests. The total area of our woodlands of all kinds at present is estimated at a little over 3,000,000 acres, but it is stated by reliable authorities that there are at least another 2,500,000 acres which could be easily and almost immediately brought under afforestation.

The report of the Forestry Sub-committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction emphasises, it is encouraging to note, that forestry demands long views. It points out that home production of timber was less than 8 per cent of the consumption. The area of land capable of growing first-class coniferous (softwood) timber of the same character as that imported is not less than 3,000,000 acres, and probably more than 5,000,000 acres; and 2,000,000 acres could be devoted to timber production without decreasing the home production of meat, and would employ ten times more men on that area. The Forestry Sub-committee therefore recommends that in order to render the United Kingdom independent of imported woods for an emergency period of three years it is necessary, while making due allowance for an improved yield from existing woods, that 1,770,000 acres should be put under afforestation.

Taking eighty years as the average rotation of growth it is proposed that two-thirds of the whole should be planted in the first forty years—planting 200,000 acres the first ten years, 150,000 acres being planted by the State, and 50,000 acres by public bodies and private individuals assisted by grants. The estimated cost for the first ten years is put at £3,425,000, and the committee think it may be necessary to invest £15,000,000 altogether in afforestation during the first forty years, after which time the scheme should be self-supporting.

Such, in brief outline, are the chief recommendations contained in this report. They cannot be said to be very heroic, and the total expenditure over forty years is less than the cost of two days of war.

There are three alternative schemes of afforestation which have been advocated from time to time by those who have given any study to the subject: 1st, entire State owned and controlled; 2nd, leasing land, and paying not only a rent to the land-owner but also a bonus on profits from the undertaking; 3rd, by loans to landowners for planting purposes, to be repaid, after a lapse of forty years, in twenty annual instalments calculated on compound interest at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Of these three proposals the first only is worth real consideration. Not £15,000,000 but £50,000,000 should be invested in the enterprise. Forestry is a real business. Timber is a necessity, as the war has proved conclusively. As stated, this country has been mulcted to the tune of £50,000,000 more for its timber to provide for war purposes than if the timber had been produced in this country, and if foresight had been exercised thirty or forty years ago, or since the Select Committee of 1885 first reported on afforestation from a national standpoint.

The only method, therefore, of securing anything like a satisfactory safeguard against an inadequate supply of timber is a full scheme of State ownership of forests, planted and fostered by well-paid and experienced foresters. To accomplish this a Central State Forestry Department should be set up, with a practical man as head. This Central Board should have ample powers to acquire, compulsorily if need be, all the waste lands suitable for afforestation, as well as the existing woodlands, many of which are being depleted and need replanting. It should establish fully-equipped schools of forestry, demonstration forests for practical training, and nurseries for the cultivation of young plants and seedlings.

Since 1885 there does appear to have been afloat from time to time a hazy idea that afforestation is a desirable field for State enterprise. Small woodlands have been acquired, and forestry schools on a small scale established. In 1899 the first



## Mr. HENRY C. PINGSTONE.

WE record with deep regret the death of Mr. Henry Charles Pingstone, a director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, which occurred in his 79th year, on December 10th, at his residence, "Yew Bank," Brook Road, Heaton Chapel, Manchester. Mr. Pingstone was first elected to the Board in March of 1886, and retiring in June, 1894, obtained re-election in December,



THE LATE MR. H. C. PINGSTONE.

1895. Prior to his appointment on the Board of Directors in 1886, the deceased was a prominent worker in connection with co-operation in Manchester; he had served on the Committee of Management of the Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society, and was President at the time of his promotion to the C.W.S. directorate.

Mr. Pingstone, whilst with the C.W.S., devoted his time to the Grocery Committee, except quite recently when his services had been rendered to the Drapery Committee; his photograph has been omitted from the Committee at the front of this volume, as his death took place before the group was completed. During the past generation he had been a force in the movement as a speaker and often as a writer.

He had a facility of expression which few men possess, and his eloquence and optimism formed a healthy stimulant towards the progress of the movement.

Besides co-operative place and position, Mr. Pingstone had had, to some extent, a useful public career. He was at one time a member of the Manchester City Council, and his commercial association with the city was indicated by his membership of the Board of Directors of the Manchester Ship Canal Company from 1895. In fact, he had shown active interest in this important venture from the initial stages, and he partly represented the co-operative financial support of the enterprise.

# THE TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

THE TOTAL VALUE OF MERCHANDISE CONSIGNED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS  
(INCLUDING PROTECTORATES) IN THE YEARS 1913-1917.

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	£ 290,202,323	£ 296,969,207	£ 380,874,561	£ 419,166,624	£ 454,710,955
Raw Materials and Articles Mainly Unmanufactured	281,822,444	236,531,383	286,569,551	336,791,740	384,798,441
Articles Wholly or Mainly Manufactured	193,602,375	169,490,216	181,450,218	189,194,348	218,564,896
Miscellaneous and Unclassified	3,107,597	2,644,307	2,999,020	3,353,780	6,090,386
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>768,734,739</b>	<b>696,635,113</b>	<b>851,893,350</b>	<b>948,506,492</b>	<b>1,064,164,678</b>

THE TOTAL VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO FOREIGN  
COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS FOR THE FOLLOWING YEARS:—

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	£ 32,587,942	£ 26,948,542	£ 25,081,669	£ 29,495,168	£ 16,331,853
Raw Materials and Articles Mainly Unmanufactured	69,904,992	56,713,082	52,354,040	64,345,098	67,161,795
Articles Wholly or Mainly Manufactured	411,368,358	338,633,564	292,996,785	393,397,751	423,614,198
Miscellaneous and Unclassified	11,383,997	8,426,169	14,505,954	19,044,690	19,971,900
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>525,245,289</b>	<b>430,721,357</b>	<b>384,868,448</b>	<b>506,279,707</b>	<b>527,079,746</b>

THE TOTAL VALUE OF THE EXPORTS OF FOREIGN AND COLONIAL MERCHANDISE FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO FOREIGN  
COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS (INCLUDING PROTECTORATES) FOR THE FOLLOWING YEARS:—

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	£ 15,942,565	£ 17,441,598	£ 22,398,696	£ 21,077,446	£ 7,438,457
Raw Materials and Articles Mainly Unmanufactured	64,037,767	53,858,124	54,587,886	49,136,639	43,374,339
Articles Wholly or Mainly Manufactured	29,457,638	24,089,278	22,017,430	27,248,236	18,794,103
Miscellaneous and Unclassified	137,067	84,866	58,169	103,857	70,062
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>109,575,037</b>	<b>95,474,166</b>	<b>99,062,181</b>	<b>97,566,178</b>	<b>69,677,461</b>

## THE NATIONAL BUDGET.

The following are the figures from the Budgets from 1899-1900 down to 1916-17, showing the money actually received into the Exchequer; also expenditure for each year, with surplus or deficiency. For the latest figures and analysis see article on the Budget for 1918-19, page 161.

Years.	Revenue.			Expenditure.			Surplus (+) or Deficiency (-). £
	Budget Estimate. £	Receipts into Exchequer. £	More (+) or less (-) than Estimate. £	Budget and Supple- mentary Estimates. £	Issues out of the Exchequer (exclusive of Expenditure not chargeable against Revenue). £	More (+) or less (-) than Estimated. £	
1899-1900 ..	120,550,000	129,804,566	+ 9,254,566	144,064,823	143,687,068	- 377,755	- 13,882,502
1900-1 .....	137,151,000	140,124,310	+ 2,973,310	194,230,027	193,331,890	- 898,737	- 53,207,580
1901-2 .....	152,263,000	152,712,089	+ 449,089	206,651,259	205,236,305	- 1,414,954	- 52,524,216
1902-3 .....	161,894,000	161,319,071	- 574,929	195,138,828	194,251,081	- 887,747	- 32,932,010
1903-4 .....	154,052,000	151,340,652	- 2,711,348	158,224,446	156,756,209	- 1,468,237	- 5,415,557
1904-5 .....	153,086,000	153,182,782	+ 96,782	152,776,994	151,768,875	- 1,008,119	+ 1,413,907
1905-6 .....	152,210,000	153,878,865	+ 1,668,865	151,960,528	150,413,245	- 1,547,283	+ 3,465,620
1906-7 .....	152,590,000	155,036,486	+ 2,446,486	152,636,443	149,637,664	- 2,998,779	+ 5,398,822
1907-8 .....	152,835,000	156,537,690	+ 3,702,690	153,444,231	151,812,094	- 1,632,137	+ 4,725,596
1908-9 .....	153,080,000	151,578,295	- 1,501,705	154,321,699	152,292,395	- 2,029,304	+ 714,100
1909-10 .....	162,590,000	131,696,456	- 30,893,544	163,171,000	157,944,611	- 5,226,389	+ 15,606,766
1910-11 .....	*199,791,000	203,850,588	+ 4,059,588	174,129,000	171,995,667	- 2,133,333	+ 6,298,286
1911-12 .....	181,621,000	185,090,285	+ 3,469,285	181,284,000	178,545,099	- 2,739,001	+ 4,547,000
1912-13 .....	187,189,000	188,802,000	+ 1,613,000	191,556,000	188,622,000	- 2,934,000	+ 4,936,000
1913-14 .....	194,825,000	198,243,000	+ 3,418,000	199,011,000	197,493,000	- 1,518,000	+ 333,779,453
1914-15 .....	209,206,000	226,694,080	+ 17,488,080	569,840,000	560,473,533	- 9,366,467	- 1,222,391,552
1915-16 .....	305,014,000	336,766,825	+ 31,752,825	1,589,904,000	1,559,158,377	- 30,745,623	- 1,624,685,128
1916-17 .....	502,275,000	573,427,582	+ 71,152,582	2,236,586,000	2,198,112,710	- 38,473,290	

\* Including arrears of 1909-10, estimated at £30,046,000.

† The Revenue Act, 1911, directed that the income and expenditure of the years 1909-10 and 1910-11 should be aggregated for the purpose of determining the Old Sinking Fund for 1910-11.

# PIGEON CORN

Now that the War is over, we will soon be getting back to normal. The British are a sport-loving people, and no sport was more popular in pre-war times than that connected with "racing" pigeons. The staying properties of the bird largely depend upon the class of corn upon which it is fed. The C.W.S. has made a speciality of Pigeon Corn, which is cleaned, blended, and polished at the Quayside Mill, Newcastle, all grain being properly matured before mixing. When this sport is again allowed we shall be pleased to receive inquiries.

# POULTRY CORN

There is always someone at the top. If you want to reach the top in Egg Production you should feed your fowls on C.W.S. Standard Poultry Corn & Meal.

MANUFACTURED AT THE  
QUAYSIDE MILL  
NEWCASTLE-on-TYNE

C.W.S.

CABINET  
UPHOLSTERY AND  
BEDDING  
DEPARTMENTS

PELAW

MADE UNDER  
TRADE UNION  
CONDITIONS

Our Productions  
SECOND TO  
NONE in Quality  
and Design

## CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

(References to the character and work of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited on pages 58, 65, 66, 67, and 70; Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Limited on pages 75, 82, 83, and 84; to the Co-operative Union Limited on pages 53 and 273.)

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

HOLYOAKE HOUSE, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

Secretary: A. WHITEHEAD.

The Co-operative Union Limited (established 1867) is a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom which conform to the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts. Its functions are propaganda, legal assistance, co-operative education and defence. The annual Co-operative Congress is held under its auspices. The membership in 1917, as given in the statistical report, was as follows:—

	Number of Societies.		Membership of Societies.
Distributive Societies .....	1,366	.....	3,788,490
Distributive Federations.....	5	.....	60
Productive Societies.....	97	.....	36,358
Supply Associations.....	3	.....	8,282
Special Societies .....	4	.....	278
Wholesale Societies.....	3	.....	1,908
	<hr/> 1,478		<hr/> 3,835,376

### WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

28, CHURCH ROW, HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3.

President: Mrs. E. HOOD. Secretary: Miss M. LEWELYN DAVIES.

The Guild was established in 1883, and has the following objects: To organise women, as co-operators, for the study and practise of (1) co-operation and other methods of social reform; (2) improved conditions of domestic life. In April, 1918, it had 666 branches, with a total membership of 28,020. The subjects selected for discussion during the year 1918-19 include the following: (a) "Women and Co-operative Political Action," (b) "Co-operative Democracy," (c) "Co-operative Capital: The Need for Its Increase," (d) "Family Endowment," (e) "International Co-operation and the League of Nations," (f) "National Care of Maternity," (g) "Co-operative Women's Ideas on Housing," (h) "Cash Trading."

### IRISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.

President: Mrs. A. C. HUSBAND.

Secretary: Mrs. GIRVAW, 16, Reid Street, Belfast.

### SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.

President: Mrs. MACDONALD.

Secretary: Miss KATE M. CALLEN, 5, Elliot Street, Anderston, Glasgow.

The Scottish Guild has similar objects to those of the English. In 1918 it had a membership of 17,385 in 201 branches. During the year the membership increased 2,414.

**CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED.**

ALLIANCE CHAMBERS, HORSEFAIR STREET, LEICESTER.

President: COUNCILLOR T. ADAMS. Secretary: R. HALSTEAD.

The objects of the Federation are: To aid co-operative productive societies by united action; to open up a market for the sale of their goods; and to obtain capital for co-operative production. It has a membership of 48 societies, whose trade through the Federation for the year 1917 was £273,317.

**NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION LTD.**

President: THOS. Mc.GHIE (Burnbank, Scotland).

Treasurer: W. J. CURE (Rushden, Northants).

General Secretary: WM. BRADSHAW, J.P. (17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham).

Magazine Editor: C. W. SWINGLER (Birmingham).

Executive Committee: Messrs. DUNSMORE (East Scotland), WINTERBOTTOM (North-Western Grocery Managers), JACKSON (Bristol District Association), WHITNEY (South Wales), KNOT (Newcastle District Association), NEWBOLD (London District Association), PEARSON (North-Western Drapers' Association), RATHBONE (North-Western Boot Association), HELLIWELL (North-Western Tailors' Association), and DAWSON (North-Western Furnishing Association).

The above Association has for its objects the improvement of the status of Co-operative Managers, and the education of Managers and Buyers in technical matters relating to the various businesses they have to control.

**CO-OPERATIVE SECRETARIES' ASSOCIATION.**

President: G. BRIGGS, J.P. (Leeds). Treasurer: W. BENTLEY (Bolton).

Secretary: J. JARMAN, 19, Victoria Road, Stockton Heath, Warrington.

Council: W. R. BLAIR (Liverpool), E. EMERY (Radcliffe and Pilkington), T. HORROCKS (N.-W. Convalescent Homes), J. C. KENWORTHY (Stocksbridge), J. MAGIN (Ashington), A. PICKUP (Birkenhead), J. P. STOPFORD (Blackpool), P. WAIN (New Mills), W. W. WHITTLE (Preston), W. A. WILKINSON (Brighton).  
Membership 450, chiefly in England and Wales.

**CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LIMITED.**

109, CORPORATION STREET, MANCHESTER.

Manager: J. ODGERS. Secretary: T. BRODRICK.

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, &c., and has just acquired the Planet Friendly Assurance Collecting Society. 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 £506,000. The invested funds are £500,000. Compensation to the amount of £72,000 has been secured for members, and war pensions granted to members have totalled £70,000.

*The People's Year Book.*

**CO-OPERATIVE NEWSPAPER SOCIETY LIMITED.**

22, LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER.

Chairman: G. BROWBILL. Secretary: W. M. BAMFORD.

This society is a federation of distributive societies owning the *Co-operative News* and other publications devoted to the co-operative movement.

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**THE RUSSO-BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE INFORMATION BUREAU.**

99, LEMAN STREET, E.I.

Joint Secretaries: I. V. BUBNOFF and FREDERICK ROCKELL.

The Bureau, which is a joint committee of the English, Scottish, and Irish Wholesale Societies, together with Russian co-operative organisations having establishments in London, was instituted to gather information of use to the development of international co-operative trade; and especially with the object of promoting the exchange of productions between the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of the United Kingdom and the great co-operative producing and trading organisations of Russia.

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**THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE AND  
COMMERCIAL EMPLOYÉS 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 Employés' 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 Employés," 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 employés. The membership is 85,000.

The Union is also a State Approved Society, with 33,500 insured members, divided into 26,000 males and 7,500 females. Of the total membership of the A.U.C.E. 22,000 have enlisted in H.M. forces.

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**THE NATIONAL UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE OFFICIALS.**

18, COUNTESS LANE, RADCLIFFE.

President: WM. BRADSHAW, J.P. (Grantham).

Vice-Presidents: GEO. BRIGGS, J.P. (Leeds) and WM. RATHBONE (St. Helens).

Secretary: EDWIN EMERY.

The Union is open to general managers, secretaries, managing secretaries, heads of departments (who are buyers), cashiers, or accountants of co-operative societies.

Objects: (a) The obtaining of the recognition of such rates of wages and conditions of employment as shall seem from time to time desirable; (b) the provision of sick and unemployment benefits for its members; (c) the provision to its members of a sum of money against old age and infirmity; (d) the provision to its members of legal advice and assistance in any time of necessity, so far as the law allows.

The present membership is 516.

## AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

### AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.

QUEEN ANNE'S CHAMBERS, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

Secretary: F. S. GRAFF.

The Agricultural Organisation Society exists for the purpose of advocating the principles of co-operation amongst agriculturists, and of giving advice and assistance in the formation and organisation of properly registered co-operative agricultural societies in suitable districts throughout England and Wales. It does no trade and makes no profits. It is supported by voluntary contributions, but in addition receives grants from the development fund in aid of its work in the general development of agricultural co-operation, and from the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in aid of the promotion of co-operation in connection with small holdings and allotments.

On December 31st, 1917, the number of societies in affiliation was 801, representing a membership of 130,000.

### IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.

THE PLUNKETT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

President: Sir HORACE PLUNKETT, K.C.V.O. Secretary: R. A. ANDERSON.

Founded in 1894 for the organisation of co-operation among Irish farmers and farm labourers. The number of societies in affiliation at the end of 1916 was 958, with a membership of 107,000 farmers and a total turnover of more than £6,000,000. Among these societies are 350 creameries, whose turnover exceeds 4½ 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. 161 agricultural co-operative societies, viz.: 142 purchase, dairy, and poultry societies; 6 stock improvement societies; 7 co-operative creameries, and 6 fruit societies. Their total membership is 10,812, and the turnover in 1917 was £750,000.

## WOMEN'S WORK ORGANISATIONS.

*(References to the Women's Co-operative Guilds will be found under Co-operative Organisations.)*

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, NATIONAL UNION OF, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.—President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.; Hon. Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. Oliver Strachey; Hon. Secretary: Miss Margaret Jones; Secretary Information Bureau: Mrs. Hubback; General Secretary: Miss Jean Agnew.

The objects of the N.U.W.S.S. are (1) To obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men; (2) to obtain all such other reforms—economic, legislative, and social—as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women; (3) to assist women to realise their responsibilities as voters.

C.W.S.

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WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2.—Hon. President: H.E. the Countess of Aberdeen; President: Miss C. Black, Chairman of Executive; Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Walter J. Barton, Miss Jeannette Franklin.

The Council is non-sectarian and independent of political parties. Its objects are to organise and carry out systematic inquiry into the conditions of employment of women in industry; to provide accurate information concerning those conditions; and to take or promote such action resulting from the survey as may seem conducive to their improvement.

WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S.; Hon. Treasurer: Lady Cowan; Secretary: Miss Norah E. Green.

The Union exists to promote co-operation among the various organisations whose object is the welfare of the community; it focuses and redistributes information, and works for the removal of all disabilities of women.

WOMEN'S INSTITUTES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF (ENGLAND AND WALES), 72, Victoria Street, London, W.C.—Chairman: The Lady Denman; Hon. Secretary: Miss Alice Williams.

Women's Institutes are societies of country women formed to bring educational and social advantages to the villages; to promote co-operative enterprises, and to encourage village industries.

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## SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN SOCIETIES.

ANTI-SWEATING LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL, 45, Meeklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: Mr. J. J. Malton.

Object: The securing of a minimum wage.

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, LONDON AND PROVINCIAL, 22A, Regent Street, S.W.1.—President: The Earl of Tankerville; Secretary: Charles W. Forward.

The object of the society is to secure the prohibition by law of the practice commonly called vivisection, by which is understood cruelty perpetrated upon living beings in the name of science.

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, NATIONAL, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Director: Hon. Stephen Coleridge; Acting Secretary: R. S. Wood.

Object: To draw public attention to the iniquity of torturing animals for any purpose, and to lead people to call upon Parliament totally to suppress the practice of vivisection.

CANCER RESEARCH FUND, IMPERIAL, 8-11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.—Director: Dr. J. A. Murray; Secretary: F. G. Hallett.

The scope of the work embraces systematic and detailed investigation of cancer in every part of the Empire as it occurs in the human race and in every species of the vertebrate kingdom.

CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION, THE STATE, 53, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: The Earl of Lytton; Hon. Secretary: Mrs. S. A. Barnett, C.B.E.; Secretary: F. Penrose Philp.

The S.C.A. seeks to secure individual treatment for all children who come under the care of the State. Its main principle is that a home, and not an institution, is the right place in which to rear any normal child.

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**CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAYS FUND**, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—President: The Earl of Athlone; Secretary: Geoffrey Marchand.

To provide a fortnight's country holiday during the summer school holiday for children attending the elementary schools of London.

**COAL SMOKE ABATEMENT SOCIETY**, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: Sir William Richmond, K.C.B., R.A.; Treasurer: Dr. H. A. Des Voeux; Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

This society exists to secure the observance of the existing law in regard to smoke nuisances emanating from factories and industrial concerns; to improve that law, and to promote and encourage all voluntary efforts to abolish coal smoke from dwelling-houses.

**COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY**, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: Lord Eversley; Treasurer: Sir John Brunner, Bart.; Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

The principal objects of the society are to secure and maintain the free and uninterrupted use of all public rights of way (by land and water) and to preserve all commons, village greens, roadside wastes, and ferries. The society acts as a free centre for advice for local authorities and private individuals on all questions in connection with the protection of public rights.

**CREMATION SOCIETY OF ENGLAND**, 324, Regent Street, W.1.—President: Sir Charles Cameron, Bart.; Hon. Secretary: J. C. Swinburne-Hanham.

The society was founded in 1874 by the late Sir Henry Thompson, Bart., to promote cremation as a method of disposing of the dead in a sanitary, reverent, and innocuous manner without danger to the living.

**CRUELTY TO ANIMALS, ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF**, 105, Jermyn Street, S.W.1.—President: The Most Hon. the Marquess of Cambridge, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.; Chairman of Council: Col. Sir E. W. D. Ward, Bart., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., J.P.; Secretary: Captain E. G. Fairholme, O.B.E.

The R.S.P.C.A. has 939 branches and auxiliaries in England and Wales, and 850 Bands of Mercy—the latter being organisations instructing children how to treat animals. The society cautions and gives advice in 25,000 cases annually, and obtains about 5,000 convictions every year. It was the pioneer of humane slaughtering, and 3,000 of its special patent humane appliances for the killing of cattle are in regular use all over the country.

**CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF**, 40, Leicester Square, W.C.2.—Chairman of Executive Committee: Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke; Vice-Chairman: F. P. Whitbread; Deputy Vice-Chairman: C. H. St. John Hornby, Esq.; Director: Robert J. Parr, O.B.E.

During 1917-18 the society dealt with 38,422 cases, involving 112,024 children. The cases of actual cruelty and neglect were less than usual, but those associated with moral wrongs increased.

**EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION**, 34-40, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4.—President: The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.; Secretary: Captain Albert Larking, F.C.I.S.

Objects: Permanent compulsory closing of shops and abolition of Sunday trading. Supported by voluntary contributions.

**FOOD REFORM ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL**, Dabes Inn House, 265, Strand, W.C.2.—Chairman: Major the Hon. Neville S. Lytton; Hon. Secretary: Charles E. Hecht, M.A., M.C.A.

Founded in 1908 to advocate food, cookery, and health reform. It conducts its campaigns by literature, practical demonstrations, and lectures.

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HEALTH SOCIETY, NATIONAL, 53 Berners Street, W.1.—Chairman of Committee: Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D. F.R.S.; Secretary: Miss F. Lankester.

For the training and education of women in the laws of health, &c

HEALTH MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE, NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR, 4, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.—Hon. Secretary: Dr. Eric Pritchard; Secretary: Miss J. Halford.

This league includes the National Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality, the Association of Infant Welfare and Maternity Centres, the National League for Physical Education and Improvement, the Mansion House Council on Health and Housing, the National Baby Week Council and Children's Jewel Fund, the Women's Imperial Health Association, and the National Society of Day Nurseries.

HOLIDAYS ASSOCIATION, CO-OPERATIVE, 225, Brunswick Street, Manchester.—President: Right Hon. Sir Wm. Mather, P.C.; Secretary: H. P. Weston, M.A.

Exists to apply the principle of co-operation to holiday making, and to promote rational enjoyment in a healthy atmosphere by means of holiday guest houses, rambling clubs, &c.

HOLIDAY FELLOWSHIP LTD., THE, "Bryn Corach," Conway, North Wales.—President: Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P.; Secretary: T. A. Leonard.

Aims to organise holiday making, provide for the healthy enjoyment of leisure, encourage the love of the open air, and to promote social and international friendship.

HOWARD ASSOCIATION, THE, 43, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.—Chairman: Henry Gurney; Secretary: Cecil Leeson.

Objects: To promote efficient methods for the prevention and treatment of crime and juvenile delinquency by securing better application of the Probation Act, establishment of certified schools for physically defective offenders, more thorough classification of prisoners, medical—not penal—treatment for epileptic and mentally defective offenders, establishment of police court clinics, adoption of the indeterminate sentence and the parole system.

HUMANE SOCIETY, THE ROYAL, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Admiral Sir G. W. Morant, K.C.B.; Secretary: Major F. A. C. Cloughton.

Rewards those who have bravely saved or attempted to save life from drowning, or from asphyxia, in all British possessions. Encourages swimming exercises at public schools and on training ships, and makes known the best methods of restoring the apparently drowned.

INVALID CHILDREN'S AID ASSOCIATION, THE, 69, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: The Marquis of Aberdeen, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.; Secretary: Mrs. Munro.

To help, supervise, and, if possible, cure seriously invalided and crippled children of the London poor; to give them personal service, convalescent treatment, surgical instruments, and loan of special carriages.

LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION, ROYAL NATIONAL, 22, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Right Hon. the Earl of Waldegrave, P.C., V.P.; Secretary: G. F. Shee, M.A.

MENTAL AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATION, THE, for poor persons convalescent or recovered from institutions for the insane, Church House, Deans Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: The Earl of Meath, K.P.; Secretary: Miss E. D. Vickers.

Objects: To facilitate the re-admission into social life of persons recovered from mental illness and discharged from institutions for the insane, by finding them employment, tools, clothing, and temporary maintenance or convalescence (if required) until self-supporting.

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**PREVENTION OF CONSUMPTION AND OTHER FORMS OF TUBERCULOSIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE,** 20, Hanover Square, W.1.—Patron: H.M. the King; Chairman of Council: Right Hon. the Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Kt., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.; Treasurers: The Lord Glenconner and J. Francis Mason, Esq., M.P.; Hon. Secretary: J. J. Perkins, Esq., M.B., F.R.C.P.

Object: The prevention of tuberculosis.

**PUBLIC MORALS, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF, FOR GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN,** 20, Bedford Square, W.C.1.—President: The Lord Bishop of Birmingham; Chairman: Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.; Director and Secretary: Rev. James Marchant.

Object: The promotion of race regeneration—physical, moral, spiritual.

**RURAL ORGANISATION COUNCIL,** 25, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Hills, M.P.; Treasurer: Sir Owen Philips, K.C.M.G., M.P.; Hon. Secretaries: L. W. Chubb, H. R. Aldridge, Ewart G. Culpin.

This council is composed of delegates appointed by numerous organisations interested in various rural problems, and its object is to improve the conditions of rural life and to promote agricultural prosperity. It holds conferences and arranges deputations in furtherance of its objects.

**VEGETARIAN SOCIETY (NATIONAL), THE,** 257, Deansgate, Manchester.—President: Ernest Bell, M.A.; Secretary: James Hough.

The Vegetarian Society was founded in 1847. It aims to induce habits of abstinence from fish, flesh, and fowl as food.

**VIVISECTION, BRITISH UNION FOR ABOLITION OF,** 32, Charing Cross, S.W.1.—President and Hon. Secretary: Walter R. Hadwen, M.D., J.P.; Treasurer: Viscount Harberton; Secretary: Miss B. E. Kidd.

The Union, being under medical guidance, deals with the anti-vivisection standpoint from the scientific as well as the humanitarian aspect, and gives information on all controversial points. It has over 70 branches, and almost 5,000 members. Monthly periodical, *The Abolitionist*, 2d.

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## INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL BODIES.

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**LABOUR PARTY, THE,** 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.—Secretary: Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

The objects of the Labour Party are: To organise and maintain a political Labour Party and to co-operate with the Trade Union Congress and kindred organisations in joint political or other action; to secure for the producers, by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service, and generally to promote the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people; to take common action with the Labour organisations in the British Dominions and Dependencies, and with the Labour organisations in other countries; and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of freedom and peace.

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**TRADE UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE**, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: G. H. Stuart-Bunning, J.P.; Vice-Chairman: John Hill, J.P.; Secretary: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.

The object of the Congress and Parliamentary Committee is to watch all legislation affecting labour, and initiate such legislation as Congress directs.

At the Jubilee Congress held at Derby in September, 1918, there were 881 delegates, representing 4,532,085 members.

**FABIAN SOCIETY**, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Hon. Secretary: Edward R. Pease; Secretary: W. S. Sanders.

The object of the society is the advocacy of the principles of socialism, largely by educational methods. It publishes its own works, chiefly in a series of Fabian tracts, and it also provides boxes of books on political and social subjects from any standpoint for any organisation, such as a co-operative society or trade union branch. It supplies lecturers, though this side of its work is largely dormant during the war.

**WAR EMERGENCY: WORKERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE**, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: R. Smillie; Secretary: J. S. Middleton.

This committee has been in existence since the beginning of the war, watching working-class interests. It has done useful work in connection with the allowances to soldiers' wives and dependents, the fixing of house rents, and maintaining public action.

**INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY**, 8-9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.—Chairman: Philip Snowden, M.P.; Secretary: Francis Johnson.

The I.L.P. is a political organisation, whose object is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. Towards this end it seeks to spread a knowledge of Socialist principles, and to educate the people in the duties and responsibilities of self-government. In particular it works for the unity of the organised workers, together with men and women of all classes who believe in Socialism, in an independent political party.

**BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY**, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2.—General Secretary: Albert Inkpin.

The object of the Party is the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, and the education of the people in the principles of Socialism.

**TRADE UNIONS, GENERAL FEDERATION OF**, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.1.—Chairman: J. Cross, J.P.; Secretary: W. A. Appleton.

Objects: To uphold the right of combination; to promote just and equitable settlement of industrial disputes; to establish central financial reserves for mutual support.

**LABOUR COPARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION**, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—Hon. Sec.: Aneurin Williams, M.P.; Sec.: Ernest W. Mundy, B.A.

The object of the Association is to bring about an organisation of industry based on the principle of labour copartnership—that is to say, a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profit, capital, control, and responsibility. With this view it seeks (1) in the co-operative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle; (2) in other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit sharing and investment tending in the same direction.

For work in connection with the Copartnership Productive Societies, the Association works with the Co-operative Productive Federation (q.v.), and a joint committee called the Co-operative Copartnership Propaganda Committee has been established to foster all forms of educational work within the movement. The chairman of this is Mr. H. Daniels, Messrs. R. Halstead and E. W. Mundy being the secretaries.

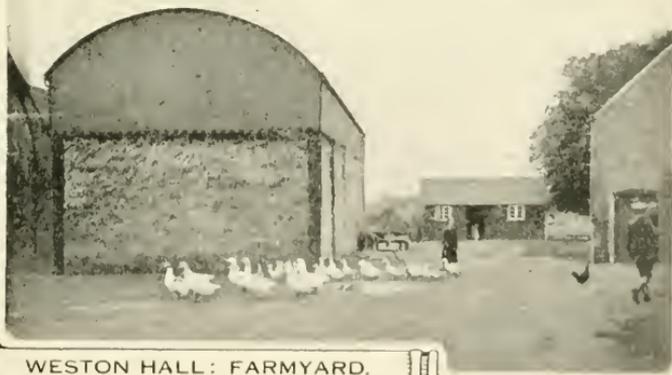
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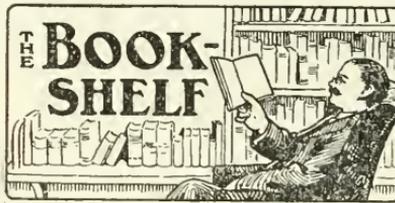


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## *The People's Year Book.*

**INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COUNCIL, THE.** Offices: 2 and 4, Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.—President: Sir Wilfrid Stokes, K.B.E.; Chairman: Ernest J. P. Benn; Hon. Secretary: F. H. Elliott; Secretary: Miss F. Robinson.

This council is a propagandist body for the awakening of national interest to the need for a system of industrial self-government along the lines of the Whitley Report. The goal is nothing less than the complete organisation of every trade—every man in his union, every employer in his association—and from the two an elected trade parliament in each industry, with proper official status and endowed with a full measure of responsibility for the promotion of its common interest.

**RECONSTRUCTION SOCIETY, THE,** 58 and 60, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Chairman: Colonel W. W. Ashley, M.P.; Secretary: C. H. Dant.

A propagandist society, until recently known as the Anti-Socialist Union. Speakers and literature expose the fallacies of Socialism. Reconstruction of the State and the encouragement of harmonious relations between employers and employees are prime objects.

**NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE, THE,** 17, Acacia Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.—Secretary: W. Mellor.

Objects: The abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry through a democratic system of National Guilds working in conjunction with a democratic State.

**INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE, THE,** 56, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: J. Ames.

The aim of the Industrial League is to bring the employer and employed together in an atmosphere conducive to a calm and fruitful discussion of industrial problems in which they are mutually interested.

**LABOUR LEGISLATION, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR (BRITISH SECTION),** 45, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.—President: Sir Thomas Oliver, M.D., F.R.C.P.; Hon. Treasurer: The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Secretary: Miss S. Sangor.

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## SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

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**ASTRONOMICAL ASSOCIATION, BRITISH,** 136, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.4.—President: Sir Frank W. Dyson, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. Astronomer Royal; Secretaries: Walter Heath, M.A., F.R.A.S.; Stanley Maxwell, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S.

Objects: The association of observers, especially the possessors of small telescopes, for mutual help, and their organisation in the work of astronomical observation. The circulation of current astronomical information. The encouragement of a popular interest in astronomy.

**ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL,** Burlington House, W.1.—President: Major P. A. MacMahon, D.Sc., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S.; Secretaries: A. C. D. Crommelin, B.A., D.Sc., and Alfred Fowler, F.R.S.; Foreign Secretary: Arthur Schuster, Sc.D., Ph.D., Sec. R.S.

The society was instituted for the encouragement and promotion of astronomy.

**PLACES OF HISTORIC INTEREST OR NATURAL BEAUTY, THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR,** 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll; Chairman: The Right Hon. the Earl of Plymouth; Secretary: S. H. Hamer.

The Trust endeavours to promote the preservation of, and particularly to acquire, by gift or purchase, places of historic interest or natural beauty, and to hold them in trust for the nation.

## *The People's Year Book.*

METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, 70, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Sir Napier Shaw, F.R.S.; Secretaries: W. W. Bryant, B.A.; W. Vaux Graham, M.Inst. C.E.; Foreign Secretary: R. G. K. Lempfert, M.A., C.B.E.; Assistant Secretary: Lieutenant A. Hampton Brown, R.N.V.R.

Exists for the promotion of the science of meteorology in all its branches.

FIRE PREVENTION COMMITTEE, THE BRITISH, 8, Waterloo Place, S.W.1.—Chairman: Edwin O. Sachs, F.R.S. Ed.; Hon. General Secretary: Ellis Marsland.

Objects: The protection of life and property from fire by the adoption of preventive measures; the investigation of materials, systems of construction and appliances, with the aid of which the annual fire loss can be reduced; the conduct of an inquiry office that provides gratuitous technical information regarding fire safeguards; the establishment of a service of "warnings" for the adoption of simple precautionary measures against fire by the public.

ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE, Burlington House, London, W.1.—President: Sir Arthur Evans, D.Litt., LL.D., Pres.S.A., F.R.S.; President Elect: Hon. Sir Charles A. Parsons, K.C.B., Sc.D., F.R.S.; General Secretaries: Professor W. A. Herdman, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., and Professor H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L., F.R.S.

The association was founded in 1831 to give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry; to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the British Empire with one another and with foreign philosophers; to obtain more general attention for the objects of science and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress. It has since then held successive annual meetings in great provincial centres in the United Kingdom, or in overseas dominions of the Empire. In 1919 it will meet at Bournemouth.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, ROYAL, 16, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.—President (1918): The Hon. Cecil T. Parker; Secretary: Thos. Mc.Row.

The society was founded in 1838, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840. It was formed for the general advancement of English agriculture, and has two sides to its work—the practical and the scientific. The chief feature of the former is the annual show of pedigree livestock and agricultural implements, &c. On the scientific side the services of chemical, botanical, zoological, and veterinary experts are retained for providing the best scientific advice to its members. There is also an experimental farm and pot culture station at Woburn, where investigations to crops, soils, feeding stuffs, and various other matters connected with agriculture are carried on.

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## EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

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HODGSON PRATT MEMORIAL, 60, Knatchbull Road, Camberwell, S.E.5.—President: Sir Henry J. Vansittart Neale, K.C.B.; Hon. Sec.: J. J. Dent.

The Memorial is a society registered to administer the fund raised by co-operative and peace societies, workmen's clubs, and personal friends, with the object of keeping alive the memory of the late Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

CLUB AND INSTITUTE UNION, WORKING MEN'S, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.—President: J. J. Dent; Secretary: B. T. Hall.

A federation of 1,638 working men's clubs and institutes, with 619,000 members, throughout the country.

## *The People's Year Book.*

**ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE LONDON SCHOOL OF (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON),** Clave Market, Kingsway, W.C.2.—Chairman of Governors: Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Bart., M.P.; Director: The Hon. W. P. Reeves, Ph.D.; Secretary: Miss C. S. Mactaggart.

Offers full curricula for the degrees of B.Sc., M.Sc., and D.Sc. in Economics, and for the Academic Diplomas in Geography and in Sociology and Social Administration. It also provides scientific training for those engaged in (1) different branches of public administration, central and local; (2) trade and commerce; (3) railways; (4) accounting; (5) library administration.

The Ratan Tata Department of Social Science and Administration of the University of London is one of the departments of the London School of Economics and Political Science. It gives a sound training in all forms of social work. Head of the Department: Professor E. J. Urwick, M.A.

The British Library of Political Science attached to the school is open, under certain conditions, free to the public.

**EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL,** Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—President: Right Hon. Lord Sheffield; Secretary: A. J. Mundella.

To promote and advance the principles of national education, which shall be efficient, progressive, unsectarian, and under popular control.

**ARTS, ROYAL SOCIETY OF,** John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—President: H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G.; Chairman of Council: Alan A. Campbell Swinton, F.R.S.; Secretary: G. K. Menzies, M.A.; Secretary of Indian and Colonial Sections: S. Digby, C.I.E.

The society was founded in 1754, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1847, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. The Fellows now number about 3,000.

**STATISTICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL,** 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: The Right Hon. Herbert L. Samuel, M.P.; Assistant Secretary: C. M. Kohan, B.A.

The objects of this society, which was founded 1834, are the collection, arrangement, discussion, and publication of facts bearing on the complex relations of modern society in its social, economic, and political aspects, especially facts which can be stated numerically and arranged in tables.

**RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD.**—Chairman of the Governing Council: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.; Principal: H. Sanderson Furniss, M.A.; Secretary: Sam Smith.

Stands for education in the broadest sense of the word, and for the Labour movement, and provides courses of study for residential working-class students, as well as tuition by correspondence.

**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE,** 23, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.—President: Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, P.C., M.P.; Hon. Secretary: J. F. Green, 45, Outer Temple, Strand, London, W.C.; Organising Secretary: A. H. Reed, 23, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

Founded 40 years ago by the late Sir J. R. Seeley for providing non-partisan lectures and addresses on social, economic, political, and historical subjects.

**HOME-READING UNION, NATIONAL,** 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—President: H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argylo; Chairman of Council: Right Rev. J. Percival, D.D.; Chairman of Executive Committee: J. W. Mackail, M.A., LL.D.; Secretary: Miss Swanson.

Formed to guide readers in the use of books; to direct self-education, and to unite readers in circles for mutual stimulus and help.

## The People's Year Book.

VICTORIA LEAGUE, THE, King's Court, 48, The Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: The Dowager Countess of Jersey; Deputy-President: Sir Edward Cook, K.B.E.; Secretary: Miss Drayton, O.B.E.

A non-party Association of British men and women, founded in 1901 in memory of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria, for the purpose of promoting closer union between British subjects living in different parts of the world.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, 16, Harpur Street, Holborn, London, W.C.1.—President: Rev. William Temple, M.A.; Secretary: J. M. Mactavish.

A federation of 2,709 working-class, educational, and other organisations. It is unsectarian, non-political, and democratic. Its aim is to stimulate and satisfy the demand for higher education among working people, and to promote the improvement of the educational system from the nursery school to the University.

PARENTS' NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION, 26, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Presidents: The Marquess and Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair; Chairman The Right Rev. Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, K.C.V.O.; Secretary: Miss E. A. Parish.

The Parents' National Educational Union was founded in 1887. It aims at giving opportunity for study of educational problems, and offers a unique theory and practice of education, which have proved very successful in families and schools of all kinds. The House of Education, Ambleside, trains ladies in the art of teaching in P.N.E.U. methods and principles. The *Parents' Review* is the monthly organ of the Union.

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1.—Principal: Sir Charles Lucas, B.A., K.C.B.; Superintendent and Secretary: E. C. Duchesne.

The students are for the most part working men, and the teachers are, in general, members of the Universities and of the different professions, or those who have themselves been students in the College. Its purpose is to unite these classes together by associating them in the common work of teaching and learning. It provides instruction at the smallest possible cost (the teaching being for the most part unpaid) in the subjects with which it most concerns English citizens to be acquainted, and thus tries to place a liberal education within the reach of working men.

SCIENCE GUILD, BRITISH, 199, Piccadilly, W.1.—President: The Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., &c.; Hon. Secretary: Lieut.-Colonel W. A. J. O'Meara, C.M.G., R.E.; Secretary: Miss A. D. L. Lacey.

Exists for furthering the application of science in national affairs generally, but especially in industry and education.

EUGENICS EDUCATION SOCIETY, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.—President: Major Leonard Darwin; Secretary: Mrs. Gotto.

Deals with problems of racial betterment, racial deterioration, heredity, marriage of the unfit, infant mortality, &c.

FOLK-LORE SOCIETY, THE, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.—President: A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S.; Secretary: F. A. Milne, M.A.

For the study of folk-lore.

BOTANIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, ROYAL, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.—President: The Marquess of Cambridge; Secretary: Henry W. Woodford.

Incorporated by Royal Charter in 1839, for the promotion of Botany in all its branches, and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures; also for the formation of Botanical and Ornamental Gardens in the Metropolis.

## CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

ARBITRATION LEAGUE, INTERNATIONAL, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.; Chairman: John Morgan; Secretary: F. Maddison.

For nearly half a century the League has been at work organising meetings, distributing leaflets and pamphlets, publishing its monthly organ, *The Arbitrator*, and playing a leading part in the long battle against those forces of militarism which, by preserving the institution of war and armaments, demoralise the peoples and at the same time waste their very means of subsistence.

BRITISH CONSTITUTION ASSOCIATION, THE, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Lord Parmoor, K.V.C.O.; Hon. Secretary: W. V. Cooper.

Objects: To resist Socialism; to uphold the fundamental principles of the British Constitution—personal liberty and personal responsibility; and to limit the functions of governing bodies accordingly.

COBDEN CLUB, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.—Chairman of Committee: Right Hon. Sir Francis Mowatt, G.C.B.; Hon. Secretary: Right Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P.; Secretary: F. J. Shaw.

This club exists for the defence of those principles of Free Trade as a means for promoting international peace and goodwill, of which Cobden was the greatest exponent.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM UNION, THE, 9, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; Organising Secretary: Mrs. M. L. Seaton-Tiedeman.

Object: To promote the reform and amendment of the laws relating to marriage, divorce, and separation.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION, 8, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: J. Martin White, J.P.; Hon. Secretary: James Rowlands, M.P.

The object of the society is to promote measures for the reform of the land laws by, *inter alia*, securing to tenants in town and country compensation for unexhausted improvements, and generally protecting the just rights and interests of leaseholders; by making adequate provisions for small holdings; by abolishing antiquated and cumbersome legislation; by facilitating the transfer of land by means of a simple and economical system of registration; by dealing with the housing question; and by a readjustment of the rating and taxation of land.

LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL, SOCIETY FOR, 30 and 31, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: John Massie, Esq., M.A.; Chairman of Executive: David Caird, Esq.; Secretary: Alfred Howo, Esq.

LONDON REFORM UNION, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, W.C.2.—Chairman: Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgott, L.C.C.; Hon. Secretary: G. M. Gillett, J.P., L.C.C.

Established in 1892 to promote the reform of London government. It has issued many publications on municipal questions.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL, Avenue Chambers, Vernon Place, Southampton Row, W.C.1.—Chairman: Charles P. Trevelyan, M.P.; General Secretary: C. R. Heath.

Founded in 1904. The Council is a joint committee of pacifist associations and of organisations of various kinds in sympathy with the international peace movement. It numbers about 70 delegate members, and for purposes of joint executive action maintains an office and secretariat.

PEACE SOCIETY, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.2.—Secretary: Rev. Herbert Dunning.

This society was founded in 1816 "to diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind." It has agencies and branches in France, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, Switzerland, India, China, Canada, Australia, South and West Africa.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY, 82, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—President: Earl Grey; Secretary: John H. Humphreys.

Aims: To secure an electoral system which will reproduce the opinions of the electors in Parliament and other public bodies in their true proportions. To secure that the majority of electors shall rule, and all considerable minorities shall be heard.

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION SOCIETY, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Emil Davies; Secretary: F. W. Galton.

Established January, 1912, to advocate and promote the nationalisation of the railways of the United Kingdom. Is supported by over 700 trade unions, co-operative societies, &c., as well as by individual members.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.2.—President: Alderman P. Wilson Raffan, M.P., C.C.; Secretary: Frederick Verinder.

The objects are indicated in the title of the League, the official organ of which is *Land Values*. Lectures, books, pamphlets, and leaflets on land question supplied. Monthly paper, *Land Values*, 2d. (annual subscription, 3s.).

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—Treasurer: W. R. Lester, M.A.; Secretary: John Paul.

Object: To overthrow land monopoly and secure the people's rights to the land by means of the taxation of land values and the untaxing of industry. Monthly journal, *Land Values*.

WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION, THE, 37, Newhall Street, Birmingham.—Chairman: Neville Chamberlain; Secretary: Frank Impy.

The objects of this association are to generally promote the development of Inland Water Transport, and particularly to induce the Government to give effect to the report of the Royal Commission on canals, which advocated nationalisation and development by the State, leaving the provision of boats and the business of conveyance to private enterprise, as in France and Belgium.

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## COMMERCIAL.

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BRIBERY AND SECRET COMMISSIONS PREVENTION LEAGUE, 9, Queen Street, Place, E.C.4.—President: Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, G.C.B.; Chairman: Stanley Machin; Secretary: R. M. Leonard.

The objects of the League are to secure the observance of the Prevention of Corruption Act; to educate public opinion on the subject; to warn, and, when necessary, prosecute offenders; and to advise members. The latter number upwards of 600.

COMMERCE, ASSOCIATION OF CHAMBERS OF, OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—President: E. Manville; Secretary: R. B. Dunwoody, A.M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.

The central organisation of the Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom and of British Chambers of Commerce abroad. The channel by which the interests of trade and commerce are made known to the Government.

## The People's Year Book.

COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 15, Cross Street, Manchester.—President: The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.; Secretary: E. H. Oldfield, F.C.I.S.

Formed with the object of promoting the development of cotton cultivation within the British Empire; granted Royal Charter August, 1904. Capital, £500,000.

• DECIMAL ASSOCIATION, THE.—President: The Right Hon. the Lord Belhaven and Stenton; Hon. Secretary: G. E. M. Johnson; Acting Secretary: E. Merry.

The Decimal Association was formed to advocate that the coinage should be decimalised, and the Metric System should be substituted for the Imperial Weights and Measures throughout the British Empire.

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## TEMPERANCE.

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BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED), NATIONAL, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—President: Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle; Office Secretary: Miss G. Hunt.

An organisation of women's temperance societies formed to promote personal total abstinence and the control and ultimate suppression of the liquor traffic. The official organ is the *White Ribbon*.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (INCORPORATED), 50, Marsham Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Presidents: The Archbishops of Canterbury and York; Acting Secretary: Frank R. Weaver.

The objects of the Society are—(1) The promotion of habits of temperance; (2) the reformation of the intemperate; (3) the removal of the causes which lead to intemperance; (4) the provision of counter-attractions to the public-house.

SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.—President: Sir Joseph P. Maclay, Bart.; Chairman of Directors: Adam K. Rodger, J.P.; Secretary: James Gillies.

The object of the League is the entire abolition of the drink system. By means of pulpit, platform, and press, it seeks to educate the people regarding the nature of alcoholic liquors and urges them to abstain therefrom. The League also seeks the entire legislative prohibition of the traffic, and favours every restriction of the same whether secured through means of licensing courts or legislature.

STUDY OF INEBRIETY, SOCIETY FOR THE, 139, Harley Street, London, W.1.—President: Sir William J. Collins, K.C.V.O., M.P., D.L., M.D., B.Sc.; Hon. Secretary: T. N. Kelynack, M.D., M.R.C.P.

This society is a scientific body having for its objects the systematic study of inebriety and the investigation of all form of alcoholism. The society does not seek to exercise any control over the opinions or practice of its members and associates in regard to the use of alcoholic preparations or intoxicating drinks. Qualified medical practitioners are admitted to the society as members, and other men and women interested in the scientific work of the society are eligible for election as associates.

TEMPERANCE COUNCIL, NATIONAL UNITED, 27, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.—President: The Rev. J. Tolfree Parr; Secretary: C. Pinhorn.

This council labours to secure the full administration of the Licensing Acts, giving legal aid and free legal advice. It also seeks to obtain drastic amendments of the licensing laws.

## *The People's Year Book.*

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL, Paternoster House, London, E.C.4.—President: The Dean of Hereford; Secretary: John Turner Rao. Official Magazine: *The National Temperance Quarterly*, ls.

The League was established in 1856, and the chief feature of its specialised operations has been to arrest thought in the learned professions and among leaders in religious and social movements, as well as to impress upon all classes of the community the importance of the temperance enterprise and of the study of the alcohol problem.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION LEAGUE, THE, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—Chairman: Joseph Rowntree; Hon. Secretary: Arthur Sherwell, M.P.; Secretary: A. F. Harvey.

Object: To promote temperance reform by legislation and the effective administration of the licensing laws. Policy: State purchase of the liquor trade with local option.

UNITED KINGDOM BAND OF HOPE UNION, 59 and 60, Old Bailey, London, E.C.4.—President: The Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke; Secretary: G. Avery Roff, L.C.P.

A union of juvenile temperance societies to further the welfare of the child-life of the nation by many varied activities based upon the principle of total abstinence. There are 419 unions and 30,691 societies, with 3,068,384 members affiliated with the union

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

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ALLOTMENT HOLDERS, NATIONAL UNION OF, 22, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: D. Chater.

A federation of allotment societies having, approximately, 100,000 members.

BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 23, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2 —Secretary: W. Herrod-Hempsall.

To advocate the humane and intelligent treatment of the bee, and to better the condition of the cottagers of the United Kingdom by the encouragement, improvement, and advancement of bee culture.

DISCHARGED AND DEMOBILISED SAILORS AND SOLDIERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF, 2, Westminster Palace Gardens, Artillery Row, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Hon. President: J. M. Hogge, M.P.; Chairman: T. F. Lister; General Secretary: F. W. Jackson.

This is a federation formed to watch over and promote the interests of discharged sailors and soldiers. It is controlled solely by discharged men for discharged men; its chief object is justice, not charity.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.—President: Lord Kinnaird; Hon. Secretary: Major Frank Young, R.A. (on Active Service); General Secretary: Sir Arthur K. Yapp, K.B.E.

The Association provides a full programme to meet the needs of men, for body, mind, and spirit.

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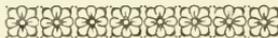
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Is prepared to advise and carry out Schemes of Office Equipment, Adding Machines, Type-writers, Duplicators, Stationery, &c., &c.

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OR WORKS PLANT



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Will find a large stock of USEFUL BOOKS and POPULAR NOVELS in the Department which is ALWAYS AT THE SERVICE OF THE MOVEMENT.

## PRODUCTION.

THE following Government figures show the quantities and values of coal and pig iron produced in the United Kingdom from 1910:—

YEARS.	QUANTITIES PRODUCED.			ESTIMATED VALUE AT THE PLACE OF PRODUCTION.		
	COAL.	PIG IRON.		COAL.	PIG IRON.	
		From British Ores.	From Foreign Ores.		From British Ores.	From Foreign Ores.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	£	£	£
1910.....	264,433,028	4,975,735	5,036,363	108,377,567	17,008,812	17,216,059
1911.....	271,891,899	5,020,510	4,505,762	110,783,682	16,146,340	14,490,872
1912.....	260,416,338	4,451,636	4,299,828	117,921,123	16,419,298	15,859,372
1913.....	287,430,473	5,138,958	5,121,357	145,535,669	22,096,984	22,021,301
1914.....	265,664,393	4,786,090	4,137,684	132,596,853	17,953,057	15,520,824
1915.....	253,206,081	4,567,351	4,156,209	157,830,670	25,978,359	23,639,992
1916.....	256,375,366	4,319,096	4,600,373	200,014,626	35,045,211	37,322,999

## Shipbuilding—Royal Navy.

### TONNAGE LAUNCHED.

[Extracted from returns furnished by the Admiralty.]

Year.	ROYAL DOCKYARDS.		PRIVATE YARDS.				UNITED KINGDOM.
	Chatham and Sheerness	Portsmouth, Devonport, and Pembroke	Clyde.	North-East Coast of England.	Barrow and Liverpool	Other Districts.	
TONS DISPLACEMENT.							
1899 .....	17,200	49,700	28,056	1,015	26,610	312	122,893
1909 .....	1,872	45,350	14,425	8,122	28,180	3,025	100,974
1910 .....	1,947	52,200	41,275	30,962	1,830	8,035	136,249
1911 .....	6,640	52,880	76,935	27,110	37,670	26,888*	228,123
1912 .....	1,582	53,440	52,397	31,681	31,564	2,288	172,952
1913† .....	12,332	69,810	66,593	10,257	29,156	5,637	193,785

\* Including a vessel of 22,500 tons displacement, launched in the Thames.

† No later figures available.

Shipbuilding—Merchant Service.\*

TONNAGE LAUNCHED IN EACH DISTRICT.

[Compiled from the Annual Statements of the Navigation and Shipping of the United Kingdom issued by the Board of Trade.]

Year.	SHIPBUILDING DISTRICTS.					UNITED KINGDOM.
	Clyde.	North-East Coast of England (Tyne, Wear, and Tees).	Barrow and Liverpool.	Belfast.	Other Districts.	
TONS NET.						
1899.....	254,379	500,980	13,187	83,062	97,402	949,010
1909.....	230,745	267,301	18,090	72,896	42,503	631,535
1910.....	206,539	343,006	9,673	91,063	48,426	698,707
1911.....	336,742	586,012	15,722	107,581	65,563	1,111,620
1912.....	353,791	541,480	34,196	101,707	74,955	1,106,129
1913.....	417,190	621,289	28,687	76,542	88,213	1,231,921

\* Including Mercantile and War Vessels built for foreigners, but exclusive of War Vessels built for His Majesty's Government.

In 1914 the net tonnage was less than 1,100,000, and in 1915 and 1916 it sank to a little over 400,000 tons.

INFANT MORTALITY.

THE decline in the rate of infant mortality during the present century may be contrasted with the state of affairs in the period preceding; and what that was may be realised from the fact that in the quinquennium 1896-1900 the figure was as high as that for 1851-5, and that in the years 1895 and 1899 the rate actually reached 161 and 163 per 1,000 births, or the highest figures during the whole half-century. Then, in the first quinquennium of the present century, came a subsidence which brought the infant death-rate to about the same level as that in 1881-5, and the two succeeding quinquennia have shown a further decline. The pith of the matter is contained in the following figures:—

DEATHS OF INFANTS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1,000 BIRTHS  
IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

1896-1900.	...	1901-05.	...	1906-10.	...	1911-15.
156	...	138	...	117	...	110

As to the causes of this reduction the decline of the birth-rate, with concomitant greater child-care, has been, undoubtedly, one factor among others. Another factor now in operation is the

Notification of Births Act, which was passed in 1907 and made compulsory for all parts of England and Wales in 1915.

### DURING WAR TIME.

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 the pre-war year and thereafter:—

Year.	Deaths of infants under one year.	Proportion per 1,000 births.	Percentage of total births.
1913 .....	95,608	108	18·9
1914 .....	91,971	105	17·8
1915 .....	89,380	110	15·9
1916 .....	71,646	91	14·1
1917 .....	.....	97	.....

The infantile death-rate in 1916 was the lowest on record, the circumstance being in part due to a low rate of diarrhœal mortality. As for the infantile mortality in 1917, its exceptional character is shown by the fact that there are only two years in the record of England and Wales which have witnessed a lower rate.

“The lowering of the mortality in infancy (says Dr. Newsholme, Medical Officer to the Local Government Board) is all the more surprising in view of the increasing number of women, having young children, who have taken up industrial work.

#### WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.

“The history of 1917 and of preceding years is showing that *we may anticipate a reduction of the national rate of infant mortality to 50 per 1,000 births.* This rate has already been attained in some parts of the country and in New Zealand as a whole. If, as is highly probable, a more rapid decline of early infant mortality in the first month after birth is secured in the next few years, even this prospective figure can be improved. *It can only be secured by improving the welfare of every mother.* The conditions . . . include abstinence from excessive strain in pregnancy, and while breast-feeding continues skilled medical attendance and nursing for both mother and infant. For these ends the Local Government Board's grants in aid of maternity and child-welfare centres give important assistance.

“Up to the end of 1917 542 centres for maternity and infant-welfare work had been established by local authorities, and 551 by voluntary societies. At the end of June, 1918, the numbers were 700 and 578 respectively.”

On the other hand, the gross indifference of Government and municipalities is revealed by Dr. Newsholme's statement that “the delay in the passage of the Maternity and Child-Welfare Bill has been

unfortunate, as many local authorities have held back from important work, the legal power to execute which was dubious. In some areas the giving of 50 per cent grants has not sufficed to overcome the inertia of local authorities in the absence of an obligatory duty."

In the light of these facts what are we to think of the Parliament which, in passing the Maternity and Child-Welfare Bill in 1918 and in giving further powers to municipal boroughs to establish child-welfare centres and day nurseries, made the exercise of these powers optional by omitting the word "shall"? When Parliament can so connive at the criminal negligence of local authorities with regard to the most vital of duties, the circumstance suggests that a good deal of the talk about national reconstruction is more or less piffle.

#### LANCASHIRE'S BLACK RECORD.

How urgent is the health question, and how gross and criminal is the disregard shown thereto, is revealed by the Parliamentary return issued in August, 1918, in which is recorded the official figures of infantile mortality in the Lancashire County Boroughs during the five years 1913 to 1917 inclusive:—

	Total infant deaths, 1913 to 1917 (five years).	Average rate of infantile mortality per 1,000 births (five years).
Barrow .....	1,060	105
Blackburn.....	1,546	128
Blackpool .....	506	107
Bolton .....	2,119	119
Bootle.....	1,308	124
Burnley .....	1,671	158
Bury .....	652	122
Liverpool .....	13,635	128
Manchester .....	10,154	121
Oldham .....	1,905	128
Preston .....	1,762	138
Rochdale .....	941	113
St. Helens .....	1,907	131
Salford .....	3,542	127
Southport .....	443	89
Warrington .....	1,057	108
Wigan.....	1,713	143
	45,901	

But even these figures, significant as they are, are surpassed by the black record of Lancashire industrial towns in normal times. What is absolutely necessary is that the care for child life should become the first duty of the municipality and the State; and, needless to say, the care for child life involves the care for the health of mothers and fathers as well.

## THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

COUNTRIES.	Population.	Sq. Miles.	Capitals.
China .....	400,000,000	4,277,170	Peking.
British Empire .....	435,000,000	13,123,712	London.
Russian Empire.....	166,250,000	8,647,657	Petrograd.
United States.....	97,337,000	3,616,484	Washington.
United States and Islands .....	109,357,490	3,743,344	Washington.
Philippines .....	8,460,052	115,026	Manila.
Porto Rico .....	1,151,579	3,606	San Juan.
Hawaii .....	200,065	6,449	Honolulu.
Tutuila, Samoa.....	7,251	55	.....
Guam .....	12,517	210	Agana.
France and Colonies .....	93,850,000	4,372,000	Paris.
France.....	39,601,509	207,054	Paris.
Colonies .....	54,240,700	4,165,815	.....
Algeria .....	5,600,000	194,950	Algiers.
Senegal, &c. ....	8,850,000	1,600,000	St. Louis.
Tunis.....	1,900,000	51,000	Tunis.
Cayenne .....	32,908	30,500	Cayenne.
Cambodia .....	1,500,000	67,723	Saigon.
Cochin-China .....	3,000,000	22,000	.....
Tonquin .....	6,000,000	46,224	Hanoi.
New Caledonia .....	56,000	7,200	Noumea.
Tahiti, &c.....	31,000	1,173	.....
Sahara.....	500,000	925,000	.....
Madagascar .....	2,505,000	227,000	Antananarivo.
German Empire (in Europe) .....	64,925,993	208,780	Berlin.
Prussia.....	40,165,219	134,616	Berlin.
Bavaria.....	6,887,291	29,292	Munich.
Saxony .....	4,806,661	5,789	Dresden.
Württemberg .....	2,437,574	7,534	Stuttgart.
Baden .....	2,148,833	5,823	Karlsruhe.
Alsace-Lorraine .....	1,874,014	5,604	Strasburg.
Hesse .....	1,282,051	2,996	Darmstadt.
Mecklenburg-Schwerin .....	639,958	5,068	Schwerin.
Hamburg.....	1,014,664	160	.....
Brunswick .....	694,339	1,418	Brunswick.
Oldenburg .....	483,042	2,482	Oldenburg.
Saxe-Weimar .....	417,149	1,397	Weimar.
Anhalt.....	331,128	888	Dessau.
Saxe-Meiningen .....	278,762	953	Meiningen.
Saxe-Coburg Gotha .....	257,177	764	Gotha.
Bremen.....	299,526	99	.....
Saxe-Altenburg .....	216,128	511	Altenburg.
Lippe .....	150,937	469	Detmold
Rouss (younger line) .....	152,752	319	Gera.
Mecklenburg-Strelitz .....	106,442	1,131	Neu Strelitz.
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt .....	100,702	363	Rudolstadt.
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen .....	89,917	333	Sondershausen.
Lübeck .....	116,599	115	.....
Waldeck .....	61,707	433	Arolsen.
Rouss (elder line) .....	72,769	122	Greiz.
German Africa.....	14,120,000	1,035,086	.....

The People's Year Book.

THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD—continued.

COUNTRIES.	Population.	Sq. Miles.	Capitals.
Austro-Hungarian Empire .....	51,340,378	261,029	Vienna.
Japan (with Formosa).....	67,142,798	235,886	Tokio.
Netherlands .....	5,898,175	12,648	Amsterdam.
Netherlands and Colonies .....	43,759,688	845,121	Amsterdam.
Amboyna .....	299,491	19,861	Amboyna.
Borneo .....	1,250,000	213,000	.....
Celebes .....	2,000,000	77,855	Menado.
Java and Madura.....	30,098,008	50,970	Batavia.
Sumatra.....	4,029,505	178,338	Padang.
Surinam .....	92,736	49,845	Paramaribo.
Ternate .....	108,415	202,040	Ternate.
Turkish Empire .....	31,000,000	.....	Constantinople.
European Turkey.....	2,000,000	11,100	.....
Asiatic Turkey .....	17,683,500	682,960	.....
Egypt.....	9,821,100	400,000	Cairo.
Italy .....	34,700,000	110,623	Rome
Italy and Colonies.....	36,467,000	711,643	Rome.
Eritrea .....	450,000	60,000	.....
Somali Coast .....	130,000	300,000	.....
Tripoli .....	1,000,000	410,000	Tripoli.
Spain .....	19,588,688	194,700	Madrid.
Spanish Africa .....	276,000	82,400	.....
Brazil .....	21,600,000	3,298,870	Rio de Janeiro
Mexico .....	15,000,000	768,883	City of Mexico.
Congo State .....	20,000,000	900,000	Boma.
Persia .....	10,000,000	628,000	Teheran.
Portugal .....	5,423,132	35,490	Lisbon.
Portugal and Colonies .....	16,000,000	871,854	Lisbon.
Portuguese Africa .....	8,248,527	830,000	.....
Portuguese Asia.....	910,425	7,600	.....
Sweden .....	5,476,441	172,876	Stockholm.
Norway.....	2,302,698	124,129	Christiania.
Morocco.....	6,500,000	314,000	Fez.
Belgium.....	7,432,784	11,373	Brussels.
Abyssinia .....	7,500,000	400,000	Adis Ababa.
Albania .....	2,000,000	21,870	.....
Siam .....	6,000,000	.....	Bangkok.
Argentina .....	7,500,000	1,135,840	Buenos Ayres.
Roumania .....	7,600,000	52,760	Bucharest.
Colombia .....	4,500,000	438,436	Bogota.
Bulgaria.....	5,000,000	42,602	Sofia.
Afghanistan .....	5,000,000	215,400	Cabul.
Chile.....	4,249,279	291,544	Santiago.
Peru.....	4,500,000	697,640	Lima.
Switzerland .....	3,741,971	15,976	Berne.
Bolivia.....	2,267,935	709,000	La Paz.
Greece.....	4,500,000	46,522	Athens.
Denmark .....	2,585,660	15,388	Copenhagen.
Denmark and Colonies.....	3,000,000	106,170	Copenhagen.
Iceland .....	78,470	39,756	Rejkjavik.
Greenland.....	11,893	46,740	Godthaab.
West Indies .....	30,527	138	.....
Venezuela .....	2,591,000	363,730	Caracas.

THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD—*continued.*

COUNTRIES.	Population.	Sq. Miles.	Capital.
Serbia.....	4,000,000	23,661	Belgrade.
Liberia.....	2,060,000	41,000	Monrovia.
Nepaul.....	4,000,000	54,000	Khatmandu.
Cuba.....	2,048,980	44,164	Havana.
Oman.....	1,500,000	82,000	Muscat.
Guatemala.....	1,804,000	48,290	New Guatemala.
Ecuador.....	1,500,000	120,000	Quito.
Haiti.....	1,400,000	10,204	Port au Prince.
Salvador.....	1,707,000	7,225	San Salvador.
Uruguay.....	1,111,758	72,210	Montevideo.
Khiva.....	800,000	22,320	Khiva.
Paraguay.....	800,000	97,700	Asuncion.
Honduras.....	553,446	46,250	Teguicigalpa.
Nicaragua.....	600,000	49,200	Managua.
Dominican Republic.....	610,000	18,045	San Domingo.
Costa Rica.....	399,400	18,400	San Jose.
Panama.....	360,542	32,380	Panama.
Montenegro.....	500,000	4,500	Cettinje.

INFIRMITIES.

IN the number totally devoid of sight, hearing, speech, and reason, collectively amounting to 270,000 in round figures at the last census, the United Kingdom contains a legion of witnesses to the defects of modern civilisation. And the worst of it is that the inadequate provision for the alleviation of these afflictions is almost as conspicuous as the conditions which generate them.

As regards the sexes, England and Wales has a preponderate proportion of females amongst the mentally deranged, and Ireland has a preponderate proportion of females amongst the blind; whereas in Scotland the males predominate throughout. Here are the proportions per million for the three parts of the United Kingdom:—

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Males.	Females.
Blind.....	760	702
Deaf and Dumb.....	468	373
Mentally Deranged .	4,370	4,604

SCOTLAND.

Blind.....	709	685
Deaf and Dumb.....	611	512
Mentally Deranged .	5,062	4,870

IRELAND.

Blind.....	973	991
Deaf and Dumb.....	1,024	803
Mentally Deranged .	6,808	6,148

Moreover, apart from the deaf and dumb in England and Wales, in every million males 610 suffer from complete deafness, and in every million females 860 experience the same affliction: 26,648 being the collective number for males and females.

LUNACY IN THE WAR PERIOD.

For the last four years the numbers of notified insane persons under care in England and Wales have been as follows:—1915 (January 1st), 140,466; 1916 (January 1st), 137,188; 1917 (January 1st), 134,029; 1918 (January 1st), 125,841. The total decrease thus amounts to 14,625 for three years, a figure standing in contrast with the average annual increase for the ten years ending December 31st, 1914, amounting to 2,251. The fact that the year 1915 was the first year to show a decrease since reliable statistics have been available points to the fact that the decrease is due to the exceptional circumstances of the period, and is therefore but temporary.

## THE HOUSING QUESTION.

THE housing standard of the mass of the people may be taken as an unerring token of the standard of civilisation. How it fares with the masses in England and Wales is pretty clearly indicated in the tables annexed, the figures of which disclose the fact that 2,580,000 and odd people live in tenements of less than three rooms; that seven millions and odd are housed in tenements of less than four rooms, and that altogether over 15½ millions of the population live in tenements comprising fewer than five rooms; that is, 43 per cent of the total, as compared with 40 per cent at the previous census. While the numbers living in one-roomed and two-roomed tenements have been very slightly reduced, the numbers occupying three-roomed and four-roomed tenements show a considerable increase in the course of ten years; the net result being that the proportion housed below the standard of spacial comfort and convenience is actually larger than at the census of 1901.

TENEMENTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1891.	1901.	1911.
1 room .....	286,946	251,667	254,710
2 rooms .....	697,322	658,203	660,472
3 " .....	756,756	779,992	1,107,873
4 " .....	1,464,681	1,596,664	1,981,428
5 " or more	2,925,296	3,750,342	4,000,807
	6,121,001	7,036,868	8,005,290

POPULATION LIVING IN SUCH TENEMENTS.

	1891.	1901.	1911.
1 ROOM .....	640,410	507,763	482,722
2 ROOMS .....	2,416,617	2,158,644	2,098,092
3 " .....	3,227,464	3,156,640	4,429,119
4 " .....	6,814,061	7,130,062	8,549,706
5 " or more	15,903,965	19,544,734	20,510,853
	29,002,525	32,527,843	36,070,492

### THE COUNTIES.

In the industrial counties it is the towns which are the worst offenders in the matter of overcrowding; in the agricultural counties it is the rural

areas. Thus, for example, the proportion of population living more than two to a room is 41 per 1,000 in the rural districts of Bedfordshire, against 21 in the urban, in Cambridgeshire 54 against 21, in East Suffolk 44 against 19, and in Wiltshire 58 against 30; while in Monmouthshire the proportions of population living more than two in a room are 87 and 41 per 1,000 in the urban and rural districts respectively; in Northumberland, 304 and 252; in Staffordshire, 97 and 61; and in the West Riding, 109 and 83.

### IN URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICT AREAS.

In these cases it is officially recorded that overcrowding is worst among the urban districts of Durham and Northumberland, where in seven cases the proportion of tenements with more than two occupants per room is upwards of 40 per cent; the proportion in many of the West Riding towns being also high, and in some cases exceeding 20 per cent.

### THE COUNTY BOROUGH AND LARGE TOWNS.

The position in large towns is shown by the fact that in twelve of them (in addition to London) tenements of less than five rooms comprised more than 70 per cent of the total.

Towns in which 1-4 room tenements were more than 70 per cent of the total.	Per cent.
South Shields .....	83·1
Gateshead .....	82·9
Dewsbury .....	80·1
Devonport .....	79·6
Newcastle-on-Tyne .....	79·3
Sunderland .....	78·5
Tynemouth .....	76·3
Oldham .....	75·1
Rochdale .....	72·5
Huddersfield .....	71·8
Plymouth .....	71·7
London .....	70·2

Whilst in Oldham 66·2 per cent of the tenements consists of four rooms,

in Blackburn 61·2 per cent, in Bury 59·2, in Bolton 53·8, and in Stoke-on-Trent 53·6. In towns where five-roomed tenements are regarded as a feature, these tenements are in the minority, as in Edmonton 47·1 per cent, Barrow-in-Furness 39·8, Reading 39·0, Nottingham 38·7, Lincoln 38·6, Enfield 36·8, and Ilford 35·9. The towns figuring with an abnormal proportion of six-roomed tenements, such as Northampton 51·7, Leicester 51·2, Ipswich 46·8, Norwich 41·1, and Handsworth 40·0, are the exception to the rule.

#### THE GREAT CITIES.

As for the state of affairs in the great cities that is clearly recorded in the official statement that the highest percentages of one-roomed tenements are in Dublin (33·9), Glasgow (20·0), and London (13·4); of two-roomed in Glasgow (46·2), Edinburgh (31·6), and Dublin (21·0); and of three-roomed in

Birmingham (30·5), Edinburgh (21·9), and London (21·3). Tenements of from one to three rooms number over half of the total tenements in Glasgow, where they reach 85·1 per cent, in Dublin (65·4), Edinburgh (62·9), and London (53·7), whereas in Belfast they form only 9·7 per cent, and in Manchester 15·0 per cent. In Manchester 40·6 per cent of the tenements are of four rooms, and in Belfast the proportion is 23·9 per cent. Of tenements of over six rooms Liverpool has the highest proportion (14·1), followed by London (13·3), and Edinburgh (11·8), while Glasgow has the lowest (3·6).

The proportion of the towns population living more than two in a room was 53·6 in Glasgow, 37·9 in Dublin, 31·1 in Edinburgh, 16·8 in London, 9·8 in Birmingham, 9·5 in Liverpool, 7·0 in Manchester, and 5·5 in Belfast.

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## ILLEGITIMACY.

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**S**INCE the middle of last century the illegitimacy figures show a striking reduction, 43 illegitimates per 1,000 births in England and Wales being the record for the period 1911-15, as compared with 67 per 1,000 in the years 1846-50.

In 1915 the illegitimate births in England and Wales numbered 36,245, as compared with 37,329 in 1914, or 1,084 fewer than the year in which the war began. In 1916 the illegitimate births numbered 37,689, an increase over the previous year of 1,444, notwithstanding the decline of 29,094 in total births.

#### INFANT MORTALITY AMONGST ILLEGITIMATES.

The death-rate of illegitimate infants is double that of legitimate. In 1906-10 the death-rate among legitimates averaged 112·4 per 1,000 births, but with illegitimates the proportion was 224 per 1,000. In 1911-15 the average death-rate of legitimate infants was 105 per 1,000 births; amongst illegitimate infants the death-rate figured at 210. In 1916 the illegitimate death-rate was 183 per 1,000 births, as compared with a rate of 87 per 1,000 for legitimate infants.

## FOOD QUEUES IN METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT.



The chart shows the estimated total number of persons attending food queues in the Metropolitan Police District on each day from January 28th to March 9th; that is to say, for four weeks before and two weeks after the introduction of the London and Home Counties rationing scheme on Monday, February 25th. The estimate is based on returns made by the police as to actual queues (omitting as a general rule queues of less than 100 persons).

The total includes queues for foods other than meat, butter, and margarine, *e.g.*, cheese.

## MARRIAGES.

**H**EREWITH are the figures denoting the number of marriages each year, along with the rate per 1,000 of the population, during the period 1911-16:—

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

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

In England and Wales the year 1915 was characterised by an enormous increase in marriages, and the year 1916 by an abnormal decrease.

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STEAM PLOUGHING.



BINDER

CUTTING WHEAT.



STACKING CORN.

CARTING CORN

## BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES.

THE following is the official record of births for the period 1911-16:—

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

The great reduction of births since 1913 points to the effects of the war on the natality of the United Kingdom. But, apart from the war, the gradual reduction in the number of births is indicated by statistics. Thus the period 1906-10 shows 104,665 fewer births in the United Kingdom than the period 1901-5, and the 1911-15 period 331,892 fewer than in the preceding quinquennium—altogether a diminution to the number of 436,557 births in the course of ten years. Needless to say, there is a lessening number of deaths to be placed in the scale, but a lessening to a smaller extent than the births, the outcome being that the total excess births in the period 1911-15 numbered 2,092,122 (or an annual average excess of 418,422), as compared with a total excess of 2,419,709 (or an annual average excess of 483,942) in the period 1901-5. All this shows how necessary it is that the nation should take effectual steps to prevent the terrible waste of child life indicated by the statistics of infantile mortality. Meantime, the birth-rates per 1,000 of the population during the period 1911-16 provide a comparison between the different parts of the kingdom as well as with a former period (1901-5), when the birth-rate in England and Wales averaged 28·1, in Scotland 29·2, in Ireland 23·2, and in the United Kingdom as a whole 27·8.

### BIRTH-RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911.....	24·3	25·6	23·2	24·4
1912.....	23·9	25·9	23·0	24·1
1913.....	24·1	25·5	22·8	24·1
1914.....	23·8	26·1	22·6	23·9
1915.....	21·9*	23·9	22·0	22·1*
1916.....	20·9*	22·8	21·1	21·1*

\*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that the decline of the birth-rate, normally speaking, is an international feature, and that the eastern

countries of Europe still in the agricultural stage are characterised by the highest birth-rate; that the Central Empires come next, the southern countries (Italy and Spain) follow after, then come the northern countries, while the north-western countries figure with the lowest birth-rates in Europe. Switzerland and Sweden are two exceptions, inasmuch as their birth-rates approximate to those of the north-west of Europe, and not to those of their respective geographical spheres.

## DEATHS AND DEATH-RATES.

**T**O what extent the death-rate of England and Wales has declined since the middle of last century the subjoined figures denote:—

	1846-50.	1896-1900.	1900-5.	1906-10.	1911-15.
Crude Rates per 1,000 Living.....	23·3	17·7	16·0	14·7	14·3
Standardised Rates per 1,000 Living....	22·4	17·6	16·0	14·4	13·8

The total deaths, along with the death-rates per 1,000 of the population, for each year during the period 1911-16 are officially recorded as follows:—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.
1911...	527,810	14·6	71,732	15·1	72,475	16·5	672,017	14·8
1912...	486,939	13·3	72,340	15·3	72,187	16·5	631,466	13·9
1913...	504,975	13·8	73,069	15·5	74,694	17·1	652,738	14·3
1914...	516,742	14·0	73,557	15·5	71,345	16·3	661,644	14·4
1915...	*562,253	†15·7	81,631	17·1	76,151	17·6	720,035	‡15·6
1916...	*508,217	†14·4	70,642	14·6	71,391	16·5	650,250	‡14·6

\* Including deaths of non-civilians.

† Based upon civil deaths and civil population.

‡ Including only civil deaths and population as regards England and Wales.

## AIR-RAID DAMAGES.

As announced by the Hon. Secretary of the Committee on War Damage, at the Guildhall, on November 23rd, 1918, the returns from town clerks and clerks of urban and district councils with regard to casualties by air and raids and bombardments, showed the following totals:—In 66 municipal districts there have been altogether 565 persons killed, 1,147 injured, while the cost of making-good damage done to property is estimated at £833,550.

## INSOLVENCY.

IN the period of 15 years between 1900 and 1914 the bankruptcies in England and Wales totalled up to 60,799, and the number of administration orders made by County Courts to 83,384. In the same period the total liabilities in bankruptcy cases amounted to £88,901,998, and the assets to £35,599,243, signifying a total deficiency of £53,302,755. As will be seen from the following figures, the proportion of assets to liabilities shows a marked tendency to decrease.

	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.

During the war period there has been a diminution of insolvency cases, the number of bankruptcy cases for 1914, 1915, and 1916 being 2,867, 2,379, and 1,557 respectively, as compared with 3,358 cases in 1913; whilst the number of County Court administrations for 1915 and 1916 amounted to 4,038 and 1,705 respectively, as compared with 5,426 for the year 1913. Despite the reduced number of bankruptcies in 1914 the total liabilities of £6,052,648 exceeded those of 1913 by over a million pounds sterling; while the total assets of £2,073,031 for 1914 amounted to only 30 per cent in relation to the liabilities, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent less than the average percentage for the quinquennium 1910-14. The figures of assets and liabilities since 1914 are not yet available.

**The World versus Germany.**—Germany united practically the whole world against her. In Europe, Great Britain and her overseas dominions, France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Roumania, Montenegro, Greece, and Portugal. In the East, China declared war, and Japan has assisted the Allies. In the New World the attitude was as follows: 1917—April 6th, the United States declared war; April 7th, Cuba declared war; April 10th, Panama declared war; April 10th, Brazil broke off relations; April 14th, Bolivia broke off relations; April 27th, Guatemala broke off relations; May 17th, Honduras broke off relations; May 19th, Nicaragua broke off relations; June 12th, San Domingo broke off relations; June 20th, Haiti broke off relations; October 6th, Peru broke off relations; October 6th, Uruguay broke off relations; October 6th, San Salvador declared her solidarity with the United States; October 26th, Brazil declared war. In May, 1918, the republic of Costa Rica declared war, and in July Honduras did the same.

Occupational Distribution of the Population of 10 years  
of Age and Upwards in England and Wales.

	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Domestic Offices or Services (excluding outdoor) .....	1,895,347	1,814,949	1,809,645	1,593,685
Metals, Machines, Implements, and Conveyances.....	1,469,637	1,228,504	953,523	812,915
Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages .....	1,447,267	1,266,758	1,001,852	793,249
Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging .....	1,388,243	1,073,809	917,642	711,415
Textile Fabrics .....	1,313,788	1,155,397	1,178,557	1,094,636
Agriculture.....	1,297,223	1,197,922	1,285,146	1,352,544
Workers and Dealers in Dress (including Machinists, Machine Workers undefined) for Females only .....	1,195,371	1,126,423	1,076,501	952,822
In and About and Working and Dealing in the Products of Mines and Quarries .....	1,044,594	805,185	653,410	528,474
Building and Works of Construc- tion .....	1,038,515	1,128,680	800,089	764,911
Commercial Occupations .....	790,163	590,629	416,365	316,865
Professional Occupations and their Subordinate Services.....	717,141	606,260	507,870	418,440
Paper, Prints, Books, and Stationery .....	348,027	278,957	219,839	158,194
General or Local Government of the Country .....	289,261	198,187	144,300	103,978
Wood, Furniture, Fittings, and Decorations .....	283,986	257,592	201,847	180,042
Precious Metals, Jewels, Watches, Instruments, and Games (in- cluding Electrical Apparatus and Electricity Supply).....	232,485	152,353	95,207	77,320
Defence of the Country.....	205,817	168,238	126,473	107,048
Chemicals, Oil, Grease, Soap, Resin, &c.....	177,777	128,640	91,284	70,055
Brick, Cement, Pottery, and Glass .....	173,838	175,513	139,127	128,162
Skins, Leather, Hair, and Feathers .....	113,680	105,341	92,197	81,667
Gas, Water, and Sanitary Service (not including Electricity Sup- ply) .....	87,485	68,510	40,978	25,291
Fishing.....	25,239	23,891	25,225	29,696
Other General and Undefined Workers and Dealers .....	752,030	776,989	974,918	860,307
	16,286,919	14,328,727	12,751,995	11,161,716
Retired or Unoccupied.....	12,232,394	10,995,117	9,301,862	8,144,463
	28,519,313	25,323,844	22,053,857	19,306,179

# Russian Co-operation

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## **The Moscow Narodny Bank.**

(Central Co-operative Bank of Russia). Established 1912, for the purpose of rendering financial aid to Co-operative Societies of Russia. CAPITAL: Rbls. 100,000,000. HEAD OFFICE: Moscow. 30 Branches and Agencies in Russia. AGENCIES ABROAD: England, 40, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2; United States, 309, Broadway, New York.

## **The All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.**

Established 1898. HEAD OFFICE: Moscow. The Union owns three flour mills; an oil-seed crushing mill; three confectionery and three soap works; sorting and weighing and chemical works; tobacco, match, fruit-drying, vegetable-drying, and boot factories; a fish-curing station and joinery. LONDON OFFICE: 30, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.

## **The Central Association of Flax Growers.**

Established 1915. Number of affiliated societies about 3,500, comprising about 3,500,000 individual members. Three million pounds of flax fibre (value, Rbls. 300,000,000) were collected during the season 1917-18. LONDON OFFICE (Temporary Address): 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2.

## **The Union of the Siberian Creamery Associations.**

Established 1908. HEAD OFFICE: Omsk, Siberia. 21 Branch Offices in Western Siberia. The Union is engaged in the production and sale of butter, cheese, and other agricultural commodities; it comprises 1,566 creameries, and possesses 1,437 Co-operative Stores. LONDON OFFICE: 14, Austin Friars, E.C.2.

## **The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions "Zakupsbyt."**

Established 1916. Number of affiliated societies in 1918, 8,362, with a membership of 2,500,000 persons. The Union purchases various food stuffs, machinery, and implements for agriculture and butter-making, and manufactured products. It sells various agricultural products and raw materials. It owns factories and workshops. LONDON OFFICE: Moorgate Hall, 83, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2.

## THE WAR IN THE WEST, 1917-18.

### 1917. DECEMBER.

3. Renewed German offensive south of Cambrai; enemy repulsed.
4. British abandonment of Boulton Wood.
4. President Wilson's message to Congress on the Allies' war aims.
5. Enemy's onslaught near La Vacquerie repulsed.
12. Enemy attack near Bullecourt repulsed.
14. East of Ypres: British positions attacked.
30. Germans attack south of Cambrai and repulsed, except in two small salients.
31. Some British regains near Cambrai.  
N.B.—Total captures by the British on the Western front during 1917: 77,767 prisoners and 542 guns. Total German prisoners taken on the field by the British since the beginning of the war: 120,000.

### 1918. JANUARY.

5. British war aims defined by the Premier. Repulse of German attacks near Bullecourt.
8. President Wilson on war aims in message to Congress.
10. German trenches raided south-east of Ypres.
19. Peace strike in Vienna.
24. Counts Hertling and Czernin on peace negotiations.
29. Great strike of German workmen from Berlin to Westphalia and Munich and from Hamburg to Kiel. Half a million suspend work. Workmen's council formed in Berlin, and immediately suppressed by the authorities. Many socialist leaders arrested.
30. German air raid on Paris: 70 victims.
30. Third session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles opens; German and Austrian Chancellors' speeches considered, and a vigorous prosecution of the war decided on.
31. Strike disturbances in Berlin culminate in police conflicts: demonstrators and rioters dispersed with sabre charges. Strike movement collapses.

### FEBRUARY.

11. President Wilson replies to Count von Hertling and expounds the principles of a permanent peace.
13. The Opposition in Parliament contrasts the promises and performances of the Ministry.
13. American troops in France take part in an offensive for the first time.
14. Strike of Belgian judges announced and their arrest by the Germans.
14. Boló sentenced to death in Paris for conveying intelligence to the enemy.
16. Lieut.-General Sir Henry Wilson appointed chief of the Imperial General Staff in succession to Sir W. Robertson.

21. Col. Repington (military correspondent of the *Morning Post*) and H. A. Gwynne (editor) fined £100 and costs each at Bow Street under the Defence of the Realm Act.
25. The German Chancellor expounds to the Reichstag Germany's attitude towards peace and toward President Wilson's declarations.
26. In the House of Commons the Foreign Secretary (Mr. Balfour) replies to Count von Hertling.

### MARCH.

5. Publication of Sir Douglas Haig's despatch on the Cambrai affair.
8. Repulse of violent German attacks north of Ypres.
9. Successful operations of Portuguese troops near Neuve Chapelle.
11. Air raid on Paris: 179 victims.
21. NEW GERMAN OFFENSIVE against the British front on a stretch of 50 miles between Arras and La Fere.
22. Capture of 16,000 prisoners and 200 guns claimed by the Germans for the offensive.
23. Germans take Peronne and Ham and pass over the Somme.
23. Paris bombarded by German long-range gun.
24. German advance held up on parts of the line.
25. Bapaume and Hesle captured by the enemy.
26. Libons, Roye, and Noyon taken by the enemy; Allies re-form on a new line.
27. Albert and Montdidier captured by the enemy.
28. Renewed assaults on a 55-mile front withstood by the British. The French regain some ground.
29. Abortive German attacks in the north. Enemy capture of Mezieres to the south of the Somme. Menchel regained by the French.
30. Germans occupy Demuin and suffer repulses elsewhere.
30. The United States representatives of capital and labour sign an agreement to refer all disputes to arbitration during the war.

### APRIL.

1. Lull on the Western front. German long-range gun bombards Paris: 8 killed, 37 injured.
1. In Canada, anti-conscription disturbances in Quebec, fighting, killing and wounding, and a large number of arrests.
2. Announcement of an agreement by Japan to supply America with 450,000 tons of shipping, of which 150,000 tons immediately.
4. German onslaught near Amiens. The French withstand terrific assault.
5. Hard fighting on the Somme: British beat off assaults. The French recover ground on the Avre.

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9. Man-power plans announced by the Premier: military service age to be raised to 50, and Ireland to be brought under conscription.
9. Heavy German attack west of Lille, and Neuve Chapelle captured.
10. The Germans reach Messines Ridge.
11. Enemy advance west of Armentieres. Official report concerning the German cruelties to war prisoners.
12. Enemy push on over Lys plain.
12. Gothas bombard Paris, killing 24 persons and wounding 62.
14. German advance checked; two days' incessant attacks baffled.
14. GENERAL FOCH ANNOUNCED AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ALLIED ARMIES IN FRANCE.
15. British withdraw from Neuve Eglise.
16. Germans capture Wytschaete.
17. British recapture Wytschaete but are forced to withdraw.
17. Announcement of the appointment of Baron Burian as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister.
18. German attacks repulsed with heavy losses.
18. The Man-power Bill receives the Royal assent.
19. Cabinet changes announced. Lord Derby appointed Paris ambassador; Lord Milner to succeed him as War Minister, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain to be a member of the War Cabinet.
19. Lull on the Western front after 10 days' incessant assaults.
20. Proclamation withdrawing certificates of exemption from military service granted to men born in the years 1895-99 inclusive, but permitting applications for exemption in special cases.
24. German attack towards Amiens, and Villers-Bretonneux taken.
25. German double offensive: Allies forced back about Kemmel Hill, but Villers-Bretonneux retaken by counter-attacks.
26. Germans gain possession of Kemmel Hill. South of the Somme British and French counter-attacks advance the Allied lines.
27. The French retake Loere.
28. Germans repulsed south of Ypres.
30. Lull on the Western front.
19. French successful operation round about Mount Kemmel.
19. Bombing of British hospitals in France by a German air squadron; hundreds killed and wounded.
21. Official announcement of the bringing down of 1,000 German aeroplanes during the two months' offensive.
27. German attack in great force against the British and French sectors on the Aisne. Enemy gains Chemin des Dames.
28. Germans succeed in crossing the Vesle.
29. German advance: French evacuate Soissons, and the troops covering Rheims retire behind the Aisne.
29. Announcement of a new Austro-German military alliance for the period of 25 years.
31. Germans reach the north bank of the Marne. Desperate French stand.

### JUNE.

1. Germans pressing forward between the Aisne and the Marne. French counter-attacks multiplying.
3. Enemy attacks intensified and west of Soissons some advance made.
4. American troops take part in their first big battle with marked success. Enemy attack slackens.
7. NEW GERMAN ATTACK against the French between Montdidier and the Oise on a front of 22 miles, and advance in the centre to the depth of three or four miles on a 10-mile front.
8. German centre thrown back a couple of miles by the French.
11. French successful counter-attack on a 7½-mile front.
12. Germans cross the Matz within half a dozen miles of Compiègne. French withdraw from exposed salient on the east bank of the Oise.
13. French recapture positions south of the Matz. South of the Aisne the Germans advance their salient.
14. Lull on the Western front.
18. Germans meet with heavy defeat while trying to break through the Allied cordon and to pass Rheims.
24. The German Foreign Minister (Herr von Kuhlmann) states in the Reichstag that the end of the war can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone.
28. British line advanced on Lys plain and French line south of the Aisne.

N.B.—British record of air raids into Germany for the month, 74; 60 tons of bombs dropped. French air record, 600 tons of bombs dropped behind enemy lines and the bringing down or crippling of 331 enemy machines. By the end of June the number of United States troops embarked for the war amount to over a million.

### JULY.

4. Allied attacks secure regains of ground.
4. American Independence Day celebrated in Allied countries.

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9. Resignation of the German Foreign Secretary (Herr von Kuhlmann) announced.
11. Australians continue successive attacks.
11. The Home Secretary announces the adoption of a more stringent policy with regard to enemy aliens in this country.
12. French gains south-east of Amiens and south of the Aisne.
12. German Chancellor (Count von Hertling) declares Belgium to be a pawn for future negotiations.
14. Local aggressive operations of Allies.
15. NEW GERMAN OFFENSIVE begins on a 50-mile front east and west of Rheims: Three-and-a-half mile gain south and north of Marne.
16. French counter-attack south of Marne.
17. Germans still advancing.
18. GENERAL FOCH'S GREAT COUNTER-OFFENSIVE begins on the flank of the German salient west of Rheims: 20 villages taken and many prisoners and guns.
19. Continuance of Franco-American advance: total two days' captures, 17,000 prisoners and 360 guns.
- 20-21. Germans retreat across the Marne. French enter Chateau-Thierry. British attack south-west of Rheims.
22. French advance on the Marne. Captures reach 22,000 prisoners and 450 guns.
- 23-24. The big push continues.
25. German counter-attacks repelled.
- 26-27. Allied advance.
28. Franco-American troops cross the Ourcq.
29. Allies make further progress.
- 30-31. German counter-attacks repelled.
27. British attack extended to east of Arras, and troops come in touch with the Hindenburg line. French capture Roye.
28. Germans retreating beyond the Somme and the Oise.
29. British capture Bapaume and French carry Noyon by storm.
30. Attacks and counter-attacks.
31. British captures for August comprise 57,318 German prisoners, 657 guns, 5,760 machine guns, and over 1,000 trench mortars.

### SEPTEMBER.

1. Australians capture Péronne.
2. Quéant lines broken by Canadians. British advance on a 23-mile front. Thousands of Germans captured.
3. General retreat of the Germans on the Canal du Nord.
4. The French drive the enemy north of the Vesle.
5. Allied advance between the Vesle and the Aisne.
6. Germans retreating to the Hindenburg line.
13. Americans capture the St. Mihiel salient: over 13,000 Germans taken prisoners.
16. Announcement of Austria's Peace Note to the Allies and of Germany's offer to Belgium of a separate peace. Both rejected.
16. British advance south of Ypres.
18. British push on a front of 16 miles: over 6,000 Germans captured.
26. Marshal Foch's new blow from Champagne to the Meuse. Americans capture over a dozen villages.
27. British advance into the Hindenburg lines and capture Bourlon Wood.
28. Allied advance in Belgium.
30. British reach Cambrai. Total British captures in France and Flanders during August and September: 124,000 Germans and 1,400 guns.

### OCTOBER.

1. The French enter St. Quentin.
2. German retirement west and south-west of Lille.
3. New German Ministry with Prince Max of Baden as Imperial Chancellor.
5. Germany asks for armistice. The new German Chancellor (Prince Max of Baden) announces to the Reichstag the despatch of a Note to President Wilson proposing an immediate armistice and asking him to open peace negotiations.
8. President Wilson declares cessation of arms impossible so long as the armies of the Central Powers are on foreign soil.
8. Allies make three successful attacks.
9. Allied advance on a 40-mile front. British and colonial captures since August 21 amount to over 110,000 prisoners, and 1,200 guns.
10. Allies capture Le Cateau. Americans break through the Kriemhilde line.
12. Laon and La Fere taken. German retreat on a 70-mile front. The
1. Allied pursuit reaches the Aisne and the Vesle.
6. General Foch made a Field-Marshal.
- 8-9. Anglo-French forces deal a surprise blow on the Amiens front: 200 guns and 17,000 prisoners.
10. Advance extended southward to the Oise. Allied captures reach 28,000 prisoners and 450 guns.
- 11-12. Allies gain further ground. Total captures in five days, 31,000 prisoners and 675 guns.
14. German retirements.
20. General Mangin's push between the Oise and the Aisne continued; covers another three miles on a 15-mile front; 8,000 prisoners taken.
21. British Third Army under Sir Julian Byng advances three miles south of Arras and captures seven villages.
22. French reach Ailette and capture 200 guns. British capture Albert.
23. South of Arras the British on a battle front of over 30 miles take 10 villages and advance two miles.
- 24-25. British take 19 more villages: 29,000 prisoners captured in four days' fighting.

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German Government accepts President Wilson's terms, and declares that it speaks in the name of the German people.

14. Allied troops in Belgium advance six miles between the coast and Lille. President Wilson replies to Germany and announces that the conditions of an armistice must be absolute safeguards for the military supremacy of the Allies, the abolition of autocratic authority in Germany, and the cessation of inhuman war practices.
  15. British capture Menin and reach Courtrai.
  16. The British cross the Lys; and Belgians advance towards Ostend.
  17. Lille, Ostend, and Douai are evacuated by the Germans and taken by the Allies.
  18. Roubaix and Tourecoing occupied by the British.
  19. Germany replies to President Wilson: agrees to President Wilson's terms preliminary to an armistice.
  20. Belgian coast cleared. Solesme and Denain captured by British. British and American troops reach the Sambre and Oise canal.
  22. British reach Valenciennes.
  23. British attack north of Le Cateau and capture several thousand prisoners. President Wilson replies to Germany, and intimates that if an armistice is granted it must be under conditions that preclude Germany from the war, and that there can be no peace negotiations except with a Government genuinely and permanently representative of the German people.
  25. The British still advancing; 9,000 prisoners taken in two days.
  26. General Ludendorff (Chief of the German Staff) resigns.
  27. Germany replies to President Wilson, and declares that the military power is now subject to the civil authority and that proposals for an armistice—as a first step towards a just peace—are awaited.
  28. The German Kaiser announces his "firm determination" to co-operate in the full development of the new constitutional regime.
- decision to be stated within 72 hours; the war to continue meanwhile.
9. The German Chancellor announces the the Kaiser "has decided to abdicate the throne."
  9. The Chancellorship is entrusted to Herr Ebert, a Majority Socialist. Contemporaneously Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Schleswig-Holstein hoist the republican flag, the Kaiser flees to Holland, the King of Bavaria flees from Munich, and the Duke of Brunswick abdicates.
  10. The Allies encircle Mons and occupy Maubeuge and other towns.
  11. Armistice signed at 5 o'clock in the morning; the terms including the German evacuation, within 14 days, of Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg, the evacuation of the western bank of the Rhine, and the Allies to garrison Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne, with bridge-heads on the eastern bank; the German surrender of 5,000 guns, 30,000 machine guns, 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 wagons, 5,000 motor lorries, and other material to the Allies; the surrender of, or disarmament of, the German fleet; the German evacuation of Russia (including Poland) and Roumania, and the cancelling of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest; restitution of Russian and Roumanian gold; immediate repatriation of Allied prisoners of war and of interned or deported prisoners without reciprocity; reparation of damage done, &c.
  11. German republic proclaimed. The potentates of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Oldenburg, Saxony, and Mecklenburg dethroned, and subsequently in Lippe and Aurbalt the same thing takes place.
  13. New German Government announced representing both wings of the German Social democracy.
  13. The Crown Prince takes refuge in Holland.
  16. Allied armies begin their march to the Rhine.
  19. The Belgians reoccupy Antwerp and Brussels, and Marshal Petain enters Metz.
  20. Surrender of the first 20 submarines to the British.
  21. German fleet to the number of 71 vessels surrenders for internment.
  22. Twenty more U-boats surrender for internment, making 58 to date.
  21. Germany under Soviet rule. Northern Germany proclaimed an independent republic, with Hamburg as capital.
  25. Surrender of the last remnant of the German forces in East Africa.
  25. Ceremonial entry of the French into Strassburg.
  29. The Attorney-General announces that the Coalition Government will insist on the indictment of the Kaiser.
  30. Formal abdication of the German Kaiser announced.

### NOVEMBER.

3. British advance beyond Valenciennes. Franco-American victory in the Argonne. Germans falling back on Ghent.
4. British cross the Sambre Canal; capture Landrecies and reach Le Quesnoy: 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns captured.
5. German armies continue retreat.
6. German naval revolution announced.
8. Marshal Foch delivers the Armistice conditions of the Allies to the German plenipotentiaries; the German

## EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, 1917-18.

### 1917. DECEMBER.

21. Disagreement at Brest-Litovsk. Germany's Machiavellian peace proposals rejected by the Bolshevik envoys.
29. The peace *pourparlers* at Brest-Litovsk suspended for 10 days.

### 1918. JANUARY.

2. The German peace proposals denounced as hypocritical by M. Trotsky (the Bolshevik Commissary for Foreign Affairs), who declares that the Russian Government will never accede to them; and the Bolshevik Assembly declares its unswerving adherence to the right of Poland, Courland, and Lithuania to dispose of their own destiny.
2. Russia's peace proposals (by wireless), in which the Entente powers are invited to join, the terms including no forcible annexations, the self-determination of peoples, and, in mixed nationalities, the minority rights to autonomy to be safeguarded by special law.
2. Citizen Litvinoff appointed provisional plenipotentiary in London of the Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.
9. The German peace terms are withdrawn at the resumed conference, at Brest-Litovsk (on the pretext of their non-acceptance by the Entente powers), and the Russian proposal to transfer the negotiations to Stockholm is also rejected.
10. The Russian delegation declares itself prepared to continue negotiations, but in the further negotiations the Ukraine delegation negotiates as a separate entity representing the Ukraine republic.
10. Manifesto of Minority Socialist members of the German Reichstag protesting against the designs of the Government at Brest-Litovsk, and appealing to the working-class on behalf of a democratic peace.
18. The Constituent Assembly is inaugurated in the Tauris Palace at Petrograd, amidst scenes of turmoil in the city, the dominating issue being who shall control the destinies of Russia, and for whom? The clash begins with the Bolshevik resolution declaring for a Soviet Republic with all power vested in the Councils of Workmen's Soldiers and Peasants, declaring for the State ownership of land and the abrogation of capitalistic proprietorship, the obligation of work for all, and the organisation of a Socialist army of workmen and peasants, the conclusion of a democratic peace, and the repudiation of all Russian loans. After an hour's deliberation the Assembly, by a majority vote, rejects the resolu-

tion, whereon the Bolsheviks leave the hall followed by the Social Revolutionists of the Left.

19. *Bolshevik coup d'etat*.—The Constituent Assembly dissolved by decree of the Bolshevik Central Executive Committee.
26. The Ukraine proclaimed an independent republic by the Ukrainian Central Rada.
- 27-31. The Bolshevik Congress of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers' delegates is held in the Tauris Palace, proclaims Russia a Federal Soviet Republic, approves of the diplomatic methods and policy of the Brest delegation, gives it a free hand, and declares against the German terms.
30. Resumption of meetings at Brest-Litovsk.
30. Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with the Roumanian Government, in consequence of the occupation of Kishineff in Bessarabia by Roumanian troops.
31. At Brest-Litovsk the Ukrainian Republic is recognised as a sovereign state by Count Czernin on behalf of the Central Powers.

### FEBRUARY.

5. The Bolshevik Government issues an appeal to the workmen's delegates in Berlin and Vienna against a peace of violations and annexations.
6. The Ukrainian Rada signs a separate peace agreement with the Central Powers.
10. The Russian Government announces to the world that it refuses to subscribe to a German peace, declares war at an end as between Russia and the Central Powers, and that the Russian forces have received an order for demobilisation on all fronts.
17. The position and treatment of Russian envoys by the British Government brought to the notice of the House of Commons.
18. Germany resumes the offensive against Russia by advancing on Dvinsk, and German troops are despatched to the Ukraine in response to the Rada's call, and also to Finland to support the anti-proletariat army.
19. The Bolshevik Government issues a protest against the German offensive, but expresses itself prepared to sign a forced peace on the terms dictated at Brest-Litovsk.
20. The German advance in Estonia continues, and the Bolshevik Government calls on the Russian people to oppose the German advance.
21. Germany sends Russia an ultimatum: terms to be accepted in 24 hours, a treaty signed in three days, and

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ratified in two weeks; terms which the Bolsheviki Government feels compelled to accept.

25. The Germans, still advancing, capture Reval and enter Pskof, 150 miles from Petrograd and on the main line thereto, and the Bolsheviki make ready to defend the capital.

### MARCH.

3. The treaty of peace imposed by the Quadruple Alliance is signed (at Brest) by the Russian delegation. Russia is dismembered of Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic provinces, in whose future destinies Germany claims a commanding voice. With the Ukraine Russia is to conclude peace and to withdraw all forces (Red Guards or other) therefrom, and likewise from Finland. In Transcaucasia Batum, Kars, and Ardehan are to be severed from Russia, who, in addition to all the foregoing stipulations, must demobilise all her armed forces forthwith.
3. Austro-German forces occupy Kiev (the capital of the Ukraine).
12. The Russian Plenipotentiary in Great Britain protests against the action of the Allied Powers' Consuls in Vladivostock in presenting an ultimatum to the Russian republic demanding the establishment of new local bodies in lieu of the existing Soviet authorities. President Wilson telegraphs to the American Consul at Moscow the fellow-feeling of the United States, and the assurance that every opportunity will be utilised to secure for Russia "full restoration to her great role in the life of Europe and the modern world."
13. Austro-German troops reach Odessa, and Turkish troops occupy Erzerum.
11. Occupation of the Transcaucasian territory (wrested from Russia) by the Turks announced.
15. The Soviet Congress at Moscow decides for the ratification of the forced peace treaty with the Central Powers by 704 votes to 261, 110 delegates abstaining. The Revolutionary Socialists of the Left resign from the Government as a protest against the ratification and announce their refusal to disarm.
18. Issue of the Allied Ministers' proclamation denouncing the forced treaties imposed on Russia and Roumania as political crimes.
20. The German Chancellor (Count von Hertling), in defending the Brest treaty in the Reichstag, declares that "it contains no conditions whatever dishonouring to Russia." Herr David (Socialist) declares the treaty "not a peace of understanding but an unvarnished peace by force," and also that "this peace has evoked dissatisfaction among the widest circles of the German nation."
21. Continued struggle in the Ukraine between the Soviet troops and the adherents of the Ukraine Rada,

supported by German detachments. The latter are driven out of Kherson by the armed population and the Soviet forces, and the Black Sea Fleet recaptures Odessa.

30. Announcement that the Diet of the Caucasus has proclaimed the independence of the country and approved the basis of a separate peace with Turkey.

### APRIL.

1. The British Treasury ceases to provide funds to meet the interest due on Russian State bonds payable in London.
6. Russia issued a protest against the German violation of the Brest treaty, which guarantees the inviolability of the Russian naval and mercantile fleet.
6. The Russian Government protests against the landing of Japanese troops at Vladivostock (under the pretext of maintaining order), and announces having ordered resistance to the landing.
24. Reported arrival in England of a delegation from Esthonia for the purpose of obtaining official recognition of Esthonian independence.
27. The Turks occupy Kars.
29. *Coup d'etat* in the Ukraine. Establishment (with German support) of a military dictatorship at Kiev, headed by the Cossack General Skoropadski.

### MAY.

3. Announcement of German high-handedness in the Ukraine, Field-Marshal Eichhorn having arrested Government officials (including the Prime Minister) for the dire offence of the Rada of opposing his arbitrary orders to the peasants with regard to the land and its cultivation.
7. Russian protest against the German invasion of the Crimea announced.
15. Announcement of a Russian wireless message addressed to Berlin protesting against the German reign of terror in White Russia.
18. *The Aftonposten*, of Christiania, publishes telegrams revealing the atrocities of U-boats in the Arctic.
27. Press report that the Allies and the United States have conveyed a hint to Japan by deciding a policy of "hands off" with regard to Russia.
29. Announcement of the Russian Government's protest against the German violation of the Brest treaty by the seizure of Sebastopol and of Russian war vessels.
29. Reports of the proclamation of a state of siege in the Ukraine by Field-Marshal von Eichhorn, in consequence of the refusal of the peasants to sow crops as commanded. Local peasants' uprisings and Draconian suppression.

### JUNE.

3. The Allied Prime Ministers (at Versailles) proclaim that the creation

## The People's Year Book.

- of an independent Polish State, with free access to the sea, constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace.
16. Ex-Tsar shot at Ekaterinburg by order of the Ural Regional Council.
  19. The Counter-revolution in Siberia. Tomsk taken by counter-revolutionists.
  24. The Prime Minister states (in the House of Commons) that "it is just and equitable we should stand by Russia if Russia wants it."
  27. Announcement of 2,000 German troops having been landed at Poti on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea.

### JULY.

2. The Grand Duke Michael is announced as having issued a manifesto and placed himself at the head of the Counter-revolutionary movement in Russia.
5. Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviet deputies assembles in Moscow, and the Social Revolutionist deputies (one-fourth of the Congress) split from the Bolsheviks and quit the Congress.
5. The British at Murmansk. Publication of the Russian note of protest "against the intrusion of the British detachment, just arrived at Murmansk," on the northern coast. The British forces signify co-operation with the local population for the defence of the Murman railway against the German menace.
6. Shooting of the German Ambassador (Count Mirbach) in Moscow. The Soviet Government institutes a committee of inquiry.
- 6-7. Martial law in Moscow. Anti-Bolshevik rising of members of the Social Revolutionary party suppressed.
11. The German Chancellor (Count von Hertling), in addressing the Reichstag, has the effrontery to declare that the murder of the German Ambassador "was instigated by the Entente," and that the German Government, with regard to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, will carry it out loyally.
13. Announcement of further Allied forces being sent to protect the Murman coast.
10. The vassalisation of Esthonia. Vehement protest (issued from Stockholm) by representatives of the Esthonian republic against the German military dictatorship set up in Esthonia and the wholesale violation of German pledges.
- N.B.--The political independence of Esthonia was proclaimed on November 28th, 1917, by the General Esthonian Diet.
15. Announcement of the capture of Kazan by the Czecho-Slovaks.
26. Announcement of the proclamation of Turkestan as a republic.
31. The German dictator of the Ukraine (Field-Marshal von Eichhorn) assassinated in Kiev by means of a bomb.

### AUGUST.

2. Allied forces (naval and military) land at Archangel.
3. British troops land at Vladivostock.
3. Bolshevik declaration of "state of war" against the Allied expeditions to Russia.
4. The American Government issues its statement explaining the reasons for Allied intervention in Siberia, and the extent thereof.
4. General von Kirchbach succeeds Marshal von Eichhorn as German commander in the Ukraine.
12. Announced release of British and French Consuls who had been arrested by Bolsheviks by way of reprisals.
15. Reported arrival of a British force at Baku confirmed.
19. Capture of Irkutsk by Czecho-Slovaks reported.
- 20-24. Fighting in Siberia. Anglo-Japanese troops in action.
30. Attempted assassination, by a woman in Moscow, of M. Lenin, the Bolshevist leader.
31. Allied troops capture position 75 miles south of Archangel.
31. Bolshevist attack on the British Embassy at Moscow.

### SEPTEMBER.

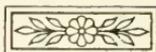
5. Arrest and incarceration of M. Litvinoff and Bolshevik confidés in London.
14. Release of the above.

### OCTOBER.

Interneine struggle continues.

### NOVEMBER.

11. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk cancelled by the Armistice imposed by the Allies on Germany.
28. Bolshevik capture of Pskov.



## EVENTS IN FINLAND.

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### MARCH.

7. The betrayal of Finland. The "dark forces" in Finland sign a pact with Germany inaugurating the vassalisation of the country: Germany gaining political control of Finland's foreign policy by the pledge of no cessions or concessions of territory to be made without German consent; and German industrial and commercial domination foreshadowed by the new trade and shipping treaty to be concluded.
8. German occupation of the Aland islands announced.
12. German troops sent to support the counter-revolutionary movement, occupy Abo.
28. Tammerfors (the Manchester of Finland) captured by the "White Guards."

### APRIL.

8. In an order of the day, General Mannerheim, Commander-in-Chief of the White Guards, bids "Germany's brave warriors welcome to Finland," and announces that they have landed on Finnish soil at the request of the Finnish Government, to help to drive out the Bolsheviks and their adherents.
15. Announcement of the capture of Helsingfors (the capital of Finland) by German troops after three days' fighting.

### MAY.

3. Announcement of the crushing defeat of the Red Guards (or proletariat army) by the German forces in S.W. Finland, and the capture of 20,000 prisoners after a battle lasting five days.

### JUNE.

13. The terrorist policy of the counter-revolutionary party in Finland revealed. Letter as well as press censorship established, the court-martalling of prisoners, the projected sequestration of property belonging to workmen's associations and to individuals in the revolutionary zone; tendencies being further denoted by the bringing of the question of a monarchy amongst the reactionists.

### OCTOBER.

10. The Finnish Diet elects Prince Friedrich Karl, of Hesse, King of Finland; the Republicans take no part; German withdrawal of a large number of troops from Finland reported.
13. France severs diplomatic relations with Finland.

### NOVEMBER.

11. As a result of the Armistice terms imposed on Germany by the Allies, together with the German revolution, Finland ceases to be a vassal state, and the conspiracy of the counter-revolutionists in Finland is brought to an end.

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## THE WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND ITALY.

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### 1917. DECEMBER.

30. Austrians driven back across the Piave.
31. Italy's allied contingents strike their first blow: French troops, aided by British and Italian batteries, storm and capture a line of enemy positions on the Tomba ridge, and capture 1,382 prisoners and seven guns.
31. Austrian airmen bomb Padua for the third successive night, and seriously damage the Cathedral and Municipal Museum, besides wounding five persons.
31. The official organ of the Vatican utters an emphatic protest against the bombing of Italian towns and of the civil population.

### 1918. JANUARY.

14. Italian successful attack between the Piave and the Brenta.
28. Italians score another success east of the Piave, and take 1,500 prisoners.

29. Italians capture enemy positions in the mountains and take over 2,500 prisoners.

### MARCH.

13. Announcement of the Italian capture of Monte Carno.
13. News of a great mutiny having occurred in the Austrian fleet at Pola and Cattaro early in February. At Cattaro the mutineers made themselves temporarily masters of the port.
14. Naval exploit. Austrian cruiser sunk by an Italian torpedo-boat in the port of Pola.

### APRIL.

18. British detachments in the Asiago basin effect successful actions.
24. British patrols on the Asiago plateau force enemy detachments to retire.

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THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN WAR (continued).

JUNE.

7. Naval exploit. Two Austrian battle-ships torpedoed by Italian torpedo-boats off the Dalmatian coast.
8. Reports of mutinies of Bohemian and Slovak regiments in the Austrian army.
15. Austrian general offensive renewed on the whole Italian front. The Piave crossed at two points; the Austrians claiming to have taken 12,000 prisoners, and the Italians 4,000.
19. Austrian bridges across the Piave swept away by the river in flood.
20. The Italians regain the initiative, and their capture of prisoners since the new Austrian offensive reaches 11,000.
20. Bread riots in Vienna owing to the reduction of bread ration to 3oz. per day. Strike of 150,000 workmen and a renewed demand of the Vienna Workers' Council for a general peace without annexations or indemnities. Also general strike at Budapest.
23. Great Italian victory. The Austrians in retreat across the Piave, leaving several thousand prisoners.
25. The Austrian rearguard surrenders. Italian advance on the Grappa: 3,000 prisoners taken.
- 29-30. Italian successes on the Asiago plateau; 2,000 prisoners captured.

JULY.

3. The Italians improve their lines.
6. Italian successes on the Lower Piave culminate in the regain of all the ground lost since November, 1917.

OCTOBER.

3. Austrian port of Durazzo destructively bombarded by Anglo-Italian naval force.
4. The Austrian Premier (Baron von Hussarek) resigns.
7. Austrian Note to President Wilson asking for an armistice.
11. Hungarian Premier resigns.
18. President Wilson's refusal of the Austrian peace overtures of October 7th. The President intimates that the Allied recognition of the full aspirations of the Crecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs adds another point to the fourteen conditions of peace laid down.
20. Croatia and Slavonia secede from

- Hungary. The Jugo-Slav National Council takes over all authority.
24. Revolt at Fiume. Croat infantry regiment seizes the town.
27. Austria presses for a separate and immediate armistice and accepts all President Wilson's conditions.
27. The British-Italian army crosses the Piave on a front of 25 miles.
- 28-31. The advance develops: 50,000 prisoners captured and 300 guns during the course of a week.
28. The Czechs in Bohemia proclaim their independence, and two days later the German section of Bohemia proclaims itself a State.
28. The new Austrian Minister sends Mr. Lansing (American Secretary of State) a telegram requesting him to use his influence with President Wilson to secure an immediate armistice.
29. Revolution in Vienna and Budapest.
30. The Austrian Command appeals to the Italian Command for an armistice.

NOVEMBER.

1. Assassination of Count Tisza announced.
3. Armistice between Austria and Italy signed. The terms include the surrender of the Austrian fleet and war material, the occupation by Italy of Trentino, Trieste, and Adriatic coast bases, and the free use of Austrian territory for Allied war purposes.
4. The Armistice comes in force, the Italians meanwhile having captured 300,000 prisoners, 5,000 guns, and enormous quantities of war material.
13. Abdication of the Austrian Kaiser announced.
18. Announcement of the arrival in Hungary of Marshal von Mackensen from Roumania. The Hungarian government decides to disarm the German troops (2,000).
25. National Council at Agram appoints Prince Alexander of Serbia as regent of the United South Slav state, including Croatia, Dalmatia, the Slovene provinces, and also Bosnia-Herzegovina. Montenegro also proclaims union with Serbia and the other Jugo-Slav provinces.
28. Official Report of the Austrian Government's intention to bring to trial all persons responsible for the war.

PERSIA.

MAY.

4. The Persian Government, through its minister at the Hague, has formally declared null and void all the treaties forced upon it in recent years, including the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 dividing Persia into "spheres of influence."
29. Proclamation (with Turkish military support) of the new republic of Azerbaijan (a Persian province with a preponderance of inhabitants of

Tartar stock), of which Baku is to be the new capital after its capture from Russia.

AUGUST.

2. Turkish troops reported to have occupied Urumiah.

SEPTEMBER.

16. Occupation of Baku by the Turks.

OCTOBER.

30. Turkish evacuation of Baku reported.

## THE WAR IN THE BALKANS.

### JULY.

9-10. Franco-Italian advance in Albania

### AUGUST.

25. Austrian counter-offensive in Albania.

### SEPTEMBER.

15. Allied offensive begins in the Balkans.

21. Bulgarians retreating in confusion.

27. Bulgaria asks for an armistice: the request rejected.

30. Bulgaria surrenders unconditionally. Convention signed at Salonika.

### OCTOBER.

1. Franco-Italian advance in Albania.

4. Austrian retreat; Berat abandoned.

5. Abdication of the Tsar of Bulgaria in favour of his son, the Crown Prince Boris.

7. In Albania the French and Serbian forces enter Elbasan.

12. Serbians capture Nish; and in Albania Italians capture Kavaja.

14. The Italians capture the Albanian port of Durazzo.

20. French troops reach the Danube in the neighbourhood of Vidin.

30. General uprising in Montenegro reported.

### NOVEMBER.

1. Peasant revolution in Bulgaria. King Boris abdicates.

19. Italian occupation of Dalmatia Coast.

29. King of Montenegro deposed, and the Montenegrins proclaim union with Serbia and the United South Slav State.

## CONCERNING ROUMANIA.

### FEBRUARY.

6. Germany sends an ultimatum to Roumania to begin peace negotiations within four days, or—

### MARCH.

3. The Roumanian Government decides to accept the German ultimatum.

5. Roumania signs a preliminary treaty of peace with the Quadruple Alliance, the terms of which include the cession of the Dobrudja (as far as the Danube) to Bulgaria, and the frontier rectifications demanded by Austria-Hungary, together with the concession of a right of way for the transport of the troops of the Central Powers to Odessa, the granting of economic concessions, and the partial demobilisation of the Roumanian army.

### MAY.

19. A dispatch from Jassy states that the Ministers of the Entente Powers have formally notified the Roumanian Government that Roumania's new peace treaty clauses dealing with the navigation of the Danube are in contravention of international agreements and will not be recognised by the Entente Powers.

### NOVEMBER.

9. Roumania, having remobilised, addresses a 24-hours ultimatum to the German General, Mackensen, who retreats into Hungary, where his army is disarmed.

11. Treaty of Bucharest cancelled by the Armistice terms imposed on Germany.

## THE WAR IN PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA.

### PALESTINE.

1917. **DECEMBER.**

30. Bethel occupied: and repulse of the Turks in attempting to recapture Jerusalem.

1918. **JANUARY.**

18. British advance north of Jerusalem.

26. British patrols reach the Dead Sea.

### MARCH.

2. North of Jerusalem: British advance on a 12-mile front.

9. The Wadi Anja crossed.

23-24. British troops cross the Jordan and advance 9 miles.

25. Occupation of Es Salt, and advance on Hedjaz railway.

28-29. Hedjaz railway reached, several miles of track destroyed, and 1,000 prisoners taken. West of the Jordan, British gain.

## The People's Year Book.

### MAY.

- 1-3. East of the Jordan, operations renewed; Es Salt again taken, enemy attacks repulsed with heavy losses. A section of British mounted troops forced to abandon 9 guns.
9. British gain North of Jerusalem.
10. Turkish offensive: stubborn fighting, Turks defeated with heavy losses after initial success.
- 11-20. East of Jordan, successful British operations and destruction of a section of the Hedjaz railway track.
28. Successful local operation on the coast sector.

### JUNE.

8. Successful local operation on the coast sector.

### JULY.

- 13-14. Another enemy defeat in Palestine.

### AUGUST.

12. Successful British raids.

### SEPTEMBER.

- 21-22. Turkish army in Palestine annihilated; 25,000 prisoners and 260 guns captured.
25. Turkish prisoners increased to 40,000, and ultimately to double that number.

### OCTOBER.

1. British occupy Damascus and 7,000 more Turks captured.
6. Naval and military occupation of Beirut, Zahde and Rayak (30 and 33 miles north-west of Damascus) occupied by General Allenby's forces.
10. Resignation of Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha reported; Tewfik Pasha becomes Premier.
26. British occupy Aleppo.
30. Armistice with Turkey signed; the terms include free passage for Allied

fleets through the Bosphorus, the occupation of forts on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and the immediate repatriation of all Allied prisoners of war.

## MESOPOTAMIA.

### MARCH.

9. Hit, on the Euphrates, captured.
- 26-28. British victory on the Euphrates. Turkish army shattered at Khan Bagdadich, and Haditha also captured; 5,000 prisoners taken, and many guns, and great quantities of munitions.
27. Capture of Kifri, over 100 miles north of Bagdad.
30. British troops reach the Taug river; 12 field guns and 1,800 prisoners captured *en route*.

### MAY.

7. Kirkuk (20 miles from Mosul) occupied without opposition, and military stores captured.
11. The Turks driven across the Lesser Zab.
21. Fatha (up the Tigris) announced as having been reached by a British force.

### JUNE.

3. A War Office report announces the withdrawal of the mounted troops that drove the Turks across the Lesser Zab.

### OCTOBER.

24. British forces on the road to Mosul.
25. British capture Kirkuk.
30. Turkish force on the Tigris surrenders 7,000 prisoners.
31. Armistice signed, the terms amounting to unconditional surrender.

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## NAVAL EVENTS, 1918.

### JANUARY.

2. Armed steamer *Louvain* torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean by a German submarine; seven officers and 217 men lost.
4. H.M. hospital ship *Rewa* torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol Channel on her way home from Gibraltar; three casualties.
8. British destroyer announced as having been torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean with a loss of ten lives.
13. Yarmouth bombarded from the sea; six persons killed.
20. Naval engagement off the Dardanelles; enemy ships *Breslau* and *Goeben*, the

former sunk, the latter beached; two British destroyers lost.

20. Two German destroyers mined and sunk off Heligoland.
26. Cunard liner *Andania* torpedoed off the Irish coast; two lives lost.
26. S.S. *Cork* torpedoed and sunk in the Irish sea; 12 lives lost.

### FEBRUARY.

15. German torpedo boat destroyers make a dash into Dover Straits and sink eight small craft.
16. U-boat shells Dover; one child killed and four persons injured.
26. H.M. hospital ship *Olevari Castle*, outward bound, torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol Channel; 153 persons missing.

## The People's Year Book.

### MARCH.

10. H.M. hospital ship *Guildford Castle* attacked by U-boat in the Bristol Channel but escapes.
21. Naval action off Dunkirk with German destroyers which had been bombarding the town; four enemy ships believed sunk but no Allied vessels.
31. Cargo boat *Conargo* torpedoed off the Irish coast.
31. S.s. *Salamina* sunk by gunfire.
31. Record shipbuilding for March.

### APRIL.

13. British naval forces bombard Ostend, and Zeebrugge bombed by aircraft.
15. British naval raid in the Kattegat; ten German trawlers sunk and crews saved by the British.
22. Naval action in the Adriatic; five Austrian destroyers chased to the Port of Durazzo by British destroyers
23. Daring naval exploit. Enemy submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend attacked. Zeebrugge mole smashed and the entrance to the canal blocked by the sinking of two old cruisers. At Ostend the entrance to the Bruges canal also part blocked.
25. H.M. sloop *Coveslip* torpedoed; five officers and one man missing.
29. P.S.N.C. steamer *Oronsa* sunk by torpedo. All passengers saved and most of the crew.
31. Figures of merchant tonnage losses for the month show that the U-boat peril has been surmounted.

### MAY.

10. Naval exploit at Ostend; the entrance to the harbour being blocked by the sinking (between the piers) of the old cruiser *Vindictive* filled with concrete.
22. The armed-mercantile cruiser *Moldavia* (carrying American troops) torpedoed and sunk; 50 or 60 American soldiers killed by the explosion, but all others on board saved.
23. Cork Steam Packet Company's steamer *Innisfallen* torpedoed; loss of 10 lives.
24. Torpedoing of the Cork Steam Packet Company's steamer *Innisscarra*, bound from Fishguard to Cork; 37 men missing.
26. The transport steamship *Leasowe Castle* torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean; 101 persons missing.
31. The American transport, *President Lincoln* (of 18,000 tons), torpedoed and sunk whilst on her return voyage.
31. Record output of shipping for May. New tonnage of Great Britain and America exceeds by 12,000 tons an increase of losses.

### JUNE.

4. British steamer *Carpothian* torpedoed and sunk off the American coast; no lives lost.
6. Announcement of U-boat activity off the American coast, the sinking of

American merchant vessels. The port of New York closed.

8. The American freight steamer *Pinar del Rio* sunk by a submarine off the Maryland coast; 18 men missing.
27. The British hospital ship *Llandorey Castle*, homeward bound from Canada, torpedoed and sunk by a submarine; of 258 on board only 25 survivors reach land.

### JULY.

1. U.S. transport *Covington* torpedoed and sunk on the homeward voyage; six of the crew lost.
14. French transport *Djemnah* torpedoed in Mediterranean; 442 missing.
15. The transport *Barunga* (ex-German steamship *Sunatra*), homeward bound to Australia, torpedoed; no casualties.
16. American steamer *Montanan* torpedoed; loss of three lives.
17. The Cunarder *Carpathia* (outward bound) torpedoed off west of Ireland; five members of the crew lost.
19. White Star liner *Justicia* sunk by submarine off north coast of Ireland after a long fight; ten or eleven of the crew killed by a torpedo.
19. French passenger steamer *Australien* torpedoed in Mediterranean; 17 of the crew missing.
20. U.S. cruiser *San Diego* sunk; casualties 47.
23. H.M. armed mercantile cruiser *Marmara* torpedoed and sunk; ten of the crew missing.

### AUGUST.

7. French cruiser *Dupetit Thouars* torpedoed in the Atlantic; 13 missing.
11. Air flight off Frisian Isles.
20. Belgian relief ship sunk by submarine in Norwegian waters. This was the Dutch steamer *Gasconier*, en route from Brooklyn to Rotterdam with grain and flour for the Belgian Relief Committee; six of the crew perished.
25. Spanish vessel *Carasa*, en route from Bilbao to England, torpedoed and sunk and six of the crew drowned.
26. French steamer *Pampa*, bound from Bizerta to Salonika, torpedoed and sunk; four Serbian soldiers missing.
26. The U.S. steamer *Tampa*, while on convoy duty, lost off English coast with all on board.
30. Spanish coal steamer *Ataz Mendí en route* from England to Spain torpedoed and sunk.

### SEPTEMBER.

5. American transport steamer *Mount Vernon* (formerly the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*) homeward bound, torpedoed in the Atlantic; 35 stokers killed, but vessel manages to reach port.
6. German warships sunk (either by mine or torpedo) off the Friesland coast.
12. Union Castle liner *Galway Castle* torpedoed and sunk whilst outward bound; over 150 missing.

## The People's Year Book.

12. British armed steamer torpedoed; eight officers and 50 men missing.
13. French transport steamer torpedoed and sunk *en route* from Bizerta to Malta; six persons missing.
30. American steamer *Ticonderoga* torpedoed; survivors shelled in boats.

### OCTOBER.

10. City of Dublin Steam Paeket Company's steamship *Leinster* torpedoed on the voyage from Kingstown to

Holyhead; death roll, 600. The Japanese liner *Hirano Maru* torpedoed off the Irish coast; loss of nearly 300 lives.

14. Dundalk and Newry Steamship Company's steamer *Dundalk* sunk by a torpedo. A number of lives lost.
15. British Motor Boats raid at Zeebrugge.

### NOVEMBER.

26. Allied squadron at Sebastopol.

## GERMAN AIR-RAIDS ON ENGLAND (1918).

Date.	Locality.	Casualties.		Date.	Locality.	Casualties.	
		Killed.	Injured.			Killed.	Injured.
Jan. 28	Essex, Kent, and London . . . . .	47	169	Mar. 12	Hull & E. Yorks.	*1	
" 29	London (outskirts) . . . . .	3	10	" 13	Hartlepool . . . . .	5	9
Feb. 17	Thames Estuary	16	37	April 12	Midland, & North West . . . . .	5	15
Mar. 7	Towards London	11	45	May 19	London . . . . .	44	179
				Aug. 6	E. Anglian Coast	—	—
						*Death from shock.	

## AIR RAIDS ON GERMANY.

According to the official figures issued in November, 1918, the number of bombing expeditions of military objectives in Germany by Royal Air Force squadrons has been as follows:—

Raids upon large German towns . . . . .	374
Raids upon German aerodromes established for the defence of the Rhine	209
Raids upon other military objectives in Alsace-Lorraine and Germany	126
	709

The systematic bombing took place between October, 1917, and the settlement of the Armistice in November, 1918, and so covered a period of practically thirteen months. Over half of the raids were diverted against important towns, many of them over 100 miles distant from Nancy, which constituted the base of the R.A.F. Independent Forces. As a matter of fact the average distance covered by each squadron in going and returning ranged from 120 to 160 miles per raid, whilst 200 miles was by no means uncommon. In twelve months or so the British Air Forces have made five times as many raids as the German air forces made in Great Britain during the whole period of the war.

## THE GERMAN U-BOAT FLEET.

An estimate places the total number of German submarines from the beginning of the war at about 360. The number known to have been sunk up to the armistice was about 180. The number interned up to the end of November was 114, and it was expected to bring the number up to 150.

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## CO-OPERATION AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

FOLLOWING the decision of the Swansea Congress to enter the political arena, the election of the National Co-operative Representation Committee was an outstanding event in the co-operative history of 1918. The constitution of the Committee and the history of the agitation leading to direct Parliamentary representation was detailed in the 1918 Year Book, so that it remains only to say that Mr. W. H. Watkins has been elected chairman, with Mr. T. W. Allen vice-chairman, and Mr. S. F. Perry, J.P., secretary.

The programme of co-operative policy issued in connection with the General Election is as follows:—

1. "To safeguard effectually the interests of voluntary co-operation, and to resist any legislative or administrative inequality which would hamper its progress.

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.

3. "That the profiteering of private speculators and the trading community generally shall be eliminated by legislative or administrative action.

4. "The scientific development of agriculture, and the provision of light railways for transport of produce, together with adequate housing and wages for the agricultural labourer.

5. "The abolition of all taxes upon foodstuffs to be replaced by the *taxation of land values* and the further increase of income tax and death duties upon large incomes and estates.

6. "That, in order to facilitate the development of trade, commerce, and manufacture after the war, the Government shall establish a National Credit Bank to assist local authorities, co-operative societies, and others to finance their new undertakings as required.

7. "That adequate housing of the people, financed by the National Exchequer, shall be compulsorily provided on lines which will secure healthy, decent, and suitable accommodation for the whole community.

8. "That the present education system should be recast on national lines, which will afford equal opportunity of the highest education to all, unhampered by the caste system now prevailing, which arbitrarily and unjustly limits the resources of the State in utilising the best capacities of the nation.

9. "The effective Parliamentary control of foreign policy and national services by committees composed of representatives of all parties in the House of Commons.

10. "The gradual demobilisation of the soldiers and sailors from our Army and Navy to correspond with the needs of industry, in order to avoid unemployment.



J. M. BIGGAR



J. SMITH



COUN. W. HIRST



F. SPIRES



W. H. BROWN



P. MALCOLM



COUN. T. HACKETT



H. J. MAY



A. LOCKWOOD



A. E. WATERSON

**GENERAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION:**  
CO-OPERATIVE CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED SEATS.

11. "The breaking down of the caste and class systems, and the democratising of State services—civil, commercial, and diplomatic.

12. "The promotion of an alliance of all the peoples and the establishment of a League of Nations as a guarantee of the world's peace.

13. "Adequate provision for the national care of maternity."

This Policy was incorporated in a National Manifesto issued just before the Election, in which it was asserted that "throughout this great world struggle the co-operative movement has played its part and stood firm for the prosecution of the war until democracy had triumphed and Prussianism was vanquished. By the application of co-operative principles, particularly when the competitive system proved utterly inadequate to solve the problem of feeding the nation and our Allies, much has been done to carry us through the trying times, and our factories, productive and distributive agencies, have always been at the disposal of the State."

Finally, the Manifesto declared that co-operation has "protected the consumer from having to submit to the prices fixed by syndicates and other concerns out of proportion to the actual value and cost of daily necessities. Thus the Government was given the precedent for its action in fixing prices during the war.

"Demonstrated that one of the best means of abolishing many of the social evils at present existing is by the elimination of the competitive industrial system, which enriches the few at the expense of the many, and the substitution of mutual co-operation for the common good as the basis of all human society,"

[The photographs on the opposite page are those of Candidates who fought Parliamentary seats at the General Election, December 14th, 1918, having been adopted by the National Co-operative Representation Committee. The Divisions they contested were: Paisley (Biggar); Leeds Central (Smith); Sparkbrook, Birmingham (Spires); Mossley (Brown); Kilmarnock (Malcolm); King's Norton, Birmingham (Hackett); Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire (May); Hillsborough, Sheffield (Lockwood); Mid-Northants (Waterson).]

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## CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

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Among the tragedies of our ordinary life those associated with the wrongs to children appeal most to humanitarians, and the work of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has had encouragement from many quarters. In the years 1917 and 1918 this society dealt with 38,422 cases, involving 112,024 children, which was 17,065 fewer than in the years 1916 and 1917, and 47,138 less than the record of 1913 and 1914. Of the 38,422 cases, 34,131

were cases of neglect and starvation. No less than 13,129 of the children dealt with during the past year were babies under two years of age. There were fewer cases of neglect, but not such a marked decline in the cases of ill-treatment and assault. In 33,936 cases, parents and guardians were warned, and the cases prosecuted where warnings failed were 1,421, the lowest total for 25 years. Cases due to drink were 8,852, as compared with 13,365 in 1916 and 1917.

## WAR CASUALTIES.

### BRITISH.

In the House of Commons on November 19th, 1918, it was officially announced that the grand total of casualties sustained up to November 10th, 1918, by British Dominion and Indian troops was 142,614 officers and 2,907,357 men, or 3,049,971 altogether. The total is made up as follows:

Killed .....	658,704
Missing (presumed dead) .....	80,000
Wounded.....	2,032,122
Prisoners.....	171,508
Missing .....	107,637
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>3,049,971</b>

The particulars for the various war areas are as follows:—

	*KILLED.		WOUNDED.		†MISSING.	
	Officers.	Other ranks.	Officers.	Other ranks.	Officers.	Other ranks.
France .....	32,769	526,843	83,142	1,750,203	10,846	315,849
Italy .....	86	941	314	4,612	38	727
The Dardanelles .....	1,785	31,737	3,010	75,508	258	7,432
Salonika .....	285	7,330	818	16,058	114	2,713
Mesopotamia .....	1,340	29,769	2,429	48,686	566	14,789
Egypt .....	1,098	14,794	2,311	35,762	183	3,705
East Africa .....	380	8,724	478	7,276	48	928
Other theatres of war .....	133	690	142	1,373	41	908
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>37,876</b>	<b>620,828</b>	<b>92,644</b>	<b>1,939,478</b>	<b>12,094</b>	<b>347,051</b>

\* Including died of wounds and from other causes.

† Including 6,741 officers and 164,767 other ranks known to be prisoners of war, and also over 80,000 officers and other ranks whose death has been officially assumed.

### AMERICAN.

As officially announced on November 23rd by General Payton March, Chief of Staff, the total casualties of the American Expeditionary Forces up to the signing of the Armistice were as follows:—

Dead.....	53,169
Wounded.....	179,625
Prisoners and Missing .....	3,323
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>236,117</b>

### GERMAN.

According to the declaration of *Vorwärts*, the German casualties up to October 31st, 1918, were as follows:

Killed .....	1,580,000
Wounded.....	4,000,000
Prisoners.....	400,000
Missing .....	260,000
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>6,240,000</b>

## NAVAL.

Including the casualties sustained by the Mercantile Marine, the total British naval casualties during the war up to November 11th, 1918, was 57,722. The details are as follows:—

Killed .....	48,022
Wounded .....	5,183
Interned and prisoners .....	4,470
Missing.....	47
Total .....	57,722

In the Royal Navy (including the R.N.A.S. to March 31st, 1918, and Royal Marines, but excluding the Royal Naval Division, whose figures have been dealt with by the War Office) the casualties amounted to 39,766, made up as follows:—

Dead .....	33,361
Wounded .....	5,183
Missing.....	47
Prisoners .....	1,175
Total .....	39,766

The contribution of the Mercantile Marine to the casualty list is shown by the following figures:—

Killed .....	14,661
Prisoners of War.....	3,295

The figures are those of men and officers whilst engaged in pursuing their ordinary avocations, and are exclusive of men and officers of the Mercantile Marine and of fishing vessels serving on board His Majesty's ships and auxiliaries and other commissioned vessels.

## INDIAN.

The total of casualties in the Indian forces during the war was officially announced by the India Office as 101,439, including 29,762 deaths from all causes.

It may be stated that the total of all ranks sent overseas from India during the war period was 1,215,338—i.e., 219,534 British and 953,374 Indian. \*

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## LOSSES BY SUBMARINES.

According to an official statement, enemy submarines sank 15,053,786 tons of merchant shipping of all nationalities. The world's tonnage compared with the pre-war tonnage has diminished 1,811,584 tons.

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## THE FLYING SERVICE.

The Royal Air Service of the United Kingdom, in August, 1914, consisted of 285 officers and 1,853 other ranks. In November, 1918, the strength was 30,000 officers and 260,000 men, and about 30,000 women and boys. In future, attention will be paid to the development of navigational instruction and training; to the creation of an energetic meteorological service designed to help air transport; to the improvement of wireless telegraphy and telephony; to the adoption of a first-class system of day and night working of landing places and aerodromes. A postal and passenger service will be also developed, no doubt, and by science and training it will become possible, it is expected, to navigate an air service in foggy and other bad weather, as ships are navigated at sea. In all probability, the development will be left to both State and private enterprise. Engineering is destined to play a great part in future, and should be directed to the common good.

Co-operative  
Society



Wholesale  
Limited

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Share Capital (<sup>PAID</sup><sub>UP</sub>) £3,000,000

Reserve Insurance and  
Depreciation Funds } £7,000,000

Total Funds - - - £24,000,000

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### Banking Department :

Annual Movement of Funds £350,000,000  
*Deposits and Withdrawals* - - -

#### *Head Office :*

1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.

London Office . . . . . LEMAN STREET, E.1.

Newcastle Office . . . . . WEST BLANDFORD STREET.

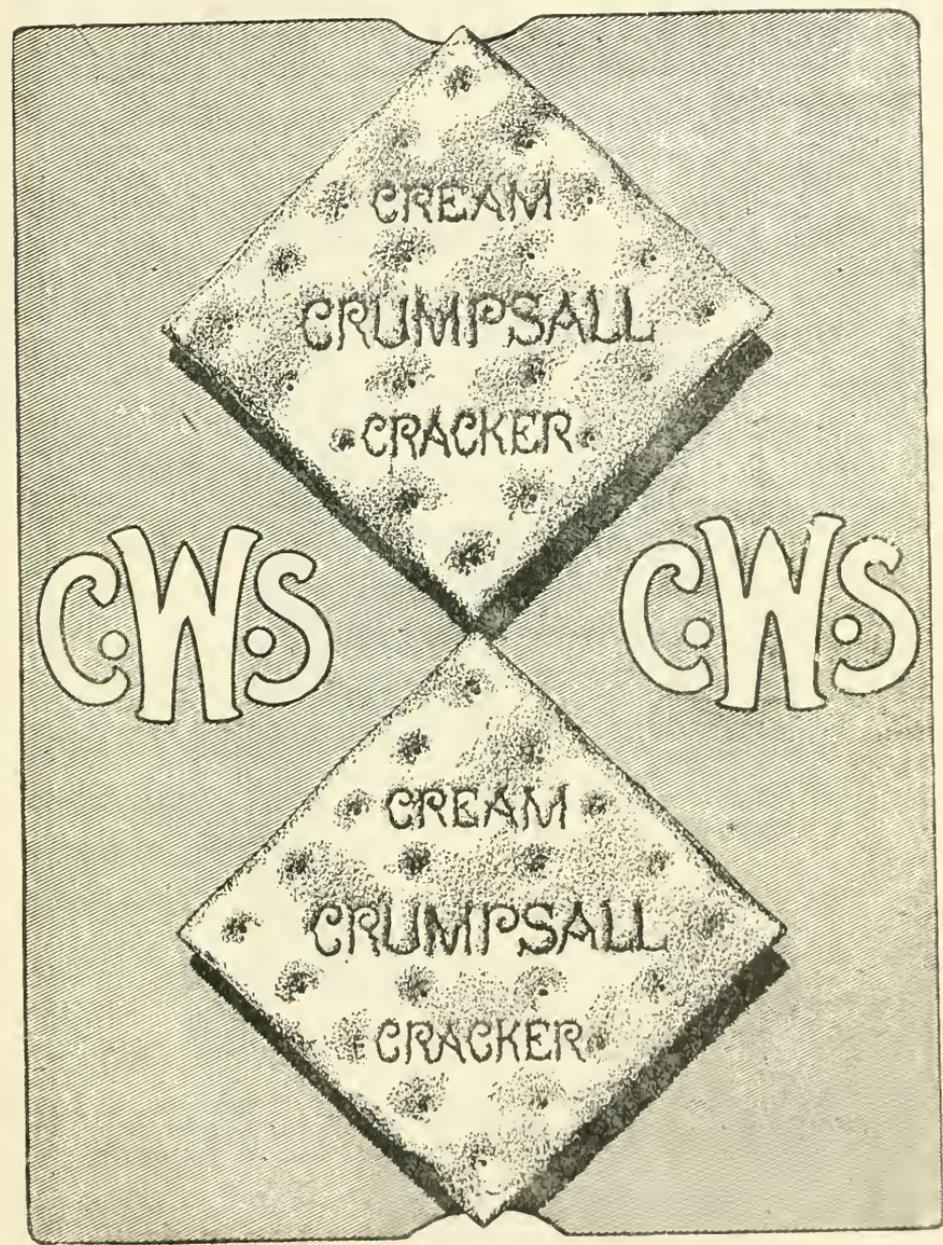
BRANCHES AT BRISTOL, CARDIFF,  
and other CO-OPERATIVE CENTRES.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are operated for more than two thousand Co-operative, Trade Union, and Friendly Societies, Clubs, and other mutual organisations.

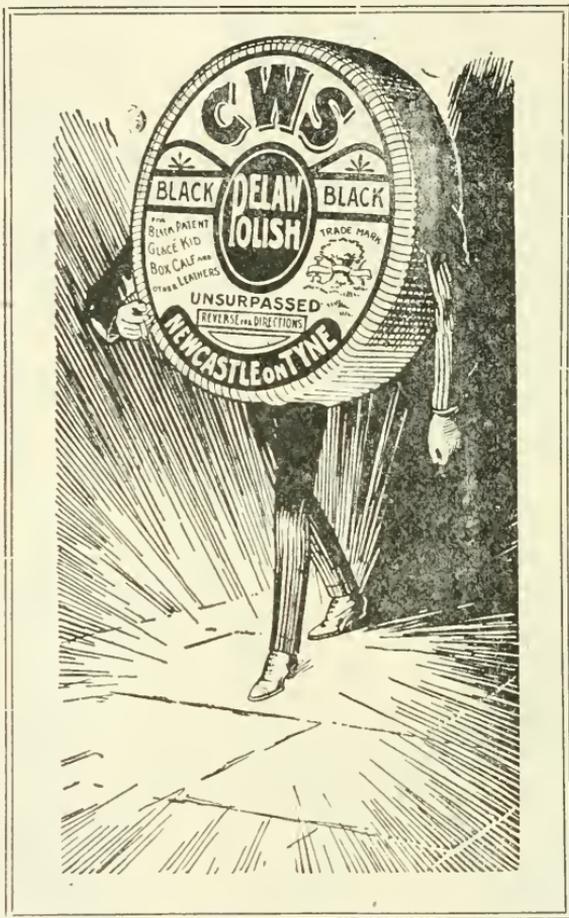
DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for Trade Unions and Friendly Societies.

INDIVIDUAL DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS can be opened with the C.W.S. Bank through any Distributive Co-operative Society at liberal rates of interest.

**SPECIAL FACILITIES** are provided for Co-operative and kindred Organisations to invest their Funds in Co-operative Enterprises.



# STILL SHINING



**PELAW** BOOT AND METAL **POLISHES**

ARE OBTAINABLE AT ALL  
CO-OPERATIVE STORES