
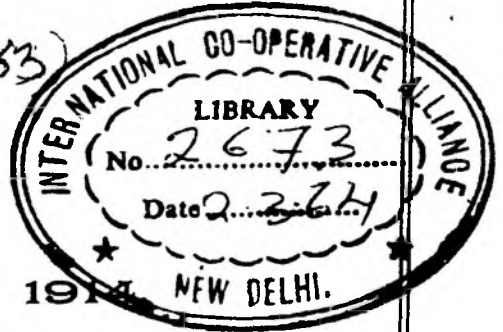


REPORT

OF THE

Proceedings of the Ninth
—Congress of the—
International Co-operative
Alliance held at Glasgow
25th to 28th August, 1913.

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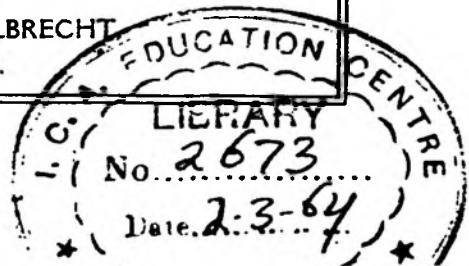


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Committees of the I.C.A.	V
✓ List of Members of the I.C.A. and Subscriptions	VI
Balance Sheets of the I.C.A., 1910, 1911, 1912	XXVIII
✓ List of Delegates and Representatives present at the Congress	XXX
Congress Committee	XLI
Congress Agenda	XLII
Standing Orders	XLIII
List of Speakers	XLVII
Congress Reception Committee	XLVIII
Congress Reception Committee and the Entertainment of the Delegates	XLIX

Report of the Congress Proceedings—

FIRST SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Welcome by the Reception Committee	1
Welcome of the Municipality	3
✓ President's Opening Address	4
✓ Earl Grey's Inaugural Address	5
Report of the Central Committee on the Activity of the International Co-operative Alliance since the Hamburg Congress	13
Revision of the Rules of the Alliance	30
Report on Uniform Co-operative Statistics	37
Greetings from Mr. R. Stewart and Dr. Hans Müller	38

SECOND SESSION OF CONGRESS.

✓ Resolution on International Peace	39 ✓
Paper by Mr. Heinrich Kaufmann on the Direct Exchange of Goods between Distributive Societies, Agricultural and other Productive Societies, also between the Wholesale Societies in the Different Countries	48

International Co-operative Alliance.

FOUNDED 1895.

OFFICES :

146, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, S.W.

Honorary President : THE RIGHT HON. EARL GREY, P.C., G.C.B.,
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Chairman : WILLIAM MAXWELL, J.P.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

AUSTRIA	L. Exner, A. Fiser, Dr. B. Karpeles.
HUNGARY	E. György, Count Josef Mailath.
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SWITZERLAND	E. Angst, Dr. O. Schär.
UNITED KINGDOM	A. Williams, J. Deans, D. McInnes, W. Maxwell, A. Whitehead.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, 1913.

SOCIETIES.

	SUBSCRIPTIONS.			
	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ARGENTINE.				
Buenos Aires, "El Hogar Obrero," Credit, Building, and Distributive Society	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Rosario de Santa-Fé, Co-operative Bakery	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
AUSTRIA.				
Czernowitz, "Solanska Kasa," Union of Ruthenian Agricultural Societies	2 0 0	5 0 0	...	...
Lemberg, Auditing Union of Ruthenian Agricultural Societies	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Lemberg, Mutual Credit Society "Dnister"	...	...	...	0 12 0
Lemberg, Central Society, "Narodna Torhowla"	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 12 0
Lemberg, Russian Auditing Union	...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
Lemberg, Provincial Credit Union	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	5 0 0
Lemberg, Union of Industrial and Provident Societies	1 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
Prague, Central Union of Czech-Slavonic (Bohemian) Distributive, Productive, and Provident Societies	1 0 0	26 3 0	27 10 0	31 10 0
Prague, Wholesale Society of Czech-Slavonic Distributive Societies	...	...	...	5 0 0
Trieste, Officials' Distributive Society	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...
Vienna, Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies	5 0 0	5 0 0	102 5 0	121 0 0
Vienna, Wholesale Society of Austrian Distributive Societies	...	...	...	7 10 0
HUNGARY.				
Agram, Croatian Agrarian Bank	0 15 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Agram, Union of Servian Agricultural Societies in Austria-Hungary	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Arad, Distributive and Sale Society of the Rural District Association	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	...
Budapest, General Distributive Society	0 10 0	1 4 0	2 10 0	2 0 0
Budapest, "Hangya," Hungarian Wholesale Society	40 0 0	40 0 0	40 0 0	40 0 0
Budapest, Hungarian Railway Employees' Co-operative Society	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Budapest, Distributive Society, "Haztartsas"	0 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Budapest, Hungarian Co-operative Union	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0

Budapest, Hungarian Farmers' Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0
Budapest, Provincial Credit Institute for Granting Loans to Smallholders	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Budapest, Hungarian Officials' Distributive Society	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Budapest, Hungarian Mutual Cattle Insurance Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Budapest, National Central Credit Society	...	...	...	...	3 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Hermannstadt, Credit Society, "Solidaritaten"	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...
Hermannstadt, Union of Raiffeisen Societies	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
BELGIUM.									
Antwerp, Office Coopératif	...	...	...	...	4 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Antwerp, Federated Union of Belgian Distributive Societies	...	...	...	...	1 2 0	20 13 0	22 2 0	21 16 0	21 16 0
BULGARIA.									
Sofia, Distributive Society, "Bratski Troud"	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...	...
CANADA.									
Brantford, Co-operative Union of Canada	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 0 0	...	...
Guelph, Co-operative Association	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...	...
Sydney Mines, British Canadian Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
DENMARK.									
Aarhus, "Andelsudvalget," Union of Danish Co-operative Societies	...	...	...	...	8 6 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Aarhus, Jutland, Feeding-stuffs Supply Society	...	...	...	...	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Copenhagen, Wholesale Society of Danish Distributive Societies	...	...	...	...	16 15 0	16 15 0	16 15 0	16 15 0	16 15 0
FRANCE.									
Paris, Fédération Nationale des Coopératives de Consommation	...	...	...	...	4 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	76 2 0
Marseilles, Société Coopérative "Les Vignerons Libres"	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Nîmes, "La Laborieuse," Association Coopérative des Ouvriers de l'Imprimerie	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...	...
Paris, Société Coopérative "La Lithographie Parisienne"	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...	...
Paris, Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
Paris, Magasin de Gros des Coopératives de France	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
FRANCE—continued.									
Paris, Société Coopérative Drugnot, Cros et Cie ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Villards-sur-Thônes, Coopérative Agricole des Villards-sur-Thônes	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...
GERMANY.									
Hamburg, Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine	55 5 0	297 15 0	298 6 0	294 16 0	...	...	...	...	...
Berlin-Schlachtensee, Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bocholt, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Duisburg-Ruhrort Konsumgenossenschaft "Selbsthilfe"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Giesenkirchen Konsumverein "Arbeiterwohl"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hagen, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hilden, Konsumgenossenschaft "Einigkeit"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lippstadt, Konsumverein "Selbsthilfe"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lünen a. d. Lippe, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mülheim, Reicherverband deutscher Konsumvereine	1 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	0 12 0
Neunkirchen, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Posen, Verband der Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften der Provinzen Posen und West-Preussen ...	1 0 0	...	...	...	5 0 0	...	...	...	...
Posen, Vereinsbank der Erwerbsgenossenschaften ...	2 0 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	...
INDIA.									
Calcutta, Co-operative Union of India	...	...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Calcutta, Co-operative Wholesale Society "Dharma Samavaya" Ltd....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
ITALY.									
Florence, Distributive Society ...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Milan, National League of Italian Co-operative Societies ...	4 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Milan, Distributive Society, "Unione Cooperativa"	6 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Milan, Federation of Milanese Productive Societies	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Milan, Railway Employees' Distributive Society ...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	1 4 0

Piacenza, Union of Rural Societies	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Ravenna, Workingmen's Co-operative Society ... ..	...	...	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	...
Ravenna, Union of Distributive Societies of the Province of Ravenna ... ..	...	...	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
Rome, Military Distributive Society	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Turin, Distributive Society, "Alleanza Cooperativa" ... ..	...	...	1 4	0	1 4	0	1 4	0	0	1 4	0	0
Turin, Building Society, "Ira Balnearia"	0 10	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
JAPAN.												
Tokio, Distributive Society "Kiodokwai"	0 10	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
NETHERLANDS.												
The Hague, Dutch Co-operative Union	4	0	0	5	0	0	19	0	0	26	12	0
Alkmarijp, Co-operative Dairy... ..	0 10	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	1	0	0	0 12	0	0
The Hague, Distributive Society "Eigen Hulp"	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Nunspeet, Co-operative Paint Factory "de Veluwe"	0 10	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	1	0	0	0 12	0	0
Sas van Gent, First Dutch Beet Sugar Factory	0 10	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	1	0	0	0 12	0	0
NORWAY.												
Bergen, Distributive Society	2	0	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0	0 12	0	...
Christiania, Hamar Distributive Society ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12
Christiania, Distributive Society "Vika Kooperative Selskap" ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12
Christiania, Distributive Society	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
Christiania, Agricultural Co-operative Society	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Christiania, Co-operative Union	2	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Christiania, Distributive Society "Sagenes Kooperative Selskap"	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
Christiania, Distributive Society "Grünerlökkens" ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12
Fredrikstad, Distributive Society ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12
Halden, Workingmen's Co-operative Society	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
Tromsø, Fourth Railway District Distributive Society ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12
ROUMANIA.												
Botosani, People's Bank "Infrateris Plugarilor"	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0
Breaza-de-sus, People's Bank "Caraimanul"	0 15	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0 12	0	0	0 12	0	0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
ROUMANIA—continued.									
Bucharest, Central Bank of the Roumanian People's Banks
Drajna-de-jos, People's Bank "Drajna"
Homortcui, People's Bank "Teleajenu"
Mereni-de-jos, People's Bank "Iavorul"
Novaci, People's Bank, "Gilortul"
Tg. Bujor, Federal Regional Bank "M. Cognaciceanu"
Topoloveni-Muscet, Regional Federation of People's Banks "Podgoria"
Valcea, People's Bank "Zavoaiul"
Zatreni, People's Bank "Oltetul"
RUSSIA.									
Bagaevskais, Distributive Society "Donakon Trougenik"
Dorpat, Savings and Loan Bank
Enarkiewo, Distributive Society of the Officials and Employes of the Metal Factory of the Russo-Belgian Company
Gelendschick, Distributive Society
Ivanovo-Voznessensk, Distributive Society "Edinenije-Sila"
Kourgan, Union of Siberian Dairies
Kreuzburg, Savings and Loan Society
Lodz, Savings and Loan Bank
Moscow, Rural Co-operative Committee
Moscow, Distributive Society
Moscow, Union of Russian Distributive Societies
Naschitschewan, Distributive Society
Penza, Distributive Society
Rostow-on-Don, Distributive Society of the Employes of the Wladislaw-kow Railway Company
Rostow-on-Don, Distributive Society "Trudowoi Sojus"
St. Petersburg, Central Russian Co-operative Committee
Schadrinsk, Distributive Society

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
ROUMANIA—continued.									
Bucharest, Central Bank of the Roumanian People's Banks
Drajna-de-Jos, People's Bank "Drajna"
Hornortoui, People's Bank "Telesjenul"
Mereni-de-jos, People's Bank "Isvorul"
Novaci, People's Bank, "Gilortul"
Tg. Bujor, Federal Regional Bank "M. Cagalicenu"
Topoloveni-Muscel, Regional Federation of People's Banks "Podgoria"
Vaicea, People's Bank "Zavotul"
Zatreni, People's Bank "Oltetul"
RUSSIA.									
Bagaevskaia, Distributive Society "Donskou Trougenik"
Dorpat, Savings and Loan Bank
Enarkiewo, Distributive Society of the Officials and Employe's of the Metal Factory of the Russo-Belgian Company
Gelendschick, Distributive Society
Ivanovo-Voznessensk, Distributive Society "Edinenije-Sila"
Kourgan, Union of Siberian Dairies
Kreuzburg, Savings and Loan Society
Lodz, Savings and Loan Bank
Moscow, Rural Co-operative Committee
Moscow, Distributive Society
Moscow, Union of Russian Distributive Societies
Naschitschewan, Distributive Society
Pensa, Distributive Society
Rostow-on-Don, Distributive Society of the Employe's of the Wladimirskow Railway Company
Rostow-on-Don, Distributive Society "Trudowoi Sojus"
St. Petersburg, Central Russian Co-operative Committee
Schadrinsk, Distributive Society

Pincenza, Union of Rural Societies	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Ravenna, Workmen's Co-operative Society	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Ravenna, Union of Distributive Societies of the Province of Ravenna	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Rome, Military Distributive Society	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Turin, Distributive Society, "Alleanza Cooperativa"	...	...	...	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Turin, Building Society, "La Balnearia"	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
JAPAN.												
Tokio, Distributive Society "Kiodokwai"	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
NETHERLANDS.												
The Hague, Dutch Co-operative Union	4	0	0	5	0	0	19	0	0	26	12	0
Alkmarijp, Co-operative Dairy...	0	10	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	12	0
The Hague, Distributive Society "Eigen Hulp"	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Nunspeet, Co-operative Paint Factory "de Veluwe"	0	10	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	12	0
Sas van Gent, First Dutch Beet Sugar Factory	0	10	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	12	0
NORWAY.												
Bergen, Distributive Society	2	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Christiania, Hamar Distributive Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christiania, Distributive Society "Vika Kooperative Selskap"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christiania, Distributive Society	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Christiania, Agricultural Co-operative Society	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Christiania, Co-operative Union	2	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Christiania, Distributive Society "Sagenes Kooperative Selskap"	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Christiania, Distributive Society "Grinerlökkens"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fredrikstad, Distributive Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Halden, Workmen's Co-operative Society	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Trondhjem, Fourth Railway District Distributive Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
ROUMANIA.												
Botosani, People's Bank "Infrateris Plugarilor"	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Breaza-de-sus, People's Bank "Caraimanul"	0	15	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

		1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
ENGLAND—continued.									
Alcester Co-operative Industrial Society
Anfield Plain Industrial Co-operative Society
Ashington Industrial Co-operative Society
Ashton-under-Lyne Workington's Co-operative Society
Aspatria Industrial Co-operative Society
Backworth Industrial Co-operative Society
Bamfurlong Co-operative Society, Platt Bridge
Banbury Co-operative Industrial Society
Barnsley Co-operative Society
Barrow-in-Furness Co-operative Society
Barry and District Co-operative Industrial Society
Barwell and District Co-operative Society
Barwell, Sperope Boot Manufacturing Society
Batley Co-operative Society
Bedford Progressive Industrial Co-operative Society
Bedlington Economic Industrial Co-operative Society
Berkhamstead Co-operative Society
Bingley Industrial Co-operative Society
Birkenhead and District Co-operative Society
Birkenshaw Industrial Society
Birmingham Industrial Co-operative Society
Birmingham Printers
Birstall Industrial Co-operative Society
Birtley District Co-operative Society
Bishop Auckland Industrial Co-operative Society
Blackburn Industrial Co-operative Society
Blackburn, Daisfield Industrial Bees Co-operative Society
Blackpool Industrial Co-operative Society
Blaenavon Industrial and Provident Society
Blaina Industrial Provident Co-operative Society

Blaydon District Industrial Provident Society	...	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	0			
Bolsover Co-operative Society, New Bolsover	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0			
Bolton (Great and Little) Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0			
Bolton, N.W. Section Co-operative Educational Committees' Association	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0			
Boston Equitable Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0			
Bovey Tracey and District Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	...	...	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	
Bradford, Airedale Co-operative Worsted Manufacturing Society	...	6	6	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	0			
Bradford, City of Bradford Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0			
Bradford Co-operative Cabinetmakers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brentwood and District Provident Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bridgewater Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4	0		
Brighton Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0			
Brighton Equitable Co-operative Society	...	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	0		
Brighton Equitable Co-operative Society, Attercliffe	...	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	0		
Bristol and District Co-operative Society		
Burnley Equitable Co-operative Industrial Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0			
Burnley Self-help Cotton-spinning Manufacturing Society		
Bury Port Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0			
Burham Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	
Burton-on-Trent Co-operative Society		
Bury Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	
Caincross and Ebley Industrial Co-operative and Provident Society	...	0	10	0	0	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	
Cambridge Co-operative Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Canooch and District Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	
Cardiff Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Carlisle South-End Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	
Carnforth Co-operative Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Castleford Co-operative Industrial Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Cein and District Co-operative Society
Chatbam and District Co-operative Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Chelmsford Star Co-operative Industrial Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Chesbam Equitable Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	6	0	12	6	0	12	6	0	12	6	0
Chester-le-Street Co-operative Industrial Society	...	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Chipping Norton Co-operative Society	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Churwell Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0

LIST OF MEMBERS - continued.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.

ENGLAND—continued.								
Clayton-lo-Moors Industrial Co-operative Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cleator Moor Co-operative Society ...	1	1 0	0	13 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Cleckheaton Industrial Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	1	4 0	1	4 0	1	4 0
Clown Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Coalville Working Men's Co-operative Society ...	1	1 0	2	2 0	2	2 0	2	2 0
Codnor Park and Ironville Productive Industrial Co-operative Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colchester and East Essex Co-operative Industrial Society ...	0	10 6	1	4 0	0	12 0	0	12 6
Coline and District Co-operative Society ...	1	1 0	1	4 0	1	4 0	1	4 0
Compassall Co-operative Industrial Society, Marple Bridge ...	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	4 0	1	4 0
Consett Industrial Provident Society ...	0	10 0	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Conunforth and Coxhoe Co-operative Society ...	0	10 0	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Coventry, Lookhurst Lane Industrial Co-operative Society ...	1	0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coventry Perseverance Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	1	4 0	2	0 0	2	0 0
Coxlodge and Fawdon Industrial Provident Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cramlington District Co-operative Society ...	0	10 0	1	4 0	1	4 0	1	4 0
Crew Co-operative Friendly Society ...	1	1 0	2	2 0	2	2 0	2	2 0
Croydon Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Cwmbech Industrial Co-operative Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cwmbwrla Co-operative Society ...	0	10 0	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Cwmillery Industrial Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Darlington Co-operative Industrial Society ...	1	1 0	1	4 0	2	3 0	2	0 0
Dartford Industrial Co-operative Society ...	0	10 0	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Darwen Industrial Co-operative Society ...	1	1 0	1	4 0	1	4 0	1	4 0
Delabole Co-operative Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delph Industrial Co-operative Society ...	0	10 6	0	12 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Derby Co-operative Provident Society ...	8	8 0	3	3 0	3	3 0	3	3 0
Derby Co-operative Printing Society ...	...	...	0	5 0	0	12 0	0	12 0
Desborough Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society ...	0	10 0	0	12 0	0	12 0	1	4 0
Desborough Industrial and Provident Society ...	1	1 0	1	1 0	...	...	...	...
Dewsbury Pioneers' Industrial Society ...	...	...	1	1 0	2	2 0	2	2 0

Doncaster Mutual Co-operative and Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Dowlais Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Droylsden Co-operative Sundries Manufacturing Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0
Droylsden Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0
Durham Equitable Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ealing Tenants Limited	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Ebbw Vale Industrial and Provident Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0
Eccles Industrial Manufacturing Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Eccles Provident Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Edmonton Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	2	2	0
Egremont Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Enfield Highway Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Epsom Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	...	...	...
Exeter Co-operative Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	1	4	0
Failsforth Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Farnworth and Kearsley Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0
Finedon Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Fleetwood Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	1	0	1	1	0
Gateshead Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0
Glenfield Co-operative Society	0	10	6	0	12	0	12	0
Glossop Dale New Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Gloucester Co-operative Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Godalming and District Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Gomersal Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goole Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Grantham Equitable Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Gravesend, Borough of Gravesend Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Grays Co-operative Industrial Provident Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Great Grimby Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Great Harwood Industrial Co-operative Provident Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0
Great Horton Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0
Great Wigston Industrial Provident Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Greenfield Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0
Greenfates and Apperley Bridge Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Guildford and District Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

		1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Halifax Flour Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Halifax Industrial Society	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Hampton and New Hampton Co-operative Society	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Hartlepool Co-operative Society, West Hartlepool	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	1 4 0	...	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Hastings Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Haverhill Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	0 10 6	0 10 6	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Co-operative Society	...	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0
Heckmondwike Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Hetton Downs Amicable Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Heywood Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	1 4 0	0 10 6	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Higher Hurst Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Hindley Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Horbury Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Horwich Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Hucknall Torkard Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Huddersfield Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0
Huddersfield, William Thomson and Sons	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Hyde Equitable Co-operative Society	...	0 10 0	1 4 0	0 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Ilkerton Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	1 4 0	0 10 6	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Ipswich Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Jarrow and Hebburn Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Keighley Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	1 4 0	0 10 6	1 4 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Kettering Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Kettering Clothing Manufacturing Co-operative Society	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Kettering Co-operative Corset Manufacturing Society	...	0 10 6	...	0 10 6	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Kidderminster Industrial Co-operative Society	...	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0
Kingston-upon-Hull Co-operative Society, Hull	...	0 10 0	2 0 0	0 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Kirkby-in-Ashfield Industrial Co-operative Society, East Kirkby	...	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 10 6	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Lancaster and District Equitable Industrial Co-operative Society	...	0 10 0	2 0 0	0 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0

ENGLAND—continued.

Langley Mill and Aldercar Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0	1	4	0
Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0	5	0	0
Leek and Moorlands Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0
Leek Silk Twist Manufacturing Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	15	0
Leicester Anchor Boot and Shoe Productive Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0*	1	1	0
Leicester Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	2	0	0
Leicester Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0
Leicester Co-operative Printing Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0
Leicester Co-operative Productive Federation	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	1	1	0
Leicester "Self-help" Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	10	0
Leigh Friendly Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	2	0	0
Lenton and Nottingham Co-operative Society, Nottingham	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	2	0	0
Letchworth, Garden City Press	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0
Lincoln Equitable Co-operative Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	0	2	2	0
Lincoln Land and Building Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0
Littleborough Co-operative Society of Industry	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0
Liverpool, City of Liverpool Equitable Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0
London, Agricultural and Horticultural Association	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0
London, Agricultural Organisation Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	5	0	0
London, Bookbinders' Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
London, Canteen and Mess Co-operative Agency	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0
London Clothiers Limited	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
London, Co-operative Typewriters	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0
London, Co-operative Brotherhood Trust	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0
London, Co-partnership Tenants	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0
London, Garden City Tenants	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
London, Garden Suburb Builders	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0
London, Labour Co-partnership Association	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	2	0	0
London Working Men's Club and Institute Union	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	10	6
London, Women's Co-operative Guild, Central Committee	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	2	0	0
London, Woodworkers Ltd.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
Long Buckley Self-Assistance Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	1	0
Long Eaton Working Men's Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0
Lowestoft Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0
Luddendenfoot Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0

Northampton Co-operative Society...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
North Shields Industrial Society...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Norwich Co-operative Society...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Nuneaton Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
Oldham Equitable Co-operative Society...	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society...	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0
Osselt Industrial Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
Oxford Co-operative Industrial Society...	1	1	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Oxford Co-operative Builders and Decorators...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Paignton Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parkgate and Berry Brow Co-operative Society...	0	10	0	0	10	6	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Parkstone and Bournemouth Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Pegwood Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Penarth Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Pendleton Co-operative Industrial Society...	2	2	0	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Penge and Beckenham Co-operative Society...	0	10	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0
Penrith Co-operative Society...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Pen-y-graig Industrial Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Peterborough Equitable Industrial Co-operative Society...	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Pontrhydyfen Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	8
Pontycymmer Industrial Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Portsea Island Mutual Co-operative Society, Portsmouth...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	2	0	0
Preston Industrial Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Prestwich Co-operative Industrial Society...	0	10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
Queensbury Industrial Society...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Radcliffe and Pilkington District Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	0	10	6	0	10	6	0	10	6	1	4	0
Ramabottom Industrial Provident Society...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Raunds Distributive Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Reading Industrial Co-operative Society...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Ripley Provident Industrial Co-operative Society...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
River and District Industrial Co-operative Society, Dover...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society...	0	10	6	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Rugby Industrial Provident Co-operative Society...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Runcorn and Widnes Industrial Co-operative Society...	1	11	6	1	11	6	1	11	6	1	11	6	1	11	6
Rushton Industrial Co-operative Society...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0

Ten Acres and Stinchley Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	1	0	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Throckley Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Tiverton Co-operative Educational Committee	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Todmorden Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Ton Industrial Co-operative Society, Ton Pentre	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Torquay Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	10	6	0	12	6	0	12	6
Tow Law and District Industrial Provident Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Toxeth Co-operative Provident Society, Liverpool...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	1	4	0	1	5	0	1	5	0
Treharris Workmen's Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0
Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Twerton Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	...	...	...
Tyldesley and District Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Uppermill Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Walkden Provident Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0
Walker Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Wallsend Co-operative Laundries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Wallsend Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Walsall and District Society	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Walsall Locks and Cart Gear Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Warrington Equitable Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Watford Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	10	6	1	1	0	...	...	...
Wellingborough Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	6	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Wellingborough, Ideal Clothiers	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Wellingborough, Midland Co-operative Root Manufacture ^{rs}	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	12	0
West Stanley Co-operative Society, Stanley	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Weston-super-Mare District Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
West Wylam and Prudhoe Co-operative Society, West Wylam	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	0	12	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Whaley Bridge Industrial and Working Men's Friendly Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Whetherby and District Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Wigston Hosiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Willscden Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	...	...	...
Willington Quay and Howden Industrial Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Windhill Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Windy Nook and District Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Winsford Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	0	1	4	0

Burnbank Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Burntisland Workingmen's Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Busby Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Cambuslang Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Camelon Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Carlisle Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...
Carrick Provident Co-operative Society, Maybole	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Carron Co-operative Society, Falkirk	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	...	...
Cathcart Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	...	...
Catrine Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Clydebank Co-operatives Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Coalburn District Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Coatbridge Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	0 12 0	1 4 0
Cowdenbeath Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Cowlairs Co-operative Society, Springburn	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Crofthead Co-operative Society, Fauldhouse	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Crosshouse Co-operative Association	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Dalziel Co-operative Society, Motherwell	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Darvel Industrial Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Denny and Dunipace Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	...	0 12 0	0 12 0
Dreghorn Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0
Dumbarton Equitable Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Dundee, City of Dundee Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0
Dundee — Forfarshire, Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire Co-operative Association	...	...	...	...	Co-operative Conference	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Dunfermline Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0
Dykehead and Shotts Co-operative Society, Shotts	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Dysart Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	1 0 0
Edinburgh, East of Scotland District Conference Association	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Edinburgh Co-operative Printing Company	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Association	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Fife and Kinross Conference Association	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Fraserburgh Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Galashiels Waverley Co-operative Store	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 12 0
	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

		1910.			1911.			1912.			1913.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SCOTLAND—continued.													
Galston Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gilbertfield Co-operative Society, Cambuslang	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Glasgow, Co-operative Drapery and Furnishing Society	...	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Glasgow, Eastern Co-operative Society	...	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Glasgow, Kinning Park Co-operative Society	...	4	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0
Glasgow, London Road Co-operative Society...	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Glasgow "Progress" Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, St. George Co-operative Society	...	3	3	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0
Glasgow, St. Rollox Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Glasgow, Scottish Central Committee on Education	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Glasgow, Scottish Co-operator	...	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Glasgow, Scottish Co-operative Defence Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, Scottish Co-operative Veterans' Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow and Suburbs Co-operative Conference Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, United Co-operative Baking Society	...	60	0	0	60	0	0	60	0	0	60	0	0
Gorebridge Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Grahamstown and Bainsford Co-operative Society, Falkirk	...	1	0	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Greenock Central Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	1	4	0	1	4	0	2	2	0
Hamilton Central Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Hamilton Co-operative Baking Society	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Hawick Co-operative Society	...	2	2	0	2	2	0	1	4	0	1	4	0
Howwood Co-operative Society...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hurlford Co-operative Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Johnstone Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Juniper Green Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Kelty Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Kilbarchan Co-operative Society	...	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Kilbirnie Co-operative Society	...	...	...	...	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0

LIST OF MEMBERS—continued.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
SCOTLAND—continued.								
Tillicoultry Co-operative Society	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Tollcross Co-operative Society
Uddingston Co-operative Society	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Vale of Leven Co-operative Society, Alexandria	1 1 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
West Calder Co-operative Society	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Wishaw Co-operative Society	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
IRELAND.								
Belfast Co-operative Society	0 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	2 0 0
Dublin, Irish Agricultural Organisation Society	2 0 0
UNITED STATES.								
Minneapolis, Right Relationship League	2 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
New York, Co-operative League	0 12 0	0 12 0
San Francisco, "Pacific Co-operator"	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	...
San Francisco, Rochdale Wholesale Company	0 10 0	0 12 0	...	...

DONATIONS.

XXVII.

	1910.		1911.		1912.		1913.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
CYPRUS.								
Economides, John, Nicosia	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	0 0
INDIA.								
Udyaver, R. L., Dharwar ... ..	...	...	0	12 0	0	12 0	...	...
NETHERLANDS.								
Boudenwijnse, J. H., The Hague	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0
Goedhart, G. J. D. C., The Hague ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Löhnis, F. B., The Hague	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0
Mandere, H. van der, The Hague ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Trenb, Prof. Dr. M. F., Scheveningen	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0
Welderer-Rengers, Baron von, Oenkerk ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yitta, Dr. Joseph, Amsterdam... ..	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0	...	...
UNITED KINGDOM.								
Barrowford Co-operative Industrial Society	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0	0	5 0
Chance, Sir W., Godalming	1	1 0	...	...	1	1 0	1	1 0
Chitty, Edward, Dover	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0	1	1 0
Grey, Earl, Ilowick	5	0 0	5	0 0	5	0 0	5	0 0
Tubbs, Mrs., St. Leonards	0	10 6	0	10 6	0	12 6	0	12 6
Wilson, H. J., M.P., Sheffield... ..	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	0 0	1	0 0
UNITED STATES.								
Smith, J., Cambridge	0	5 0	...	...	0	5 0	0	5 0
Stringfield, H. C., New York ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	12 0	0	12 0

Balance Sheets for

CASH

	1910.			1911.			1912.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, 1st January.....	97	7	1	10	2	1	10	0	0	117	9	2
„ Subscriptions	1,246	3	3	1,418	7	10	1,581	15	3	4,246	6	4
„ Donations	12	3	6	9	12	6	8	19	6	30	15	6
„ Sale of Publications and Advertisements	67	11	7	79	9	8	118	14	1	265	15	4
„ Sale of Slides and Publications on Commission	32	2	2	12	5	1	27	14	11	72	2	2
„ Bank Interest.....	14	3	0	5	18	2	6	16	10	26	18	0
„ Sale of Furniture	13	18	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	18	4
„ Cash from Zürich Office	199	4	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	199	4	6
„ I.C.W.S. Committee.....	—	—	—	39	19	4	4	19	2	44	18	6
„ Translation.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	10	8	0	10	8
„ Balance due to Dr. Müller	19	17	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	17	0
„ Bank Withdrawals	1,111	9	2	1,443	9	2	1,056	17	10	3,611	16	2
	2,813	19	7	3,019	3	10	2,816	8	3	8,649	11	8

BANKING

	1910.			1911.			1912.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in Bank, 1st January ...	788	9	10	557	10	5	679	13	10	2,025	14	1
„ Cash Deposits, 31st December ...	963	16	10	1,565	12	7	1,749	10	5	4,278	19	10
	1,752	6	8	2,123	3	0	2,429	4	3	6,304	13	11

LIABILITIES

	1910.			1911.			1912.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Accounts owing—Rent, Cleaning and Lighting..	29	7	7	33	13	7	34	8	4
„ Printing <i>Bulletin</i>	—	—	—	48	6	3	61	0	6
„ Printing English Year Book.....	46	17	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ Cash owing to Zürich.....	19	17	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ Balance of Assets over Liabilities	501	10	8	661	8	0	1,320	5	7
	597	12	6	743	7	10	1,415	14	5

1910, 1911, and 1912.

ACCOUNT.

	1910.			1911.			1912.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Rent, Cleaning, Heating, and Lighting.....	66	1	3	134	2	7	133	5	1	333	8	11
„ Salaries	475	12	1	549	0	2	407	12	0	1,432	4	3
„ General Printing and Stationery...	24	13	1	48	7	1	27	15	0	100	15	2
„ Printing and Postage of <i>Bulletin</i> ...	203	7	5	312	19	3	386	1	5	902	8	1
„ Carriage and Sundries	14	11	4	6	6	11	5	17	3	26	15	6
„ Postages, Telegrams, and Telephone.....	57	7	3	30	0	4	23	19	6	111	7	1
„ Publications on Commission and Slides.....	43	11	8	18	18	8	13	2	9	75	13	1
„ Library and Furnishing	36	14	1	12	15	11	5	7	6	54	17	6
„ Travelling	80	8	9	49	5	3	50	2	11	179	16	11
„ Printing, Translation, and Carriage of Year Book.....	231	12	10	46	17	3				278	10	1
„ Hamburg Congress, Printing, and Translation	354	2	11	—			—			354	2	11
„ Hamburg Congress Report	—			212	15	10	—			212	15	10
„ I.C.W.S. Committee.....	45	3	6	—			—			45	3	6
„ Bank Charges.....	0	14	9	0	5	9	6	9	10	1	10	4
„ Cash from Zürich to London	200	12	10	—			—			200	12	10
„ Loss on Exchange	0	6	11	—			—			0	6	11
„ Central Committee Meeting, Wiesbaden.....	5	0	0	—			—			5	0	0
„ Translation	—			1	16	3	3	4	7	5	0	10
„ Balance due to Dr. Müller	—			20	0	0	—			20	0	0
„ Bank Deposits	963	16	10	1,565	12	7	1,749	10	5	4,278	19	10
„ Balance in hand, 31st December..	10	2	1	10	0	0	10	0	6	30	2	1
	2,813	19	7	3,019	3	10	2,816	8	3	8,649	11	8

ACCOUNT.

	1910.			1911.			1912.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Withdrawals, 31st December ...	1,194	16	3	1,143	9	2	1,056	17	10	3,695	3	3
„ Balance in Bank.....	557	10	5	679	13	10	1,372	6	5	2,609	10	8
	1,752	6	8	2,123	3	0	2,429	4	3	6,304	13	11

AND ASSETS.

	1910.			1911.			1912.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Office Furniture, estimated	30	0	0	50	0	0	30	0	0
„ Dutch Subscriptions	—			23	14	0	—		
„ Cash in Bank	557	10	5	679	13	10	1,372	6	5
„ Cash in Hand	10	2	1	10	0	0	10	0	0
„ Sale of Publications, United Kingdom	—			—			3	8	0
	597	12	6	743	7	10	1,415	14	5

List of Delegates & Representatives present at the Congress.

REPRESENTATIVES AND GUESTS OF HONOUR.

Glasgow	Barnes, G. N., M.P.
Board of Agriculture	Cheney, E. J.
Labour Department, Board of Trade	Dent, J. J.
Tubingen	Wilbrandt, Prof. Dr.
Ruskin College	Slater, Dr. Gilbert.
Board of Trade	Cahill, J. R.

DELEGATES FROM SOCIETIES AND UNIONS IN MEMBERSHIP WITH THE ALLIANCE.

AUSTRIA.

Lemberg, Landeskreditverband	Petrushevich, Ivan. Sajewycz, Omelaw.
Lemberg, Landesrevisionsverband ruthenischer landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften	Petrushevich, Ivan.
Lemberg, Wechselseitiger Kreditverein "Dnister"	Stepankovsky, V.
Prague. Ustredni svaz ceskoslovanskych druzstev	Cifka, Karel. Havranek, Jan. Havrankova, Marie. Jaros, Rudolf. Jirasek, Ferdinand. Keller, Alois. Kelner, Ferd. Kameda, Karel. Konicek, Vaclav. Modracek, Frantisek. Panek, Josef. Smahel, Bohumil. Vanicek, Josef. Vanickova, Marie. Winter, Dr. Lev.
Vienna, Zentralverband österreichischer Konsumvereine	Beran. Cermak, Karl. Chobot, Emanuel. Dietl, Anton. Dvorak, Anton. Eldersch, Matthias. Feilnreiter, Franz. Fischer, Rudolf. Fiser, Adalbert. Freundlich, Emmy. Gabriel, Josef. Gärtler, Oskar. Gergich.

	Gottfried, Anton.
	Gottsmann, Josef.
	Hackl, Wenzel.
	Hahn, Alois.
	Hesky, Franz.
	Hladik, Hermann.
Vienna, Zentralverband österreichischer Konsumvereine	Jenik, Eduard. Karpeles, Dr. Benno. Karpeles, Lisi. Knobloch, Franz. Kohl, Anton. Kovanda, Wenzel. Kühnel, Franz. Lorenz, Wilhelm. Mai, Heinrich. Mladek, Wenzel. Pölzer, Johann. Rausnitz, Siegmund. Renner, Dr. Karl. Scharing, Julius. Schnöpf, Wilhelm. Sikora, Anton. Sommer, Rudolf. Stametz, Josef. Thum, Eduard. Tobola, Josef. Visintini, Heinrich. Vukovits, Andreas. Wabersich, Wenzel. Wohradsky, Franz.

HUNGARY.

Budapest, Atalános Fogvasztási Szövetkezet.	Erdélyi, Maurus.
Budapest, "Hangya"	Peidl, Julius.
Budapest, Landes Zentralkreditgenossen- schaft	György, André.
Budapest, Magyar Köztisztviselők Fogvasz- tási szövetkezete	György, André.
Budapest, Magyarországi szövetkezetek szövetsége	Méhely, Koloman. Pum, Josef.
	Kalapos, Ludwig.
	György, Miss.

BELGIUM.

Antwerp, Fédération sociéties coopératives belges	Bertrand, Louis.
Antwerp, Office coopératif belge	de Backer, Adolphe.
	Dupont, Léon.
	Pépin, Louis.
	Rousseau, Emile.
	Serwy, Victor.

DENMARK.

Aarhus, Jydsk Andels-Foderstofforretning ...	Kristensen, Kr.
	Kristensen, N.
	Nielsen, P.

Copenhagen, Fællesforeningen for Danmarks
Brugsforeninger

Broberg, L.
Jørgensen, Severin.
Nielsen, Frederik.

FRANCE.

Paris, Fédération Nationale des Coopératives
de Consommation

Berthraut.
Hélias, M. L.
Lavergne-Bernard.
Le Clerc.
Poisson.
Poisson, Madame.
Quillent.
Renaudel.
Renaudel, Madame.
Thomas, Albert.

GERMANY,

Bocholt, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht."
Duisburg-Ruhrort, Konsumgenossenschaft
"Selbsthülfe"

Halfenberg, Josef.

Giesenkirchen, Konsumverein, "Arbeiter-
wohl"

Tripnart, Emil.

Hagen, Konsumgenossenschaft "Eintracht."
Hamburg, Zentralverband deutscher Kon-
sumvereine

Kremer, Gerhard.
Hamer, Otto.

Albert, Fr.
Assmann, R.
Banse, W.
Barthel, W.
Bauer, H. (Nürnberg).
Bauer, H. (Wiesbaden).
Bauer, J.
Benkert, L.
Berthold, P.
Bodden, J.
Borgner, O.
Borowski, A.
Bösch, S.
Braun, E.
Clötzel, K.
Dreyer, Ed.
Eberle, K.
Elm, A. von.
Ewert, K.
Feuerstein, F.
Fickenscher, H.
Fischer, H.
Franke, K.
Frenzel, P.
Friedrich, R.
Geidel, O.
Gottschalk, K.
Grashold, H.
Grossberndt, H.
Hammerbacher, A.
Haubold, E.
Heilers, W.
Heintzschel, M.

Hamburg, Zentralverband deutscher Kon-
sumvereine

Herbst, J.
Horksen, W.
Hildebrandt, A.
Hirsch, W.
Hirschnitz, M.
Josephsohn, M.
Junger, R.
Kalbfleisch, V.
Kantlehner, R.
Kaufmann, H.
Kleefoot, P.
Klug, Br.
König, K.
Krolik, M.
Krüger, P.
Kühnert, R.
Liebmann, V.
Lorenz, H.
Maier, Dr.
Meissner, O.
Mendel, M.
Meurer, Wilh.
Meyer, Hermann.
Meyer, P.
Mirus, A.
Müller, Dr. A.
Neubauer, A.
Noack, B.
Pflug, R.
Preissner, K.
Richter, O.
Rieger, J.
Riehl, K.
Röder, K.
Rupprecht, A.
Schäfer, H.
Schaffer, P.
Schagen, W.
Schiesser, W.
Schievink, H.
Schmidt, H.
Schmidt, W.
Schmittinger, W.
Schulte, A.
Schwedt, H.
Seifert, H.
Seltmann, Fr.
Siegel, J.
Sierakowsky, H.
Sörensen, Wald.
Staudinger, Prof.
Steinbach, Frau W.
Tättel, F.
Vieth, F.
Vosseler, A.
Waller, Herm.
Weddig, K.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Lippstadt, Konsumverein "Selbsthilfe" | Wiefel, R. |
| Lünen a.d. Lippe, Konsumgenossenschaft | Wurtz, W. |
| "Eintracht" | Zink, Fr. |
| | Braun, Carl. |
| Mülheim a/Rh., Reichsverband deutscher | Schlack, Peter. |
| Konsumvereine | Erich, L. |
| | Schlack, Peter. |
| | Winter, Carl. |
| ITALY. | |
| Milan, Federazione Milanese delle Coopera- | |
| tive di Produzione e Lavoro | Osimo, A., Professor. |
| Milan, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative | |
| italiane | Forti, Prof. Rag. A. |
| | Ferrari, Bruno, Prof. |
| | Vergnanini, Antonio. |
| Milan, Unione Cooperativa | Boschetti, Elisa, Mlle. |
| NETHERLANDS. | |
| s'Gravenhage, Nederlansche Coöperatieve | |
| Bond and Handelskamer..... | Adam, John. |
| | Goedhart, G. J. D. C. |
| | Kristians, J. A. |
| | Mirrer, G. A. J. |
| | Schouten, A. |
| | Spiekman, H. |
| | Zillesen, C. F. |
| NORWAY. | |
| Bergen, Nygaards Handelsforening | Pedersen, H. |
| Christiania, Grünerløkkens koop. selskap | Aarøe, P. |
| Kristiania, Hamar kooperatve selskap | Ditlefsen, Arne. |
| Christiania, Kristiania kooperatve selskap ... | Hagen, C. |
| Christiania, Landhusholdings selskapernes | |
| Fallesjob | Braset, H. |
| | Tesaker, B. |
| Christiania, Norges koop. landsforening | Dehli, O. |
| | Röine, O. |
| Christiania, Sagene kooperatve selskap | Opsand, I. |
| Christiania, Vika kooperatve selskap | Hopen, N. |
| Fredrikstad, fredrikstad samvirkelag | Rikheim, S. |
| Halden, Haldens arbeideres handelsforening... | Arnesen, R. |
| Trondhjem, 4de Jernbanedistrikts forbruks- | |
| forening | Skaarvold, J. |
| ROUMANIA. | |
| Botosani, Infratiria Plugarilor | Museteanu, M. |
| Breaza-de-Sus, "Caraimanul" | Popovici, Gheorghe. |
| Bucharest, Casa Centrala a Bancilor Populare. | Enescu, Fotin C. |
| RUSSIA. | |
| Moscow, Komitet v. selsk ssudosteregat- | |
| towaritschestrach | Perelchin, Wladimir. |
| Moscow, Union of Russian Distributive | |
| Societies | Koroboff, Dmitry |
| | Totomianz, Dr. V. |
| Tiflis, Georgian Agricultural Society | Ghambashidze, David. |

FINLAND.

Helsingfors, Suomen Osuuskauppojen Kes-
kusosastoiskunta

Hello, E.
Hirvonen, Pentti.
Karli, Otto.
Linna, E.
Peitsalo, Otto.
Stavenhagen, Emil.
Arola, Kaarle.

Helsingfors, "Pellervo"

SWEDEN.

Stockholm, Kooperative Förbundet

Pahlmann, Axel.
Rosling, K. G.
Schmidt, C. W.

SWITZERLAND.

Basle, Verband schweiz. Konsumvereine

Aebli.
Angst, E.
Baumgartner, J.
Cadotsch, J. B.
Rohr, Heinrich.
Schär, Dr.
Suter, Dr. A.
Thomet, F.

UNITED KINGDOM.

ENGLAND.

Aberdeen

Airedale, Worsted Manufacturing

Alcester

Ashton-under-Lyne

Barnsley

Barrow

Barrowford

Barwell

Batley

Bedlington

Bingley

Birkenshaw

Birmingham

Bishop Auckland

Blackburn, Industrial

Blaina

Blaydon

Bolton

Boston

Bradford, City of

Bradford, Cabinetmakers

Bridgewater

Brightside and Carbrook

Davies, A.
Halstead, R.
Fleming, R.
Hall, F.
Jones, S.
Machen, W.
Postlethwaite, J.
Walker, A.
Bradley, A. J.
Geary, G.
Bayne, J.
Caine, J.
Winton, J.
Haslam, J.
Pearce, G. H.
Williams, Mrs. M.
Davis, T.
Peacock, J.
Rogers, J. R.
Athay, F.
Crooks, W.
Bentley, W.
Bradley, W. T.
Coulson, W.
Banks, T.
Mellor, H.
Allan, J.
McCulloch, D.
Firth, J.
Nagle, J. G.

Burnley	Maxwell, W.
Bury	Ingham, G.
	Taylor, R.
Cainscross and Ebley	Blackwell, J.
Cardiff	Seig, E. G.
Carlisle	Clarke, W.
Carnforth	Patterson, J.
Chatham	Wilson, G.
Chelmsford	Armstrong, T.
Chipping Norton	Pearson, J.
Clayton-le-Moors	Crires, T.
Cleator Moor	Larkin, W.
Cleckheaton	Peel, E.
Clown	Flanagan, Mrs. J. A.
Coalville	Lockwood, A.
Codnor Park and Ironville	Kendrick, J.
Co-operative Insurance Society	Brodrick, T.
	Dewar, J.
	Forsyth, J. H.
Co-operative Newspaper Society	Bamford, W. M.
	Elliott, J.
	Flanagan, J. A.
Co-operative Productive Federation	Halstead, R.
Co-operative Printing Society	Sellars, W. F.
Co-operative Secretaries' Association	Kenworthy, J. C.
Co-operative Sundries Manufacturing	Lawton, H.
Co-operative Union Limited	Redfearn, T.
	Murdoch, J.
	Westbury, H.
Co-operative Wholesale Society	Coley, P.
	Johns, J. E.
	Moorhouse, T. E.
Coventry	Jones, W.
	Poole, S. G.
Coxlodge and Fawdon	Avery, J.
Crewe	Whitehead, A.
Croydon	Dale, W. F.
Darlington	Hall, J.
Dartford	May, H. J.
Delph	Moorhouse, T. E.
Derby	Rankin, F.
	Turner, H.
Derby Printers	Levick, F.
Dewsbury Pioneers	Thomson, T. H.
Dowlais	Davies, Mrs.
Drovltsden	Pogson, D.
Eccles Manufacturing	Glass, P.
Eccles Provident	Deeley, B.
Egremont	Tyson, H.
Failsworth	Nelson, J.
Farnworth and Kearsley	Urmson, S.
Fleetwood	Dyer, Dr. H.
Gateshead	Brack, J.
	Oliver, J.
Gloucester	Blackwell, J.
Godalming	M'Pherson, J.
Goole	Holmes, L.
Grantham	McInnes, D.
Gravesend	Dent, J. J.

Great Grimsby	Young, J.
Great Horton	Shepherd, J.
Great Wigston	Wyld, A.
Greenfield	Burnett, H.
Guildford	Holyoake-Marsh, Mrs. E
Haslingden	Gray, T.
Hebden Bridge Fustian	Dawson, J.
Heckmondwike	Redfearn, Mrs. S.
Heywood	Thomson, G.
Hindley	Gerrard, D. H.
Horwich	Bradley, Miss M.
Huddersfield	Bain, J.
"Ideal" Clothiers, Wellingboro'	Kyle, G. O.
Ilkeston	M'Intyre, D.
Keighley	Abbott, A.
	Midgley, F.
Kettering Boot and Shoe Manufacturing	Williams, A.
Kettering Corset Manufacturing	Law, L.
Kettering Industrial	Ballard, W.
Kettering Clothing Manufacturing	Daniels, H.
Kirkby-in-Ashfield	Sharpe, W.
Lancaster and District.....	Buchan, Mrs.
	Slater, Mrs.
Langley Mill and Aldercar	Wyld, A.
Leeds	Briggs, G.
	Healy, T. A.
Leek and Moorlands.....	Pinkerton, G.
Leiceser. Anchor Boot and Shoe	Moore, W.
Leicester Co-operative	Mann, A.
	Mann, Mrs. A.
Leicester, "Equity" Boot and Shoe	M'Pherson, H.
Leicester Printing	Hubbard, G. W.
Leigh	Aubrey, C.
	Williams, J.
Lincoln	Hewson, W.
	Howard, W. B.
Lincoln Land and Building	McInnes, D.
Liverpool, City of	Blair, W. R.
	Blair, Mrs. A.
London: Agricultural Association	Harris, J. N.
Labour Co-partnership Association	Mann, A.
	Williams, A.
Long Buckby	Smart, S.
Manchester and Salford	Gibson, D.
	Gibson, Mrs. D.
Mansfield and Sutton	Turner, Mrs. H.
Masboro' Equitable	Ainsworth, E.
Middlesbrough	Edwardson, E.
	Weaver, J. W.
Midland Boot Manufacturers	Smith, D.
Mid-Rhondda	Gamble, J. S.
Morley	Low, W.
Nelson	Sinclair, T.
Newark	Smethurst, W. A.
New Mills	Edmondson, Rev. W. D.
Northern Co-operative Laundries	Davison, J.
North Shields	Morton, E. F.
Oldham Equitable	Pringle, G.
Ossett	Scholefield, J.

Pegswood	Anderson, W.
Penarth	Seig, E. J.
Peterborough	Syred, W.
	Syred, Mrs. W.
Portsea Island	Frankling, F. J.
Preston	Brown, J.
Queensbury	Johnston, T.
Ripley	Weir, W.
River and District	Young, A.
Rochdale Pioneers	Banks, T.
	McIlar, H.
Rugby	Ritchie, W.
Runcorn and Widnes	Millington, W.
Scarborough	Cross, A.
Seaton Delaval	Lindsay, J.
Sheffield and Eccleshall	Green, G.
	Miller, J.
	Lowe, P. Y.
Skelmersdale	Gray, R.
Soho	Gerrard, Mrs. D. H.
Southampton	Cadiz, M. H.
" Sperope " Boot Manufacturers	Hamilton, J.
Stapleford and Sandiacre	Higginbotham, J.
Stockport Industrial	Kenworthy, J. C.
Stocksbridge	Banks, G. L.
Stratford	Golightly, A. W.
	Walker, H. F.
Tamworth	Monteith, J. B.
Tantobie	Thomson, G.
Thomson, William, and Sons	Kinton, M.
Throckley	Bell, G.
Tow Law	M'Lay, R.
Treharris	McLean, T.
Twerton	Maxwell, Mrs. W.
Uppermill	McLean, Mrs. T.
Walkden	Crisp, J.
Wallsend	Abbotts, W.
Walsall	Johnson, C.
Wellingborough Midland	Holmes, Mrs. L.
Whaley Bridge	Gemmel, Mrs.
Willesden District	Barnes, G. N., M.P.
Windhill	Young, J.
Winsford	Arnold, T. G.
Woolwich, Royal Arsenal	Hainsworth, A.
	Edgar, R.
Workington Beehive	Millar, W.
Workington Industrial	Young, J.
Worksop	Rankin, Mrs. F.
Wrexham	Davies, S.
YnysybwI	Coffer, Mrs
Women's Co-operative Guild	

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen Northern	Bissett, G.
Alloa	McLean, G.
Alva	Wilson, D. C.
Armadale	Poustie, R.
Avonbank	M'Kenzie, D.
	Greig, J. F.

Bainsford and Grahamstown Baking	Jamieson, J.
Bannockburn	Buchanan, J.
Barrhead	Edgar, W.
Beith	Smith, T.
Bellshill and Mossend	Swan, J.
Blantyre	Lindsay, W.
Bonnybridge	M'Gruther, W.
Brechin United	O'Neil, A.
Broxburn	Bertram, D.
Burnbank	Wallace, R.
Burntisland	Spalding, G.
Busby	M'Callum, A.
Cambuslang	Anderson, A.
Camelon	Burns, J.
Carrick	Davidson, A.
Cathcart	Todd, A.
Clydebank	Davidson, C. M.
Coatbridge	Johnston, J.
Cowdenbeath	King, J.
Cowlairs	Torrance, J.
Crofthead	M'Kee, J.
Dalziel	Jack, D.
Darvel	Russell, W.
Denny and Dunnipace	Loney, P.
Dumbarton	Bennett, H. H.
Dundee, City of	Muir, J.
Dunfermline	Bowie, A.
Dykehead and Shotts	Crichton, D.
Dysart	Terris, A.
Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert's	Rodger, H.
	Taylor, G. D.
Fraserburgh	M'Lean, N.
Galashiels United	Millar, H.
Gilbertfield	Haddow, H.
Glasgow, Drapery and Furnishing	Somerville, R.
Glasgow Eastern	Ross, M.
Glasgow, Kinning Park	Martin, A. W.
	M'Kenzie, F.
Glasgow, London Road	Cardwell, F.
Glasgow, St. George	Gow, Mrs. M.
	Henderson, A.
Glasgow, St. Rollox	Ross, T.
Glasgow, United Co-operative Bakery	Buchanan, A.
	Buchanan, Mrs. A.
	Tulloch, Mrs.
Gorebridge	Young, G.
Grahamstown and Bainsford	Dunbar, J.
Greenock Central	Horne, D.
Hamilton Baking	Morrison, W.
Hamilton Central	M'Rae, W.
Howwood	Hines, C.
Hurlford	Allison, R.
Johnstone	Howie, J.
Juniper Green	Kelly, J. C.
Kelty	Calder, J. B.
Kilbirnie	Scott, W. M.
Kilmarnock	Clark, T.
	Lennox, A.
Kilwinning	Paterson, J.

Lanark	Oldfield, E.
Leith	Terris, A.
Lennoxtown	Campbell, H.
Lochgelly	Kerr, A.
Longcroft	Anderson, D.
Musselburgh and Fisherrow	Ross, W.
New Cumnock	Howat, R.
Newmains and Cambusnethan	M'Whirter, D.
Newmilns	Forbes, A.
Newton	Donaldson, W.
Paisley Equitable	Baird, W.
Paisley Manufacturing	Lamond, W. A.
	Phinn, J.
Paisley Provident	M'Millan, N.
	Orr, G.
Paisley Underwood Coal	Ritchie, J.
Pathhead and Sinclairtown	Murray, D. P.
Perth, City of	Taylor, J.
Perth Coal	Miller, W.
Pollokshaws	M'Courtney, R.
Renfrew Equitable	Jamieson, Mrs.
Selkirk	Bolster, T. J.
Shettleston	Hamilton, C.
Stenhousemuir Equitable	Deans, J.
Stirling	Brown, J.
Tillicoultry	Stavert, A.
Uddingston	Hamilton, J.
Vale of Leven	Logie, A.
West Calder	Cassidy, P.
Wishaw	Prentice, W.
Central District Conference Association	Campbell.
East of Scotland Conference Association	Johnston, A.
Fife and Kinross Conference Association	M'Connell, P.
Forfarshire, Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire Conference Association	
Glasgow and Suburbs Conference Association.	Mathews, G. J.
Stirling and West of Fife Conference. Assoc.	Fraser, R.
Scottish Central Committee on Education.....	Dunley, J.
Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society	Lucas, J.
	Allan, W. R.
Scottish Laundry Association	Macpherson, C. W.
Scottish National Defence Association	Campbell, R.
Scottish Veterans' Association	Welsh, A.
Scottish Women's Guild	Norval, A.
"Scottish Co-operator" Newspaper	Rough, Mrs.
	Adam, T.

IRELAND.

Belfast	Armstrong, R.
	Richardson, H.

AMERICA (UNITED STATES).

New York, Co-operative League	Sacoder, Joseph.
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NINTH CONGRESS
of the
International Co-operative Alliance.

CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

President:

WILLIAM MAXWELL.

A. von ELM, D. McINNES,

G. J. D. C. GOEDHART, and O. DEHLI.

Secretary:

H. J. MAY.

Translators:

ADOLPHE SMITH, M. FALLET, and J. HILLSON.

The Congress Agenda.

I. SESSION OF CONGRESS.

1. Address of Welcome by the President of the Reception Committee.
2. Address of the Lord Provost.
3. Opening of the Congress by the President.
4. Inaugural Address by Earl Grey (Honorary President of the I.C.A.).
5. Report of the Central Committee on the activity of the Alliance since the Hamburg Congress.
6. Resolutions with regard to the revision of Articles 18, 19, 28 and 36 (b) of the rules.
7. Report on Uniform Co-operative Statistics.

II. SESSION OF CONGRESS.

8. Resolution of the Central Committee with regard to the attitude taken by the Co-operative Movement towards peace. (Mr. G. J. D. C. Goedhart.)
9. "The direct exchange of goods between distributive societies agricultural and other productive societies, also between the Wholesale Societies in the different countries." (Paper by Mr. Heinrich Kaufmann.)
10. Election of the members of the Central Committee.

III. SESSION OF CONGRESS.

11. "The closer relationship and mutual help of co-operators in the different countries, and the comprehensive character of the I.C.A." (Paper by Mr. Aneurin Williams.)
12. "The Co-operative Press and Co-operative Education." (Paper by Dr. O. Schär.)

IV. SESSION OF CONGRESS.

13. "The plurality of distributive societies having their seat in the same locality." (Paper by Mr. L. Buffoli.)
14. Motions by members of the Alliance.
15. Decision as to the time and place of the next Congress.
16. Closing of Congress by the President.

Standing Orders

FOR THE

Ninth International Co-operative Congress

Passed by the Central Committee on 5th June, 1913, at Basle.

1.

The Ninth International Co-operative Congress, convened by the Central Committee of the I.C.A., will be held at Glasgow, on 25th to 28th August, 1913, in the St. Mungo Halls.

2.

The following persons will be entitled to attend:—

- (a) Delegates of the co-operatives societies, unions, and associations which are members of the I.C.A., and which are not in arrears with their subscriptions. The names and number of delegates must be sent in by the societies or unions accrediting them to the office of the International Co-operative Alliance, 146, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, not later than 14th August.
- (b) Members of the Central Committee and the corresponding members of the I.C.A.
- (c) Persons invited by the Central Committee in virtue of the power conferred upon it by Clause 23 of the Alliance Rules.

These categories are the members of Congress.

3.

Persons wishing to attend Congress merely as visitors can obtain tickets of admission through the office of the Reception Committee by applying not later than 22nd August, provided that there is available accommodation.

XLIV.

4.

Delegates whose attendance has not been previously announced can only be admitted by handing in to the Congress Committee satisfactory evidence that they are duly authorised delegates.

5.

Every constituent member, being a society admitted under sub-section (a) of Article 8, or an association admitted under sub-section (d) of Article 8, which numbers less than 10,000 individual members and belongs to the Alliance independently of any union, is entitled to send one delegate.

Every co-operative union with 300 societies or less, every co-operative society numbering more than 10,000 individual members, has the right to be represented by two delegates.

Every co-operative union or federation of unions which includes more than 300 society members is entitled to send three delegates.

A co-operative union joining the Alliance will all its society members is entitled to appoint one delegate for every ten society members.

The societies and unions which are entitled to more than one delegate may give the votes of the latter to a single delegate, provided, however, that no one delegate is to receive more than ten votes.

(The word "union" in this rule includes every federation of co-operative societies.)

6.

All delegates and members of the Central Committee have the right to take part in the discussion of subjects on the Congress agenda and to vote.

Corresponding members and persons invited by the I.C.A. also have the right to speak, but not to vote.

7.

Delegates will receive blue tickets, which they must produce when voting. Corresponding members will be provided with white tickets. Yellow tickets will be provided for persons invited by the I.C.A.

8.

Every member of the Congress, whatever his category (but not visitors), will be entitled to take part in all the proceedings, excursions, etc., which take place during the Congress, subject to the conditions laid down by the Reception Committee. They will also receive all the printed matter provided for delegates, free of charge, on presentation of their members' tickets.

9.

All printed matter relating to the Congress will be issued in three languages—German, French, and English. Congress members will be entitled to a set of publications in one language only.

10.

The business of the Congress will be conducted by a committee consisting of a president, two vice-presidents, and three secretaries, nominated by the Central Committee of the I.C.A.

The Congress Committee will appoint the necessary number of tellers, and make all arrangements necessary to the smooth working of the Congress. The Congress Committee will have the right to make any alterations it may consider desirable as to the order in which the subjects are discussed, etc., and to change the hours laid down in the programme, with the consent of the Congress.

11.

The business of the Congress will be carried on in French, German, and English.

The substance of every resolution will, as a rule, be at once rendered in the two other languages of the Congress.

As the papers will have been previously printed and circulated in the three languages, they will not be translated during the Congress. The author will, however, be allowed 15 minutes in which to summarise his paper.

12.

Members of Congress desiring to take part in any discussion must send in a written notice to the Congress Committee. Ten minutes will be allowed each speaker in the discussions, but the time may be reduced to five minutes with the consent of Congress.

No delegate may speak more than once on the same subject, except that the mover of a resolution or the writer of a paper may reply.

XLVI.

Subjects not on the agenda may not be dealt with in the discussions.

Should speakers digress the Chairman has the right to call them to order, and can refuse the right of further speech should they permit themselves to make unsuitable remarks.

13.

All resolutions for Congress must be handed in to the Congress Committee in writing.

Resolutions relating to subjects other than those which are on the agenda, and which are drawn up during the Congress, must be handed in to the Central Committee of the I.C.A., or a special committee, which will consider and report on them.

14.

The closure of a discussion can be moved at any time by not less than ten members of the Congress. Such a motion must at once be put to the vote by the Congress Committee. If the closure of the discussion is decided upon, the reader of the paper or the mover of the resolution is allowed the opportunity of bringing the discussion to a conclusion, but must not occupy more than ten minutes.

15.

Speakers are not permitted to introduce subjects of a political or religious nature into the discussions.

16.

In matters relating to the discussions or of order, the decision of the Chairman shall be final, except as to matters which he may desire to refer to the Committee.

List of Speakers.

NAME.	PAGE.
ALLAN, J.	2, 156
ANGST, E.	106, 155
BARNES, G. N.	12
BLAIR, W. R.	153
BOSCHETTI, E.	152
BRAUN, C.	33, 87, 107
BUCHAN, MRS.	154
BUFFOLI, L.	131
CHENEY, E. J.	77
COFFER, MRS.	102
DEHLI, O.	46
ELM, A. VON ...	42
FREUNDLICH, FRAU.	129
GERRARD, D. H.	156
GOEDHART, G. J. D. C.	39
GOLIGHTLY, A. W.	161
GREY, EARL.	5, 12
HÉLIÈS, M. L.	151, 160
JÖRGENSEN, S.	100
KARPELES, DR. B.	11, 106
KAUFMANN, H.	48, 84, 110
LORENZ, H.	102, 109
MANN, AMOS.	81
MAXWELL, W.	4, 42, 162
MC INNES, D.	82, 88
MC LEAN, T.	46
PERELECHIN, W.	158
PAXTON, BAILIE	3
POISSON, E.	105
RENNER, DR. K.	160
SCHÄR, DR. O.	111, 130, 157
SCHLACK, P.	32, 47, 88
SERWY, V.	158
STAUDINGER, PROF.	104
SUTER, DR. A.	11
THOMAS, ALBERT	44
TOTOMIANZ, DR. V.	81, 104, 130
WESTBURY, H.	159
WILLIAMS, ANEURIN	13, 33, 90, 108, 159

The Congress Reception Committee.

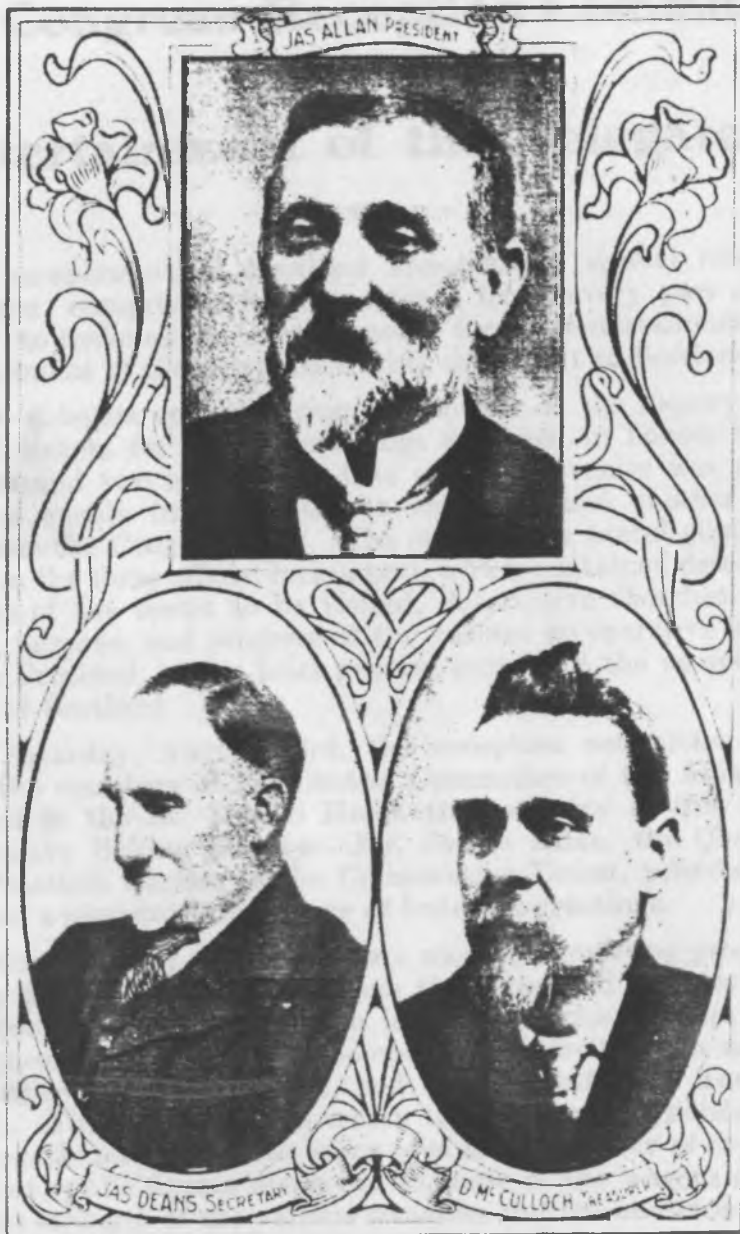
Chairman - - Mr. JAMES ALLAN.
Secretary - - Mr. JAMES DEANS.
Treasurer - - Mr. DUNCAN McCULLOCH.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. ALLAN,	Mr. D. H. GERRARD,	Mr. J. HARVIE,
„ J. DEANS,	„ J. BAIN,	„ J. BROWN,
„ J. LUCAS,	„ G. PINKERTON,	„ T. JOHNSTON,
„ D. McCULLOCH,	„ W. ALLAN,	„ P. McCONNELL,
„ J. PATTERSON,	„ H. McPHERSON,	„ W. WEIR,
„ G. WILSON,	Mrs. BUCHAN,	„ G. J. MATTHEWS,
„ R. STEWART,	„ SLATER,	„ J. DUNLEY,
„ J. PEARSON,	Mr. J. S. GAMBLE,	„ A. YOUNG,
„ A. B. WEIR,	„ W. LOW,	„ W. RITCHIE,
„ P. GLASSE,	„ W. RUSSELL,	„ A. M. WELSH,
„ J. YOUNG,	„ T. SINCLAIR,	„ J. DEWAR,
„ G. THOMSON,	„ W. SCOTT,	„ T. ADAM,
„ J. GEMMELL,	„ G. PRINGLE,	„ J. LINDSAY,
„ J. PATON,	„ W. ANDERSON,	„ W. MAXWELL.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. ALLAN,	Mr. J. PEARSON,	Mr. J. S. GAMBLE,
„ J. DEANS,	„ P. GLASSE,	„ A. YOUNG,
„ D. McCULLOCH,	„ J. GEMMELL,	„ A. M. WELSH,
„ R. STEWART,	„ D. H. GERRARD,	Mrs. BUCHAN.



THE OFFICERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

The Congress Reception Committee

and the

Entertainment of the Delegates.

The co-operators of Scotland appointed a special reception committee, comprising representatives from every part of the country, to make all the arrangements for the entertainment and enlightenment of the delegates during their visit to Scotland.

Each delegate on presenting credentials at the inquiry office received tickets for various meetings arranged in honour of the Congress and two souvenirs. One of the souvenirs was a neat badge to enable the delegates to recognise one another when away from the Congress Hall. The other was a useful guide book (issued in the three official languages), which contained descriptive accounts of the towns to be visited, descriptive sketches of the history, purpose, and progress of the various co-operative institutions in Scotland, and a brief general survey of the co-operative history of Scotland.

On Saturday, August 23rd, the reception committee entertained the members of the Central Committee of the Alliance to luncheon in the St. Mungo Halls, the property of the United Co-operative Baking Society. Mr. James Allan, the Chairman of the Scottish Section of the Co-operative Union, presided, and there was a pleasant interchange of fraternal greetings.

On the Saturday afternoon there was an interesting procession of gaily decorated vehicles through the streets of the city. The procession was almost a mile in length, and the vehicles represented nearly every phase of co-operative activity. On some of the vehicles weavers, printers, and various craftsmen were seen at work. The procession, in which there were four bands, gave the delegates and the public some idea of the variety of co-operative effort, while figures displayed on some of the wagons showed the great strength of the various societies and the enormous trade done by the co-operative movement in Scotland.

The business sittings of the Congress were held at the St. Mungo Halls. A writing and reading-room was provided for the convenience of delegates. By arrangement with the postal authorities facilities were provided at the hall for the dispatch and receipt of correspondence. In the buffet-rooms of the

St. Mungo Halls, on three of the days, the delegates were provided with luncheon, at the cost of the reception fund.

At the close of the first session of the Congress the delegates were conveyed from the hall to the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society's works at Shieldhall in special tramcars. At Shieldhall an excellent dinner was provided by the S.C.W.S., and served with orchestral accompaniment. The Secretary of the Wholesale Society (Mr. John Pearson) presided, and welcomed the delegates. The good wishes of the delegates were expressed by M. Poisson (France), Herr von Elm (Germany), and Mr. Dehli (Norway), and speeches were also delivered by several of the Scottish co-operators. The delegates were afterwards conducted through the different factories, and were all highly delighted with the great establishment. On leaving Shieldhall each of the visitors received a souvenir box, containing samples of the Shieldhall productions.

An interesting function was that held in the Glasgow City Chambers on the same evening, when the delegates were the guests of the Municipality. A large number of representative citizens had also been invited to meet the delegates. In the absence of the Lord Provost of the city (who was in Canada), Bailie Paxton (Chief Magistrate) did the honours. Accompanied by the magistrates, clad in their official robes of silk and ermine. Bailie Paxton received the guests in the beautiful satinwood salon, after which the visitors passed into the magnificent banqueting hall. Refreshments were served in several rooms, and music was provided by a select choir and a high-class orchestra. At an interval in the musical programme speeches were delivered. Bailie Paxton told the gathering that anything that contributed to the co-operative ideals of international peace and brotherhood was entitled to the support of every true-hearted and loyal Briton. Earl Grey congratulated the citizens of Glasgow on the great privilege they enjoyed of housing such a unique assemblage as he saw before him. Mr. Maxwell also spoke, and Dr. Karpeles, on behalf of the delegates, thanked the magistrates, Council, and citizens of Glasgow for their reception of the delegates.

The delegates had a delightful excursion to Edinburgh on Tuesday afternoon. On their arrival they were the guests of St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Association, the largest co-operative distributive society in Scotland. The delegates were driven in carriages round the sights of the historic Scottish capital, and were greatly impressed with the glories of the famous Princes Street. At the end of the drive they were entertained to dinner in the music hall, an assembly-room associated with many noteworthy gatherings during the past century. A hearty welcome was given by Mr. George D. Taylor, the president of St. Cuthbert's,

and Mrs. Lamont, a director, proposed the toast of "Our Guests," which was responded to by Dr. Karpeles (Vienna). The secretary of St. Cuthbert's (Mr. Rodger) proposed "The Co-operative Movement," to which Mr. Maxwell responded.

Paisley was visited on the Wednesday afternoon, when the delegates were entertained by the Paisley Co-operative Manufacturing Society, the oldest productive co-operative society in Scotland. After a visit to the society's works at Colinslee, where they saw the processes of weaving carried out and cloth made into shirts and blouses, the delegates marched to the hall of the Paisley Provident Society, the procession being led by two Highlanders, wearing full kilt dress and playing the Scottish bagpipes. Tea was served in the hall, and felicitous speeches were delivered by Mr. Souden (president of the P.C.M.S.), Mr. Rohr (Switzerland), and Mr. Whitehead (Co-operative Union).

Wednesday evening's gathering was one of the most interesting for the Continental delegates. It was an excellent concert, provided by the directors of the United Co-operative Baking Society, in the St. Mungo Halls. The singing was international in character, but there was naturally a preponderance of Scottish music. Scottish songs, old Scottish violin airs, and beautiful Highland dancing by kilted performers, to the accompaniment of the pipes, charmed the visitors. Some of the songs were rendered by a choir of the children of Glasgow co-operators. Professor Staudinger (Darmstadt) gave expression to the pleasure of the delegates.

The United Baking Society invited the delegates to visit their great bakery in the mornings, when the daily bread was being produced, and those who took advantage of the invitation were surprised at the splendid organisation and the huge business. On such visits the delegates were entertained to breakfast, and it must be added, too, that each delegate was presented with a substantial box of cakes and other delectable productions of the bakery.

Thursday afternoon brought the grand finale. The delegates, having lunched at the Congress Hall, were taken for a pleasure cruise down the river Clyde. With festoons of flags flowing from her masts, the steamer "Kylemore" moved down the river in glorious summer weather. The destination of the boat was Ardgool, a beautiful park owned by the municipality of Glasgow, but 40 miles distant from the city. The delegates had an excellent view of the great shipbuilding yards on the Clyde, and their interest was quickened as the vessel passed Dumbarton Castle and other notable landmarks. The lovely shores of Loch Goil presented a picture which will ever be remembered by those who recall the closing trip of the Congress.

Report of the Proceedings

OF THE

Ninth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance.

FIRST SESSION OF CONGRESS,

Monday, August 25th, 1913,

At 9-50 a.m.

The Opening Proceedings.

Welcome by the Reception Committee.

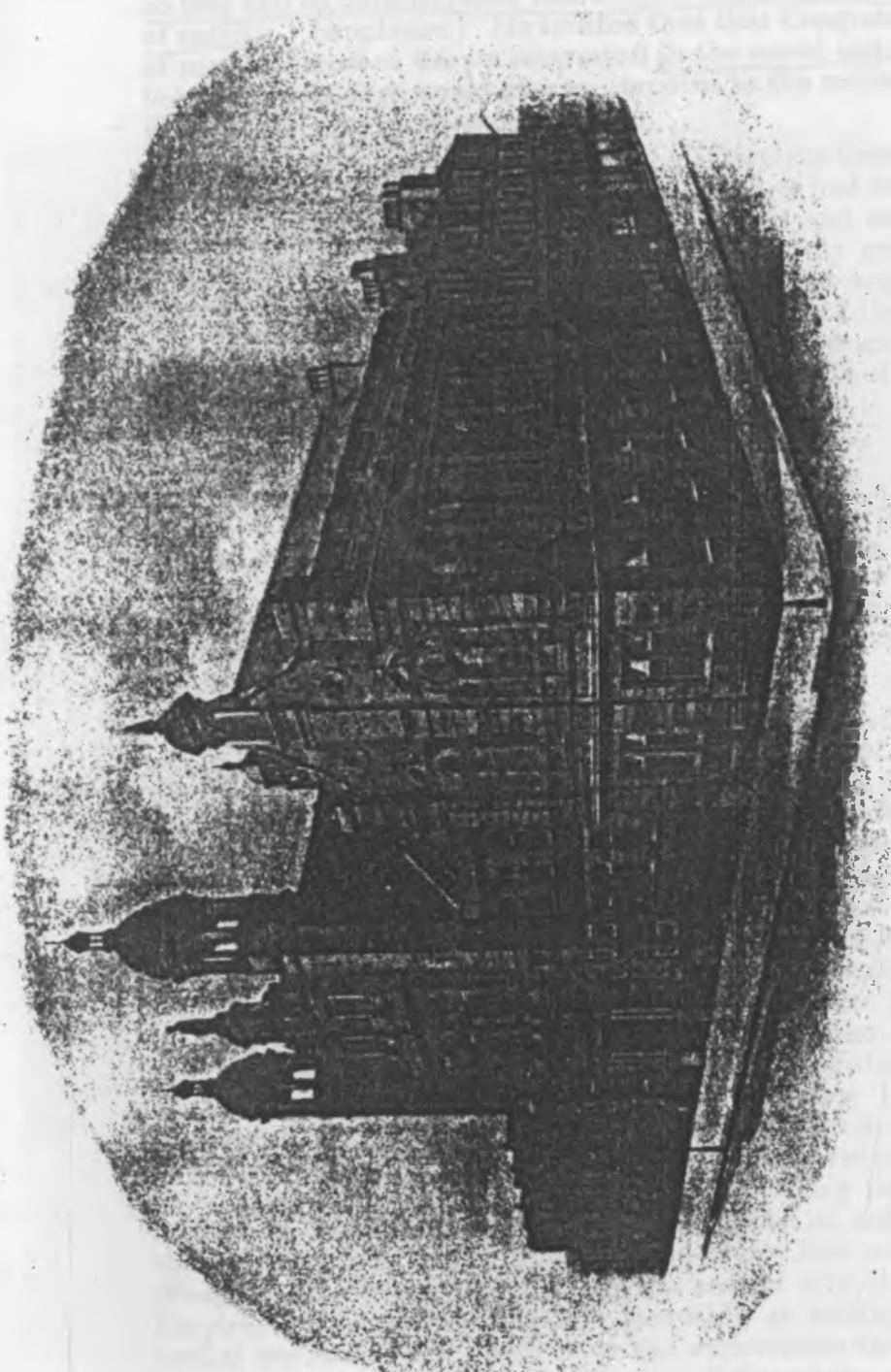
Punctually at 9-30 on Monday morning the delegates assembled in the St. Mungo Halls, where a lively co-operative atmosphere prevailed. From the exterior fluttered the flags of many nations, and inside there was a babel of tongues as the representatives of the world's parliament took their places. The delegates were seated at long tables, which ran down the room at right angles to the platform. At intervals on the tables printed cards were raised bearing the names of the nationalities represented. Altogether about 600 delegates were present, representing 20,000,000 members of the co-operative societies of the 24 nations incorporated in the Alliance. Of these representatives, it was estimated that 340 were British, 100 German, 100 from France, Belgium, and Switzerland, 50 from Austria and Hungary, while Russia, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Scandinavia, Italy, Roumania, and the United States all contributed their quota to what was indeed a unique and inspiring gathering.

On the platform, occupying the central position as President of the Alliance and Chairman of the Congress, was the veteran figure of Mr. William Maxwell, looking little the worse for the illness which laid him low after a recent visit to the Continent on

the business of the Alliance. On his right was the Right Hon. Earl Grey (the Honorary President of the Alliance), who delivered the inaugural address, and on his left Bailie Paxton, who extended to the delegates a civic welcome in the unavoidable absence of Lord Provost Stevenson, who was on a visit to Canada. Others on the platform included Mr. Aneurin Williams (Vice-President of the Alliance), Mr. H. J. May (Acting Secretary in the absence of Dr. Hans Müller), Mr. G. N. Barnes (M.P. for the division in which the Congress was held), Mr. James Allan and Mr. James Deans (Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Reception Committee), Mr. J. J. Dent (Labour Department of the Board of Trade), the members of the Reception Committee and of the Central Committee of the Alliance, and several visitors. The proceedings were conducted in three languages—English, French, and German—the interpreters being Mr. Adolphe Smith (London), M. Fallet (Basle), and Mr. A. K. Hillson (Glasgow).

On rising to open the proceedings, the PRESIDENT said they opened the Ninth Congress that morning under very favourable circumstances. As Chairman of Congress he would refrain from making any remarks at the moment, as he was surrounded by gentlemen whom he was quite sure they were anxious to listen to. He had on his right the esteemed Honorary President of the International Co-operative Alliance (the Right Hon. Earl Grey). On his left he had Bailie Paxton, the worthy deputy of the Lord Provost of Glasgow. He thought he was quite correct, therefore, in saying that never had their Congress opened under more favourable conditions, and he took that as an omen of the good conduct which he hoped would characterise their Congress. (Applause.) He then called upon Mr. James Allan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to welcome the delegates.

Mr. ALLAN said the duty allotted to him was one he had the greatest possible pleasure in performing. It was to welcome to the City of Glasgow—the second city of the British Empire—in the name of British co-operators, their brethren from many foreign lands assembled there that morning. (Applause.) To every delegate and to every visitor, whatever might be their nationality, he extended a cordial and sincere welcome. They were delighted beyond measure to meet in that Congress so many delegates from other nations, who were engaged so earnestly and so successfully in propagating the principles of Co-operation in their native land. It was the first time the International Co-operative Alliance had met in Scotland. He was confident that he expressed the fervent hope of every true co-operator when he said that important, practical, and beneficial results would be the outcome. So that this desirable object might be accomplished, let them act as men and women who were convinced that not only truth but time was on their side, and that the principles of



ST. MUNGO HALLS, IN WHICH THE CONGRESS SITTINGS WERE HELD.

Co-operation would yet triumph over the barbarian methods which so long and so unfortunately had shaped and controlled the destiny of nations. (Applause.) He trusted that that Congress, composed of men and women deeply interested in the social and moral well-being of humanity, would give an impetus to the realisation of the great truth—the brotherhood of man.

He desired to say in the name of the Reception Committee that the kindness of the British co-operative societies had enabled them to make some little provision for the comfort and enjoyment of the delegates; for that kindness they were truly grateful. He trusted that the visit of the delegates to Scotland might not only be profitable, but enjoyable in the highest sense of the word, and that the influence of the findings of Congress might have far-reaching and beneficent effects upon the future life of the various nations represented. (Applause.)

The Welcome of the Municipality.

The PRESIDENT: I have now to call on the deputy of the Lord Provost, Bailie Paxton. The Municipality of Glasgow has invited you to a civic reception to-night, thus recognising the co-operative movement in a way it has not been recognised in Glasgow before. (Applause.)

Bailie PAXTON said he was present representing the first citizen of Glasgow. The Lord Provost of the city was out of the country on a well-earned holiday, which he was spending in Canada, and he (Bailie Paxton) had the fortune or the misfortune to occupy his position for the time being. For his lordship's absence Bailie Paxton tendered a sincere apology. He knew that the Lord Provost would have been very much at home at that Congress—much more at home than he (the bailie) was at such a meeting. He himself had never before had the privilege of speaking in a hall full of representatives of so many countries as were present that morning. He asked the delegates to accept from him, on behalf of the Corporation of Glasgow, on behalf of the magistrates, and on behalf of the Lord Provost, a hearty welcome to the city. (Applause.) Glasgow people were proud of their city and jealous of its interests. They did not give invitations or extend welcomes to everyone who asked them. (Laughter.) They felt, however, that when they had this Alliance assembling its delegates from almost every country in Europe, and from Asia and America, Glasgow—which boasted of being the second city of the British Empire—ought to recognise the assembly as worthy of a most cordial welcome. He would have the opportunity in the evening of seeing the delegates in the Municipal Chambers, and as time and his business pressed, and as the time and business of the

Congress also pressed, he would not delay the proceedings longer, but would repeat how welcome they were to the city of Glasgow. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT: You will, I am sure, desire to express to Bailie Paxton and the municipality your hearty thanks for their kindness, and I should like to say how deeply we are indebted to them for their recognition of the Congress. (Applause.)

Mr. ALLAN said the Scottish Section of the Co-operative Union did not think Bailie Paxton would forget that meeting, but they were presenting him with a copy of Mr. Maxwell's "History of Co-operation in Scotland." He asked the bailie to accept that book, and he begged that he would carefully read it.

Bailie PAXTON expressed his thanks for the valuable book. He said he had not been a devout worshipper at the shrine of Co-operation. He had, as a matter of fact, given it very little attention, but having got that book free—(laughter)—he promised he would read it. Whether he could follow all its instruction was a different story—(laughter)—but he knew they would be broad-minded enough to allow every man to think for himself. (Applause.)

Bailie Paxton then withdrew from the Congress amidst the applause of the delegates.

The President's Opening Address.

The PRESIDENT then rose to give an introductory address. He said the Congress was meeting that morning under unique circumstances. Never before had the workingmen of the world met in such a representative capacity. That gathering represented 20,000,000 of the workers of the wide world. (Applause.) Scotland was a poor country, but in 1769 the babe, Co-operation, saw the light in a neighbouring county to that in which they met that day. From that time the co-operative movement had grown, till, in proportion to its population, Scotland might be regarded as the most co-operative country in the world. Before they parted the delegates would see much of what had been done by co-operators in Scotland in later years. The birthplace of Co-operation had given rise to an energy and intelligence in the co-operative movement which would make them realise that Scottish co-operators had not been idle. In pursuing the work of pioneers, his duty that morning was not to praise Scotland, it was to call upon an old friend of Co-operation—a friend so old that he dare not mention the number of years, in case Earl Grey—(applause)—might be like the modern young ladies, who did not like to be reminded of their age. He had to call upon the Honorary President of the International Co-operative Alliance—(applause)—and it was no



WILLIAM MAXWELL, J.P.

Member of the Congress and of the Senate

ordinary honour to have Earl Grey at a meeting like this. (Applause.) In his manifold duties connected with public affairs and social movements Earl Grey had found time to come from his beautiful home, after a long Parliamentary Session, to address the meeting on a movement he loved deeply. This nobleman was not a platform co-operator, who went on the platform and then forgot what he said. Earl Grey had established a co-operative society near the gates of his park. He became a purchasing member of that society, and he remained a member. (Applause.) He could not say that the earl, like most of them, attended regularly to take his dividend—he had arranged that the dividend should go to the hospitals in the locality, and do good in that way. (Applause.) The President closed with one personal recollection. He had been lecturing in the capital city of Canada, and had invited questions. He knew that the Governor-General and his suite and several of the great politicians were present. He was surprised, however, that among the first to rise—not to ask questions, but to laud the movement—was the Governor-General. (Applause.) In spite of his official position, he had not been afraid to put before that audience his views regarding the betterment of the working classes. For that they owed Earl Grey a deep debt of gratitude, because he had never failed to let his opinions be known. Such a man deserved well of his fellows, and he had to ask the delegates to give a co-operative welcome to the Right Hon. Earl Grey. (Applause.)

Earl Grey's Inaugural Address.

Earl GREY, on rising, was accorded a most enthusiastic welcome, the delegates rising en masse and cheering lustily. The noble lord then delivered his inaugural address:—

“Gentlemen,—It is my privilege to convey, in the name of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance, and if I may be allowed to add, in the name of all British co-operators also, a cordial and hearty welcome to this our Ninth Congress, which is being appropriately held in Glasgow, a city not less distinguished for co-operative achievement than for industrial enterprise and commercial importance.

“Gentlemen, it was my proud distinction to be called upon to open the first International Co-operative Congress which laid the foundation of our International Co-operative Alliance in London in 1895.

“To-day, after the lapse of 18 years, I have again been honoured by a request to officiate in a similar capacity by formally opening the present Congress. This is an honour which I consider it a great privilege to have received, and which I am very pleased to be able to accept.

“ When I remember that the gentleman who opened the last Congress was our distinguished and much respected Chairman, Mr. W. Maxwell, who is also your working president, I am still more sensible of the high honour which has been conferred upon me.

“ There are few men who have rendered more valuable service to their country than William Maxwell. He has been the unselfish, enthusiastic pioneer who has led Scotland with admirable skill and judgment along the difficult and thorny path which leads from an individualistic to a co-operative civilisation. He is a man to whom his grateful countrymen will be proud to erect monuments of honour when he is dead, even though they neglect to show him any practical sign of their appreciation while he is still alive. By the members of this Alliance he is regarded with universal gratitude, affection, and esteem.

“ Since the opening Congress in 1895 the Alliance has held Congresses in various parts of Europe; it has witnessed a remarkable and most satisfactory growth in the loyal and enthusiastic acceptance of co-operative ideals by increasing numbers of the peoples of Europe and of the distant countries overseas; and now we meet in our Ninth Congress, fortified and encouraged by our past experience, and conscious that it is in our power, if we are only sufficiently in earnest, to secure the triumphant realisation of a future Co-operative International Commonwealth which we believe will one day be co-equal and co-extensive with the whole civilised world.

“ The remarkable growth of the co-operative movement in Germany, France, Switzerland, Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, and elsewhere since the date when we laid the foundation stone of this great Alliance, justifies our confident expectation that the day of a new social order is at hand. The flame originally lit in the very district in which we are assembled is visible not only on the mountain tops. Every year witnesses its further descent down the mountain slopes, and if we are only loyal to the traditions which we have inherited it is only a question of time before the sunbeams of co-operation will illumine, and with a new and glorious effulgence, the dark valleys in whose dismal and depressing shadows is still immersed the greater part of struggling, oppressed, and impoverished humanity.

“ I referred to the traditions set for us by the pioneers in the co-operative movement who have passed away. Many of those who took an active part in the foundation of the Alliance, Vansittart Neale, Holyoake, Ludlow, Tom Hughes, Charles Robert, J. C. Gray, are with us no longer, but the inspiration of their example still speaks to us potently from the grave. Although no longer with us we are conscious that their undying

spirit is in our midst, and foremost still in the fighting line, animating us by an enthusiasm undimmed by age, I rejoice to say are Mr. de Boyve, who conceived the idea of an International Co-operative Alliance, and Mr. E. O. Greening, to whose splendid energy was mainly due its successful realisation.

“Whatever we may think of the difficulties we have encountered in the development of our organisation, and of the possible mistakes that we have made, the position of the International Co-operative Alliance to-day proves that we, who, 18 years ago, helped to create this Alliance, have laid successfully the foundation of an organisation which is destined to play an ever-increasing part in uplifting the life of the peoples whom you represent, and in promoting the establishment of a Federated International Commonwealth of Co-operators, who recognise that in the well-being of the workers of every country lies the strength and prosperity of their own.

“Although we may be separated from each other by differences in race, language, and religion, we stand here to-day as one people, under the same flag of Co-operative Fraternity, carrying in our hearts the same motto—‘Each for all and all for each,’ cherishing the same ideals, animated by the same hopes, and pressing forward towards the same end, viz., the removal of every removable hindrance which may interfere with or impede the march of the peoples along those roads which, in their respective opinions, lead to the highest and noblest of attainable developments. For let it be clearly understood that this Alliance does not stand for any rigid or uniform application of the co-operative principle. Each country must work out its own salvation; each country must have full freedom to apply to its own requirements, unimpeded by any interference from this Alliance, the co-operative principle in such way as may seem best to it.

“Just as the British Empire stands for imperial unity and local autonomy, so the International Co-operative Commonwealth, which we are endeavouring to create, stands for community of principles and for unrestricted liberty in the way in which these common principles shall be applied by the people primarily concerned.

“What are these essential principles which are common to co-operators all over the world? First, that the co-operative movement shall not be a class movement, nor a political movement, nor a sectarian movement; on the contrary, it is a movement of a purely social and voluntary character, not imposed by the compulsion of the State on any reluctant community, but one which finds its origin and its strength in the natural and spontaneous promptings of the individual heart.

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“ This movement is not of the nature of a trust or combine, or of any other exclusive organisation. On the contrary, the co-operative movement in its free and natural operation, unfettered by any State control and open to all, offers the most practical and effective safeguard that can be obtained against the possible tyranny of trusts and other organised minorities.

“ It is a movement open to anyone and everyone, of whatever sect or political persuasion he may be, who seeks to ameliorate his position by his own exertions, and in such a way that the whole community shall benefit.. All co-operators will consequently be welcomed as members of the Alliance so long as they keep our proceedings free from any taint of political or sectarian bias.

“ Subject to this essential principle, which is the foundation of our Alliance, co-operators are at full liberty to develop their co-operative theories in any way they please. So far from desiring uniformity we welcome variety of experiment, knowing that it is only possible to reach the truth, or the highest attainable ideal, in an atmosphere of unfettered and unrestricted freedom.

“ I am aware that large numbers of co-operators hold opinions which are opposed to those held by the majority of the co-operators who founded the Alliance in 1895. We have no desire to stem the full stream of free ideas, and if the result of the honest clash of independent opinions has caused the co-operators of to-day to arrive at conclusions differing from those which held the field in 1895, we must prepare ourselves for the possibility that the majority of co-operators 18 years hence will again entertain opinions and conceptions differing from those accepted by the co-operators of to-day.

“ I do not propose to occupy your time for more than a very few minutes, but I would ask what is the nature of the benefit which the application of the co-operative principle to our industrial system claims to offer to the people? The application of the co-operative principle to our industrial life has proved in Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Denmark, and Ireland that by the substitution of organised for unorganised distribution, by the substitution of co-operative for individual buying, of co-operative transportation and marketing for individual selling, and of co-operative use of power for the individual use of expensive machinery the wants of both producer and consumer can be met more effectively and at less cost, thus securing to the consumer a reduction in the cost of living and a greater command of not only the necessaries, but of the comforts and conveniences of life, a most material consideration in this age of rising prices, and to the producer a substantial increase in the amount of net profits available for distribution,

or, in other words, an increase of that fund from which alone can be drawn those higher wages which we all desire to secure for the underpaid workers of the civilised world.

“ Co-operation means the elimination of every unnecessary middleman. Every middleman not required by a wise and practicable system of co-operative organisation cannot be regarded in any other light than that of a parasite. The vital interests of society call for his removal, and Co-operation shows how he can be removed.

“ I am only speaking of the unnecessary or superfluous middleman. The principle of Co-operation requires that the services of every necessary middleman shall be adequately and honourably remunerated, but it also requires that every unnecessary toll taken from an article on its way from the producer to the consumer shall be removed. The recent State Commission of New York has reported that the American farmer only receives 40 per cent. of the retail price of his produce, and that he ought to receive 70 per cent.

“ But the benefits which Co-operation has in its power to confer upon our industrial communities are not only material in their character. The moral advantages which flow from the successful application of the co-operative principle to our industrial and social life are not less conspicuous or important.”

“ Gentlemen, I do not wish to descant upon the deplorable antagonism most undoubtedly existing between Capital and Labour. Suffice it to say, that our present industrial organisation is responsible for much selfishness, suspicion, and hatred, and consequent inefficiency, with its resultant sequel of poverty and discontent.

“ The wants of society can never be adequately met so long as the twin forces of Capital and Labour are warring against each other within the bosom of a single State.

“ Co-operation shows how the warring forces of Labour and Capital can be reconciled with advantage to all concerned, the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate. It remains for all who have at heart the well-being of their fellowmen to promote as far as they can the transition from present conditions to a social state in which the spirit of fraternal co-operation shall prevail.

“ It was the dream of Mazzini, perhaps the most inspired prophet of last century, that the day would come when, not by any State action, but by the voluntary association of free men, the hiring of the capitalist should become his partner, sharing with him in the net profits of the industry which they were

jointly serving, one by the use of his capital, the other by the use of his labour.

“ Without raising the question of whether the idea of co-partnership, which animated Vansittart Neale and his pupils in their endeavours to establish the Alliance, is expedient or not, I cannot help thinking that it will in the future find a more important place among the foremost ideas of our reformers than is the case to-day. In my confidence that in all free communities truth will ultimately prevail, I gladly leave that question to be settled by the ordinary processes of free, honest, and disinterested discussions. I only wish to say that in whatever direction the co-operative spirit may lead in the future we have good reason to be satisfied with the advance that has been made during the time which has elapsed since the foundation stone of the Alliance was laid 18 years ago. You now possess a firmly established secretarial office, which is in regular communication with co-operators in nearly all the countries of the world; you publish an English, French, and German edition of your monthly bulletin, spreading the knowledge of what has been done in the field of Co-operation in other countries; you publish international year books for the purpose of gathering together and co-ordinating co-operative statistics; you have succeeded in establishing an influential Central Board to direct the policy of the Alliance. You show a splendidly increasing willingness to subscribe to the funds of the Alliance, realising as you do that without financial support there can be no substantial progress for the international co-operative movement.

“ To-day about six million members are bound together in the societies and unions which form this Alliance, and the countries represented in the Alliance contain about 20 million co-operators all told. I believe that I am not wrong in claiming that of all the international organisations which have sprung up like mushrooms during the last two decades our Alliance has the best organisation and the most efficient working body.

“ The large attendance at this Congress is also a striking proof of its popularity and of the great expectations which are held by co-operators throughout the world. I am sure that to-day thousands and thousands are with us in spirit, and that they wish the greatest success to our deliberations and resolutions.

“ I cannot close my remarks without giving expression to my own regret and that of every member of the Alliance that this Congress should be deprived of the presence, the assistance, and the guidance of Dr. Hans Müller, who has rendered services of the greatest value to the cause of International Co-operation.

“ His enforced absence through illness is not only a loss to us, but a deep grief and disappointment to him, and I know I am only giving expression to the unanimous wish of this Congress when I say we wish him speedy and complete recovery.”

Earl Grey's address having been interpreted in French and German, the PRESIDENT said that if there was anything that would have struck their minds it was that the sooner young people took up a common language the better it would be for international Co-operation. He said they would desire, no doubt, to associate themselves with the very kind remarks of Earl Grey regarding Dr. Hans Müller. Would they allow him to send, in their name, a telegram of respectful wishes to Dr. Müller hoping for his complete and speedy recovery? (Hear, hear, and applause.) Mr. Maxwell then remarked that he hoped his Continental friends would excuse him if he introduced a British custom, which was that everything put before them would be proposed and seconded. A vote of thanks to Earl Grey would be dealt with in that way. He would call upon an Austrian to speak in German, and a Swiss to speak in French, and a Member of the British Parliament to speak in English.

Dr. KARPELES: Fellow co-operators, ladies, and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in accepting the invitation of the President to propose a vote of thanks on behalf of the German-speaking nationalities to our Honorary President, Lord Grey, for his impressive speech, and I am sure all will support me in so doing. Ladies and gentlemen, you all know the part which Lord Grey has played since the foundation of the Alliance, although you may not know him personally or have ever met him. Hitherto his important duties as Governor-General of Canada prevented him from taking any direct part in our Co-operative Movement, but they have not hindered him from being present at our Congress to-day, and I think that should be particularly recognised. It is not possible to further consider his address to-day, but I would like to say that he, as a statesman, is an example for every co-operator. We wish to express to him our most sincere thanks both for his beneficent activity in the interests of Co-operation and for the impressive speech which he has just delivered. (Loud applause.)

Dr. A. SUTER (Switzerland): In the names of the delegates of the Swiss co-operators, and also, I am sure, in the name of all the French-speaking co-operators here present, I heartily second the proposed vote of thanks to Earl Grey, expressing the gratitude of the Congress for his eloquent and courageous address, and for the cordial and valuable support he gives to the Co-operative Movement. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P., said that he gladly associated himself with the vote of thanks to Lord Grey for his presence with them that morning and for the eloquent address he had delivered. He (Mr. Barnes) did so as the Member of Parliament for the district in which the Congress happened to be held, and also as a co-operator of 30 years' standing. (Applause.) Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the all-embracing character of the co-operative principle than the fact of Lord Grey's presence with them that morning. (Hear, hear.) The Co-operative Movement, as they would all know, was in the main a practical movement of working men for the uplifting of working men. At the same time it was a movement that knew neither class nor creed. It was wide enough to embrace all who were willing enough to work for the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the individualistic system. There was no difference between him and Lord Grey, nor between them all as to the fundamental principles of their great movement. They were all agreed that the substitution of order, forethought, and wise arrangement for the existing competition and waste and injustice was a consummation devoutly to be wished. (Hear, hear.) They were all agreed that that substitution would uplift life and labour from the miserable scramble for bread, and for the first time give the great mass of the people a chance of living in reality a full, all-round life. It was on account of the eloquent expressions upon these fundamental principles and the fact that he had brought with him a prestige associated with a great name—a name connected with services of a very high order to the State—that he (Mr. Barnes) was glad to associate himself with the hearty vote of thanks he hoped they would render to him. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT asked the delegates to show their approval of the remarks of Dr. Karpeles, Dr. Suter, and Mr. Barnes by giving three cheers. These were heartily given.

Earl GREY, acknowledging the compliments, said he would be ungrateful to that gathering if he did not appreciate their greeting. He came there because he had been for as long as he could remember a convinced co-operator. Mr. Barnes referred to his having left his comfortable home to take part in that meeting, but Mr. Barnes knew, and they all knew, that there was no happiness so great as that found in the support of a great ideal, and there was no greater ideal before the peoples of the world to-day than the co-operative ideal. (Loud applause.) He had never before been the recipient of a compliment paid to him in German, French, and English at the same time. He wished, therefore, to thank the gentlemen who spoke in those three languages for the too kind way in which they had referred

to him. He would say, in conclusion, that he attached great significance to a meeting of that character. Co-operation—International Co-operation—would help people to know one another better than they did before, and in proportion as they knew one another they would love one another, and in proportion as they loved one another better there would be a greater and a firmer and a better hope of a permanent peace among the civilised peoples of the world. (Loud applause.)

Mr. ALLAN, on behalf of the Scottish Section, also presented to Earl Grey a copy of Mr. Maxwell's "History of Co-operation in Scotland," a book written by Mr. Maxwell, the chief co-operator, printed by co-operators, and presented to a co-operator by the co-operative body in commemoration of the Congress and of his address. (Applause.)

Earl GREY graciously acknowledged the gift.

The Report of the Central Committee on the Activity of the International Co-operative Alliance since the Hamburg Congress.

The PRESIDENT invited the delegates to turn to the consideration of the strictly business agenda of the Congress, commencing with the report of the Central Committee on the work of the Alliance from 1910 to 1913.

Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS said that in the absence of Dr. Hans Müller, through an unfortunate illness which had befallen him, he had been asked to present the report on the activities of the Central Committee since the last Congress. The delegates had the reports before them, and so he did not think it necessary to go into it at very great length. He then proceeded to direct attention to the principal points in the report, the full text of which was as follows:—

“ The time which has elapsed since the Eighth International Co-operative Congress was held comprises the 15th-18th year of the existence of our Alliance. During this period great and important changes have taken place in our Alliance, indeed, we may say that, since the inception of the Alliance, never have changes of such significance been brought about between two Congresses as those effected between the Congresses at Hamburg and Glasgow.

“ It is not our task to give to the delegates of the Glasgow Congress a detailed account of the events which have occurred in our Alliance nor to consider them here. Our members are already acquainted with points of detail in the activity of the Alliance, since information in this connection has already been published in three annual reports. It is rather our task to give a general idea of the manner in which our Alliance has developed during the last three years.

“ The period of three years, which terminates with the assembling of the International Co-operative Congress in Glasgow, is characterised not so much by the external far-reaching activity of the Alliance as by the tendency to develop the inner organisation of the Alliance, according to the principles set forth in the new rules of the Hamburg Congress. In consideration of the fact that the means at our disposal were, for the most part, made use of in this connection, it was not possible for us to undertake extensive propaganda work.

“ The tasks which our international co-operative movement had to perform were not only set forth clearly and precisely in the new rules, but the inner structure was also transformed. The relation of the Alliance to its members was defined according to new principles; the subscriptions payable by members of the Alliance were graduated according to the financial capacity of the societies; and it was also decided to determine the rights of the societies according to the extent of their achievements. Thus the tendency was apparent to pave the way for our organisation to become, for the most part, a federation of national co-operative unions. In this connection the institution of the collective membership of co-operative unions with all their affiliated societies has been of special importance.

“ Further, owing to the changes introduced into the rules, we have a different, and, in view of the experiences made, we may say a better organisation of the administrative affairs of the Alliance. A central committee was formed as the leading authority of the Alliance, in order to determine the course of activity to be pursued by the Alliance. This committee was not only simply nominal, but was prepared to perform the tasks devolving upon it in a practical manner. The fact that in the central committee a large number of co-operators in various countries, holding important positions, now really collaborate, has contributed much to the consolidation of our Alliance, and has widened the basis on which it is established. The Executive Committee which formerly performed the different functions—and was, indeed, obliged to do so—which are now performed by the central committee, chiefly confined itself to carrying out the decisions of the central committee and to dealing with current affairs. As a result of the changes indicated above, the administration of our Alliance has become more international and democratic in its organisation, representing the views of co-operators in different countries and different co-operative organisations.

“ However, what lends a characteristic stamp to the development of the Alliance during the period 1910 to 1913 is the change which, as already mentioned, has been introduced into its composition and inner structure. This change began to manifest

itself as soon as the new rules came into force, when the regulations laid down in Art. 19, with regard to the collective membership of national unions with their affiliated societies, was put into practice. Although this regulation was optional at the beginning of 1911, three large distributive unions had intimated their intention of becoming affiliated to the Alliance with all their affiliated members, viz.: The Central Union of German Distributive Societies, Hamburg; the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, Basle; and the Union of Belgian Workingmen's Co-operative Societies (office coopératif belge), Antwerp. During 1912 four other distributive unions became collective members in accordance with Art. 19, viz.: The Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies, Vienna; the Union of Finnish Distributive Societies, Helsingfors; the Dutch Co-operative Union, The Hague; and the Union of Czech-Slavonic Distributive and Provident Societies, Prague. Therefore, at the end of 1912, seven unions of distributive societies had become collective members together with their affiliated members. To this number must be added the new National Union of French Distributive Societies in Paris (Fédération nationale des sociétés coopératives de consommation), which was constituted at Tours at the end of 1912. In all probability, before the end of 1913, the Hungarian Co-operative Union of Distributive Societies, 'Hangya,' will become collectively affiliated to the Alliance. In the following table we give the number of collective members of the Alliance, together with the number of their affiliated members and the amount of their subscriptions for 1913:—

	Number of Societies affiliated Collectively.	Annual Subscription.
		£ s. d.
AUSTRIA:		
Zentralverband österreichischer Konsumvereine, Vienna	504	120 18 0
Ustřední Svaz Československých družev, Prague	265	31 0 0
BELGIUM:	102	31 15 0
Office coopératif belge, Antwerp		
FINLAND:		
Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta, Helsingfors	168	26 16 0
FRANCE:		
Fédération nationale des coopératives de consommation, Paris	640	76 2 0
GERMANY:		
Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine, Hamburg	1,168	294 15 0
NETHERLANDS:		
Nederlandsche Cooperatieve Bond, The Hague	144	26 12 0
SWITZERLAND:		
Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine, Basle	369	82 10 0
Total	3,360	690 8 0

“ From the above table it is evident that our Alliance has made considerable progress in endeavouring to, as far as possible, include in its membership all the societies existing in a country, at least so far as the distributive societies are concerned. In seven countries we now have 3,360 collectively affiliated members, a number which hitherto has not been approached, not even in all countries taken together.

“ On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that, in spite of this development, there has been an ungratifying tendency for co-operative organisations to resign membership in the Alliance. In considering the changes which have taken place in this connection, we think the most purposeful way will be to consider each country separately, comparing the membership of 1910 with that of 1913. By so doing, we shall see where our Alliance has won greater support for its endeavours, and, on the other hand, we shall see where it has lost ground and sympathy. We will first of all deal with the European countries, to which our Alliance is chiefly limited at present.

“ In Belgium our Alliance had at the end of 1910 a total membership of 26, consisting of the Union and Wholesale Society of the co-operative societies of the Belgian Labour Party (‘ Office coopératif belge ’ and ‘ Fédération des Sociétés coopératives du Parti ouvrier belge ’), the Union of Belgian People’s Banks, the People’s Bank at Liège, one or two productive societies, and 20 societies affiliated to the above-named Union of Distributive Societies. To-day only the ‘ Office coopératif belge ’ is affiliated collectively to the Alliance, with 102 societies, also the Wholesale Society (Fédération). The Union of Belgian People’s Banks and the People’s Bank at Liège resigned membership at the beginning of 1911. In Belgium, societies other than distributive societies are no longer members of our Alliance.

“ In Bulgaria there was, in 1910, only one distributive society, ‘ Bratski Troud ’ at Sofia, affiliated to the Alliance. It is still the only member we have in Bulgaria. Of the fairly large number of credit societies in Bulgaria none have become members of the Alliance.

“ In Denmark our Alliance counted at the end of 1910 five unions as members, viz: The General Co-operative Union, ‘ Andelsudvalget,’ at Aarhus, the Wholesale Society of Danish Distributive Societies in Copenhagen, the Egg-Export Company in Copenhagen, the Jutland Feeding-Stuffs Central Supply Society at Kolding, and the Agricultural Supply Association of the district of Ringkjöbing in Holstebro. At present only the General Co-operative Union (Andelsudvalget), the Wholesale Society, and the Jutland Feeding-Stuffs Central Supply Society

are affiliated to the Alliance. The other two organisations have resigned membership.

“ In Germany our Alliance counted, at the end of 1910, 149 members; among this number are the Central Union of German Distributive Societies and its sub-unions, the Wholesale Society of German Distributive Societies at Hamburg, and about 135 distributive societies affiliated to the Central Union and its sub-unions. Further, the Union of West German Societies at Mülheim, the German Garden City Association, the Principal Union of German Industrial Societies at Berlin, and, finally, the credit organisations, the Union of Industrial and Provident Societies of the provinces of Posen and West Prussia, the Polish credit society ‘Zwiazku Spolek Zarobkowych’ at Posen, and the Lothringen credit society ‘Coopérative de Lorraine’ at Metz. We have at present on our list of members the Central Union of German Distributive Societies, which, as already mentioned, has joined the Alliance collectively, together with all its affiliated members, so that the individual membership of societies and sub-unions affiliated to the Central Union and also that of the Wholesale Society has ceased. At the beginning of 1913 there were 1,168 organisations affiliated to the Central Union, for which the union paid subscriptions for the current year. In addition, the Union of West German Distributive Societies, the two above-mentioned Polish co-operative credit organisations, and the German Garden City Association at Berlin are still affiliated to the Alliance. The credit society at Metz and the Principal Union of German Industrial Societies have resigned membership. Further, eight distributive societies affiliated to the Union of West German Distributive Societies have become members. Thus, in Germany, it is the distributive organisations which give by far the greatest support to our Alliance.

“ In Finland our Alliance had 18 members at the end of 1910, of which number six were individuals. Since, in accordance with the rules adopted at Hamburg, individual members could no longer be admitted, the six gentlemen had to be struck off the list of members. Of the society members, there was the Finnish Union of Distributive Societies, together with the Wholesale Society (Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta), the Agricultural Central Supply Society ‘Hankkia,’ the Co-operative Propaganda Society ‘Pellervo,’ and eight large distributive societies in different parts of the country. We have, at present, only three Finnish organisations in our list of members, viz., ‘Pellervo,’ the Union of Finnish Distributive Societies, and the society ‘Hankkia.’ The latter society intends to resign membership at the end of 1913. The Union of Finnish

Distributive Societies has also joined the Alliance collectively with all its members, which number 168.

“ In France our Alliance counted 62 members at the end of 1910. Of this number there were the two separate unions of distributive societies (‘ Union coopérative des sociétés françaises de consommation ’ and Confédération des coopératives socialistes et ouvrières de consommation,’ Paris), and, in addition, the two wholesale societies connected with these unions, viz., the Magasin de Gros and the Coopérative de Gros. In addition to these central distributive organisations there were 35 distributive societies and distributive regional organisations which were members of the Alliance. Further, the Union of Productive Societies in Paris, the title of which is ‘ Chambre Consultative des Associations ouvrières de production,’ was affiliated to the International Co-operative Alliance, and also nine individual productive societies. The agricultural co-operative movement in France was represented by the Central Union of French Farmers’ Co-operative Societies, Paris, by the Union of Agricultural Societies at Lyons, by the French Farmers’ Society in Paris, and also by several vintners’ societies and co-operative supply societies. At present we have eight names on our list of members, viz.: The Union of Distributive Societies, which was constituted at Tours at the end of 1912 under the title of ‘ Fédération nationale des coopératives de consommation ’; the Co-operative Wholesale Society; the Union of Productive Societies (Chambre consultative); the co-operative society ‘ Les Vignerons Libres ’ at Maraussan; the working-men’s co-operative society ‘ La Laborieuse ’ at Nimes; ‘ La Lithographique Parisienne,’ Paris; the co-operative society Brugnot, Cros et Cie, Paris; and the agricultural society at Villards-sur-Thônes. All the other productive, agricultural, and credit societies have resigned membership.

“ In Italy we had 14 members in 1910, viz., the National Co-operative Union at Milan, also the Wholesale Society at Milan, and five large distributive societies. The productive societies were represented by the ‘ Federazione ’ at Milan. Of agricultural societies we counted among our members the Union of Agricultural Associations at Piacenza. Of co-operative work societies we had the Union of Work Societies of the province of Ravenna; of credit societies, the Association of People’s Banks at Rome; of building societies, the building society “ Balnearia ” at Turin. The majority of these organisations are still included in our list of members. Only the Association of People’s Banks at Rome and the Building Society at Turin have resigned membership. The wholesale organisation ‘ Consorzio lombardo ’ at Milan has since been converted into a general Italian

Wholesale Society, and in this capacity has not yet become affiliated to the Alliance.

“ In the Netherlands we had 18 members at the end of 1910, viz., the Dutch Co-operative Union, together with its wholesale society (Handelskamer), and also ten local and regional distributive societies. Further, there were five productive organisations and one building society. To-day we count among our members the Dutch Co-operative Union, which has joined the Alliance collectively with all its members, the distributive society ‘Eigenhulp’ at The Hague, and, in addition, three productive societies.

“ In Norway we had six members in 1910, viz., the Union of Distributive Societies at Christiania, the Agricultural Co-operative Union, and four distributive societies. During the period under report not one society has resigned, whilst five new distributive societies have been elected.

“ In Austria our Alliance counted 144 members in 1910, of which number there were eleven unions of various types, 120 distributive societies, eleven productive societies, and two credit societies. Of the unions, two were distributive unions, two wholesale societies, two co-operative credit unions, two agricultural unions, and three general unions. The two distributive unions have since become collective members of our Alliance, viz., the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies at Vienna and the Union of Czech Co-operative Societies at Prague. The former became collectively affiliated together with 503 societies, the latter with 265 societies. Both building and credit societies are included in the membership of the last-named union. Further, the wholesale societies at Vienna and Prague are both members of the Alliance. In addition, the following organisations are members of our Alliance: The Union of Ruthenian Agricultural Societies at Czernowitz, the Auditing Union of Russian Co-operative Societies at Lemberg, the Central Society ‘Narodna Torhowla,’ the Union of Polish Industrial and Provident Societies at Lemberg, the National Credit Union at Lemberg, and the Officials’ Distributive Society at Trieste. The membership of all the other distributive societies has ceased.

“ In Portugal only one distributive society was affiliated to the Alliance in 1910, which has now been struck off the list of members since it did not pay its subscriptions.

“ In Roumania a large number of credit societies became affiliated to our Alliance before the Hamburg Congress, so that at the end of 1910 we counted 19 members. Among this number was the Central Bank of People Banks, the Union of Agricultural Societies at Bucharest, and also two regional

co-operative credit unions. At present we have eleven members in Roumania. The Union of Agricultural Societies at Bucharest and seven credit societies are no longer members; owing to the fact that they were in arrears with their subscriptions they had to be taken off the register.

“ In Russia our Alliance had 19 members in 1910, among them being five unions, of which two were unions of distributive societies, two unions of agricultural credit societies, and one union of co-operative dairies. The other members, with the exception of one propaganda committee and one productive society, were local distributive societies. At the present time our Alliance has 13 members in Russia; several new organisations have become affiliated, so that more than six associations have withdrawn. In the majority of cases the members have been struck off the register on account of failure to pay their subscription; we only received one direct resignation of membership—resignation, in this case, being ordered by the Governor of the province. Our Russian members now comprise the Union of Russian Distributive Societies at Moscow, the Committee of Agricultural Societies at Moscow, the Georgian Agricultural Society at Tiflis (which joined the Alliance this year), nine distributive societies, and one credit society.

“ Sweden is now, as in 1910, only represented by the Kooperativa Förbundet, the Swedish Union of Distributive Societies. Up till now no other Swedish co-operative union or society has joined the Alliance.

“ In Switzerland, the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, 23 of its affiliated societies, two printing societies, and one propaganda association (the Co-operative Alliance at Zürich) were members of the Alliance. In 1911, the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies became affiliated to the Alliance collectively with all its members. In 1913, the union paid subscriptions for 368 societies. Of the distributive societies which were formerly members of the Alliance, only the society at Chaux-de-Fonds remains. The two printing societies are still members, but the Co-operative Alliance resigned on account of liquidation. On the other hand, the Union of Co-operative Societies ‘Concordia,’ which is composed of Christian-social distributive societies, has been elected a member. Thus the Alliance now has five members in Switzerland.

“ In Servia, the only member is the General Union of Agricultural Societies at Belgrade, which has belonged to the Alliance for many years. The co-operative distributive organisations existing in Servia have not yet opened up relations with the Alliance.

“ In Spain, we had three members in 1910, one of them being an individual member. As, in accordance with the new rules, we now have no individual members, this gentleman had to be struck off the register. The other two members were the Union of Agricultural Societies in Madrid and the Workingmen's Distributive Societies (El Hogar Español) at Madrid, both of which have continued their membership. In addition to these, a workingmen's co-operative society at Seville joined the Alliance.

“ In Hungary, in 1910, 22 co-operative organisations figured on our list of members, among them being a general co-operative union, a union of distributive societies, four unions of credit societies, a union of agricultural societies, and several local distributive and credit societies. We now have 15 members in Hungary, including one general co-operative union, two unions of credit societies, one union of distributive societies (Hangya), one union of agricultural societies, one insurance society, and various distributive, agricultural, and credit societies. The composition of our membership in Hungary has remained practically unchanged, although there has been a slight decrease in the various local societies.

“ In the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, and Ireland) our Alliance had 371 members in 1910; of this number 289 were in England, 81 in Scotland, and one in Ireland. Amongst our members were the British Co-operative Union, the Wholesale Societies at Manchester and Glasgow, as well as the English Agricultural Organisation Society, which acts as a union of agricultural societies. In 1910 our membership also included the Co-operative Productive Federation at Leicester and the Union of Housing Societies (Co-partnership Tenants). The majority of the remaining members were distributive societies, although there were a few productive societies and some propaganda associations. The number of English members has now increased to 315, and that of the Scottish to 104, whilst the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society has been newly elected. Thus the total number of British societies is now 480, an increase of 109. The composition of the membership has remained practically the same.

“ We will now turn from Europe to Asia. There are two countries in this immense continent in which we can speak of a co-operative movement in the true sense of the word. These two countries are India and Japan. In both countries credit co-operation far outweighs any other form, and even here it is apparent that credit societies have no great inclination to join our International Alliance.

“ In India we had no members at the time of the Hamburg Congress. Since that time, however, the Indian Co-operative Union at Calcutta has been elected a member. This organisation is, in its present form, chiefly a propoganda organisation, which seeks to support the co-operative movement in its various forms in the spirit and in the interests of the native Indian population. The Co-operative Union of India represents the unofficial branch of the movement; by this we mean that it seeks to develop itself without the collaboration and financial aid of the Government. The example of this organisation was recently followed by the ‘Dharma Samavaya,’ which takes the form of a kind of wholesale purchasing centre, and tries to bring the national co-operative movement of India within narrower commercial bonds. The co-operative credit organisations, founded with the aid of the Government, have shown no interest in the international movement as represented by our Alliance.

“ In Japan similar conditions obtain. In 1910 the flourishing distributive society ‘Kiodokwai,’ at Tokio, joined the Alliance, and was represented at the Hamburg Congress by Dr. T. Nishigaki. Unfortunately, the example of the society at Tokio has not been followed. An independent co-operative distributive movement has not made itself conspicuous in Japan either. Nothing has been done to establish unions of distributive societies on the lines of the European organisations. Distributive societies, where they exist, are usually in close connection with agricultural societies. The latter are to a certain extent qualified as co-operative societies for the joint supply of provisions and other requisites. We know that the Imperial Co-operative Union in Japan has been for some little time a member of the International Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies.

“ In Africa, at the present time, no co-operative movement in the European sense of the word exists, although there have been a few attempts to establish such a movement in Algiers, German and British South Africa, and Egypt. Some time ago there were a few distributive societies in British South Africa; some of these, however, have disappeared, and others have severed their connection with the Alliance. A few years ago, it seemed as if a co-operative movement inspired with national ideas would be founded in Egypt, but the leader of this movement, Omar Loutfi Bey died unexpectedly. The hope which we expressed at the time of Omar Loutfi Bey’s death, which took place on 4th November, 1911, that the young co-operative movement of Egypt was sufficiently strong to bear the loss of its leader was, unfortunately, not fulfilled. In the French colonies in Africa, especially in Algiers, there are a few distributive

societies which maintain relations with the organisations of co-operative societies in the mother-country, but these have not yet found their way to our Alliance.

“ Conditions in the continents of the New World are quite different to those which obtain in Asia and Africa. In North America people have come during the last three years to realise more and more the necessity of co-operative organisation, although efforts in this direction have had to combat great difficulties. In a few States, however, in spite of this, the co-operative movement has obtained a firm foothold, especially in California, Minnesota, New York, and Wisconsin. The same may be said of the various Canadian provinces. The co-operative movement in Canada, especially, received a valuable and lasting stimulus from the successful propaganda tour undertaken by our president, Mr. William Maxwell, in 1911. As a result of this tour through Canada, not only was a federation of Canadian co-operative societies formed, but also a number of distributive societies in Canada resolved to join our Alliance, as did the Canadian Co-operative Union at Brantford at a later date. Unfortunately, several of the local distributive societies have lately declared their resignation. In the United States we have as members the Right Relationship League at Minneapolis, the Co-operative League in New York, and the Union and the Wholesale Society of the Rochdale Co-operative Societies in San Francisco (California).

“ In South America there is a co-operative movement in several States, although, as is natural, co-operation is as yet only in its infancy in that part of the world. For some years now, the movement has obtained a firm foothold in a few provinces in Brazil. Several coffee planters especially have made use of co-operation, as Mr. C. Heyn-Hamann wrote in our ‘ Bulletin ’ some little while ago. In a few isolated towns in the Argentine, co-operative housing, distributive, and credit societies have been established. Of these societies, ‘ El Hogar Obrero,’ at Buenos Ayres, has been affiliated to the Alliance for several years. The co-operative bakery at Rosario de Santa-Fé is also a member of the Alliance. We confidently hope that the next few years will bring us a substantial increase in membership in North and South America.

“ In Australia we have never had any but individual members, although in some of the States of this continent there is a developed co-operative movement, principally of an agricultural nature. For many years Mr. J. Plummer, of Sydney, maintained relations with our Alliance, but these have, unfortunately, ceased owing to Mr. Plummer’s death.

" From statistics with regard to the foregoing information, we obtain the following tables:—

1910.	Total Number of Members.	CO-OPERATIVE UNIONS.					INDIVIDUAL SOCIETIES.					
		General.	Credit.	Agricultural.	Building and Housing.	Distributive.	Productive.	Credit.	Agricultural.	Building and Housing.	Distributive.	Productive.
EUROPE.												
Austria ...	144	3	2	2	—	4	—	2	—	—	120	11
Belgium ...	26	—	1	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	20	2
Bulgaria ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Denmark ...	5	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Finland ...	12	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	8	—
France ...	62	—	1	5	—	7	1	2	3	—	34	9
Germany ...	149	—	2	—	—	9	—	2	—	1	135	—
Hungary ...	22	1	4	1	—	2	—	5	2	—	7	—
Italy ...	14	2	1	1	—	1	2	1	—	1	5	—
Netherlands...	18	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	10	5
Norway ...	6	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
Portugal ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Roumania ...	19	—	—	1	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—
Russia ...	19	1	—	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	12	1
Servia ...	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spain ...	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Sweden ...	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Switzerland...	26	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	22	2
United Kingdom	367	1	—	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	326	29
ASIA.												
India ...	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japan ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
AMERICA.												
Canada ...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
United States	5	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	—
	904	11	12	21	1	39	5	32	6	5	713	59
		89					815					

" On examining these tables more closely, we are immediately struck by the large increase in membership during the last three years. The number of members has risen from 904 to 3,926; thus

over three thousand more societies belong to our Alliance now—viz., in the middle of 1913—than belonged in 1910. It is easy to

1913.	Total Number of Members.	CO-OPERATIVE UNIONS.					INDIVIDUAL SOCIETIES.					
		General.	Credit.	Agricultural.	Building and Housing.	Distributive.	Productive.	Credit.	Agricultural.	Building and Housing.	Distributive.	Productive.
EUROPE.												
Austria	778	1	2	1	—	4	—	6	—	50	677	37
Belgium	104	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	102	—
Bulgaria	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Denmark	3	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Finland	171	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	168	—
France	648	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—	640	4
Germany	1181	—	1	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	1176	—
Hungary	15	1	1	1	—	1	—	4	2	—	5	—
Italy	11	2	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	1	5	—
Netherlands	149	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	145	3
Norway	11	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	9	—
Portugal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roumania	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—
Russia	13	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	9	—
Servia	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spain	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Sweden	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Switzerland	373	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	369	2
United Kingdom... ..	442	1	—	2	1	3	2	1	1	5	385	41
ASIA.												
India	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japan	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
AMERICA.												
Canada	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—
United States	4	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
	3926	7	4	11	1	27	5	24	5	57	3698	87
		55					3871					

see that this important increase is due to the collective affiliation of the unions of distributive societies in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. These figures show

that the I.C.A. now has four times as many members as was the case at the end of 1910; this result is a splendid justification of the introduction of collective membership.

“ If we consider the membership of our Alliance in 1910 and 1913 more closely with regard to the types of the co-operative unions and societies of which it is composed, we obtain the following figures:—

“ The number of co-operative unions has fallen from 89 to 55; all types of union, with the exception of unions of productive societies, contribute to this decrease. Relatively, the greatest decrease is shown in the number of unions of credit and agricultural societies; these have fallen from twelve to four and twenty-one to eleven respectively. The membership of general co-operative unions has also decreased; at the present time seven such unions in six countries are members of the Alliance, as compared with eleven unions in eight countries in 1910. The decrease in the number of unions of distributive societies is apparent rather than actual. In Germany, the Wholesale Society and the sub-union of the Central Union ceased to be individual members when the Central Union decided to join the Alliance collectively with all its members. The same may be said with regard to France, where we now have two unions, the new *Fédération nationale* and the Wholesale Society, instead of seven as was formerly the case. The number of unions of productive societies, of which those of France, Italy, and Great Britain are members of the Alliance, has, as we have already mentioned, remained unchanged.

“ The number of individual societies shows a much greater change; the total has risen from 815 to 3,871, an increase of 3,056. This large increase is, as is shown from a closer examination of the table, to be attributed to the increase in the number of distributive societies, the number of which has risen from 713 to 3,698. The number of productive societies also shows a slight increase, viz., from 59 to 87. Relatively there has been a large increase in the number of housing and building societies, of which we now have 57, as compared with five at the end of 1910. On the other hand, the individual credit societies show a decrease, having fallen from 32 to 24, as do the agricultural societies, which have fallen from six to five. There can be no doubt that during the last three years, even more than earlier, the distributive societies and their unions have become the backbone of the Alliance. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider our Alliance as exclusively a union of distributive societies. At the present time, as we have already pointed out, various strong agricultural organisations in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Servia, and the United Kingdom belong to our Alliance although there is a special International Federation of Agricultural Societies. Co-operative credit organisations play a smaller part, and it almost



The picture of the ... MA

seems as if our Alliance no longer had any power to attract such associations.

“ We should also like to draw attention to the fact that the countries of central Europe, including France in the west and Austria in the east, form a compact mass of our collective members. Among these collective members there are, in addition to the two countries already mentioned, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and perhaps in a short time Hungary. All these countries have two or three points of contact. Besides these countries which border upon one another, the only collective member is Finland.

“ We will now turn from the consideration of the composition of our Alliance to the subscriptions paid by our members. The following table gives information with regard to this matter, since it specifies the amounts received by the Alliance from 1910-1913 from the various countries :—

COUNTRY.	1910.			1911.			1912.			1913.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Argentina	1	0	0	1	15	9	1	4	0	1	4	0
Austria	114	4	0	141	12	5	141	16	11	183	4	0
Hungary	53	7	0	63	15	0	65	16	9	62	12	0
Belgium	17	10	0	30	5	7	32	14	0	31	15	0
Bulgaria	1	0	0	0	11	9	0	11	9	—	—	—
Canada	1	10	0	2	7	0	6	4	4	0	12	0
Cyprus	1	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Denmark... ..	40	11	0	28	15	0	27	3	2	28	15	0
France	39	10	0	68	14	3	59	3	2	87	12	0
Germany... ..	254	13	0	301	4	7	311	1	1	304	12	0
India ✓	0	5	0	5	12	0	5	12	0	12	0	0
Italy	17	10	0	21	2	4	22	5	1	19	10	0
Japan ✓	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0
Netherlands	20	10	0	24	16	0	24	6	0	31	13	0
Norway	10	16	0	12	8	0	12	8	0	14	16	0
Portugal	0	10	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roumania	17	4	0	11	11	4	9	6	1	7	7	0
Russia	16	10	0	22	10	2	17	6	4	24	8	0
Finland	33	10	0	32	2	7	34	3	10	34	16	0
Servia	8	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0
Spain	1	14	6	1	15	10	1	15	3	1	4	0
Sweden	22	10	0	21	19	7	29	19	2	30	0	0
Switzerland	68	10	0	75	13	8	86	16	3	89	6	0
United Kingdom	486	9	6	559	14	8	652	1	6	669	0	0
United States	5	15	0	3	4	0	4	2	5	3	9	0
	1,234	19	0	1,443	3	6	1,557	9	1	1,649	7	0

“ The majority of the countries concerned happily show a substantial increase in the subscriptions they pay to our Alliance.

Among these we may number Belgium, the subscription of which, although not very high (£30), shows an increase of 90 per cent. since 1910. From Germany alone, the Alliance received last year an increase of £50 on the subscription paid in 1910. The French subscriptions have relatively increased the most, having risen from less than £40 to more than £85. Holland has paid subscriptions for the current year showing an increase of 50 per cent. on 1910. Austria takes the third place with regard to the amount of subscriptions paid, and is only surpassed by Great Britain and Germany. The difference, however, between Austria and Germany is considerable, although the sum paid by Austria shows a good increase; the increase during the last three years amounts to about £30. The subscriptions paid by India, Sweden, Switzerland, and Hungary have also risen considerably. Switzerland now pays 30 per cent. more than in 1910; the same may be said of Hungary. The increase in the case of Sweden amounts to 25 per cent. The strongest financial support received by our Alliance is that furnished by the societies in the United Kingdom; it seems likely that these societies will contribute more than £700 to the funds of the Alliance this year. From not quite £500 in 1910, the subscriptions have risen steadily year by year, and the increase now amounts to about 45 per cent. as compared with 1910. It is a noteworthy fact among the countries which can show a substantial increase in the subscriptions paid are those which have joined collectively with all their members, and it is from these that we receive large sums in subscriptions.

“ The subscriptions received from Finland, Italy, Servia, Spain, and Argentine show very little change. Unfortunately, we have to record a decrease; in 1910 the sum of more than £40 was paid, and last year the subscriptions only amounted to £27. Portugal has ceased to be counted among the countries paying subscriptions. On the whole, however, the picture presented to us by the table is very encouraging. We are approaching the time when our Alliance can record an annual income of £2,000. This sum is very necessary if the Alliance is to undertake and carry out the duties which lie before it.

“ The balance sheet which is appended to this report gives detailed information with regard to the expenses of the Alliance from 1910 to 1912. From this it will be seen that it is the aim of the Alliance to accumulate a small fund, and to use every effort to keep the expenses below the income. We may rightly say that never has the financial position of the Alliance been better and safer than at present. At the end of 1912 we had a capital of more than £1,300.

“ The Central Committee, to the importance of which since its reorganisation we paid tribute at the beginning of this report.

assembled five times during the period under review. The first meeting, which took place immediately after the Hamburg Congress, served to determine the constitution. A few weeks later the Central Committee again assembled at Cologne. At this meeting, held on October 30th, 1910, efforts were made to prepare the appointment of a general secretary; a programme of activity was also drawn up. It was decided that the 'Bulletin' should appear monthly as before, and its size increased. Further plans were made for the next Year Book, and Dr. H. Müller was entrusted with the editorship of the 'Bulletin' and the Year Book. Finally, several resolutions were passed with regard to the interpretation of the new rules. In 1911 the Central Committee met at Ostend, where important resolutions were also passed. The efforts of the Executive Committee to find a suitable secretary being fruitless, it was decided to put it in the hands of the Executive Committee to carry out current affairs as well as possible in the circumstances. At the same time, preparations were made for choosing the matters to be discussed at the next Congress. The Central Committee assembled for the fourth time at Copenhagen in 1912. The most important business was to make arrangements with reference to the Glasgow Congress. The last meeting took place in June last at Basle. Amongst other matters, the appointment of a general secretary was finally made, the compiler of this report being elected to fill the position.

" It is with great satisfaction that we are able to state that the discussions of the Central Committee on all these occasions was characterised by the unanimous efforts of all the members to further the interests of our Alliance, and to place their own personal views and wishes in the background. They all adopted not only a peaceful but a harmonious course. The attendance might be said to be very good, considering that the long distance prevented many from taking part in the meetings of the Central Committee. The representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark attended the meetings regularly. At Copenhagen the French representatives were unable to be present, and the same may be said of the Hungarian representatives at Ostend. Unfortunately, the representatives of Finland, Russia, Italy, Roumania, and Servia did not attend any of the meetings. Of the two Hungarian members of the committee, Mr. György was present at the meetings at Copenhagen and Basle, as was Mr. Dehli, the representative of Norway.

" Since its election at the Hamburg Congress, the Central Committee has lost two of its members through death; these were Mr. J. C. Gray, General Secretary of the British Co-operative Union, and Mr. Max Radestock, President of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies. Mr. J. C. Gray rendered great and lasting service to our Alliance, especially during the first

critical period of our existence, he aided us unceasingly with his counsel and his influence. Mr. Gray was the only member of the Executive and Central Committees whose membership was uninterrupted. We shall always honour his memory. Mr. A. Whitehead was appointed by the British Co-operative Union as successor to Mr. Gray, having also succeeded him as general secretary of that organisation. Mr. Max Radestock was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Cremona Congress; he took a lively interest in the activity and development of our Alliance. Messrs. L. Exner, of Vienna, L. Buffoli, of Milan, and E. de Boyve, of Nîmes, have announced their resignation of membership of the Central Committee. Dr. Müller, since his appointment as general secretary, has also resigned membership.

“ In accordance with the resolution passed by the Central Committee at the first meeting held after the Hamburg Congress, the Executive Committee consisted of the five British members, viz.: Messrs. William Maxwell, Aneurin Williams, James Deans, Duncan M’Innes, and J. C. Gray, who has now been replaced, as we have mentioned, by Mr. Whitehead. The Executive Committee held two meetings in 1910 after the Hamburg Congress, eight in 1911, eight in 1912, and seven in 1913 (up to the time that this report was compiled), thus making 25 in all.

“ Till the middle of 1911, Miss Wadge was at the head of the London office. We take this opportunity to thank her for the services she rendered to the Alliance. From the end of 1911 until September, 1912, the office was under the supervision of Mr. Aneurin Williams; at the beginning of October Dr. H. Müller once more took over the superintendence of the affairs of the office.”

Mr. WILLIAMS undertook to answer questions upon any point in the report with regard to which any delegate had any doubt.

The PRESIDENT asked for questions, but none being put the report was unanimously adopted.

The Revision of the Rules of the Alliance.

The PRESIDENT called upon Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS, who introduced the question of the revision of the rules, and said the delegates would find the reasons for the suggested changes on the last three pages of the printed agenda. It was proposed that in future Article 18 should read as follows:—

“ The minimum subscription for each society admitted under sub-section (a) of Article 8 shall be 6s. if the membership is under 500, 12s. if the membership is 501 to 3,000,

24s. if the membership is 3,001 to 10,000, £2 if the membership is more than 10,000. Co-operative societies whose business has district or national dimensions and co-operative unions and federations shall pay a minimum subscription of £5 if their membership does not exceed 10,000 individuals or 300 societies, a minimum subscription of £10 if they have more than 10,000 members or 300 societies. Organisations admitted under sub-section (d) of Article 8 shall pay a minimum of £2."

He said the reason why they proposed to admit societies with less than 500 members for 6s., instead of 12s. as formerly, was very evident. It was because very small societies found it very difficult to pay a larger sum for the privilege of belonging to this Alliance. The Executive Committee thought the sum of 6s. was enough to ask of them.

The alteration was agreed to.

Mr. CAMPBELL (Cowlairs) at this stage suggested that in future all printed matter should be in the hands of the delegates sooner than it had been on the present occasion.

The PRESIDENT said that the delay in getting out papers, etc., for the Congress had been occasioned by the illness of Dr. Müller, but so far as they could see now delegates would have no cause for complaint in the future. They had been most unfortunate in having their President and Secretary ill at practically one and the same time.

Consideration of the rules having been resumed, Mr. WILLIAMS (on behalf of the Central Committee) moved that henceforward Article 19 should read as follows:—

"Should a co-operative union join the Alliance with all its constituent members, so that each of the latter thereby acquires the privileges of members, with the exception of the right given in Article 13 (c), it must in addition to the minimum subscription fixed in Article 18 pay a contribution for each constituent member as follows: 1s. should the average number of members be less than 150, 2s. should the average number of members stand between 151 and 300, 3s. should the average number of members stand between 301 and 600, 4s. should the average number of members stand between 601 and 1,000, 5s. should the average number of members stand between 1,001 and 1,500, 6s. should the average number of members stand between 1,501 and 2,000, 8s. should the average number of members exceed 2,000."

Some of the unions, said Mr. Williams, had small societies as members, and to ask them to pay 2s. for each of those societies

seemed to be too much. They therefore proposed to reduce it in accordance with their suggested alteration. On the other hand where the societies were large the Central Committee thought it was only reasonable that they should pay a little more than had been the case in the past, hence their new basis of subscription for such societies.

Mr. KIRTON (Throckley), in the belief that no objection would be taken to the suggested alterations, said he was prepared to move that they be agreed to en bloc.

The PRESIDENT said he did not think it would be advisable to adopt such a course, and ruled accordingly.

Mr. WILLIAMS moved that Article 28 be altered to read as follows:—

“ The Central Committee consists of the representatives of the organisations of the different countries belonging to the Alliance elected by Congress. The constituent members of every country have the right to one representative, if they jointly pay subscriptions to the amount of at least £10. Those which pay subscriptions to the amount of £25 are entitled to two representatives; those which pay subscriptions to the amount of £70 are entitled to three representatives; those which pay £150, to four; those which pay £300, to five; those which pay £450, to six; and those which pay £600 and more to seven representatives on the Central Committee. The two following sentences of Article 28 to remain unchanged.

Mr. WILLIAMS said that what they had done with the previous articles showed that they were not unmindful of the interests of small societies. At the same time they must have some regard for the claims of the large societies. Hitherto no country, however large and however big its subscription to the Alliance, had been allowed to have more than five representatives on the Central Committee. As a consequence the small countries were increasing their representation on the Central Committee, but the large countries were not, because they had not the opportunity. The Central Committee therefore proposed, in order to be just to both parties, that where the organisations in a country paid more than £450 per annum to the Alliance they should have six seats on the Central Committee, and that in the case of a subscription of £600 or more, seven seats. Beyond that they did not propose to go. The rest of the rule remained unchanged.

Mr. SCHLACK (Mülheim): Fellow co-operators, we, the Imperial Union of German Distributive Societies, would like to

add a further sentence to Article 28. In Article 28 the rights of the individual countries to representation on the Central Committee are set forth, but not of those of the unions existing in the various countries. A rule should therefore be framed in order to meet the interests of all the unions in the different countries which are affiliated to the I.C.A. This appears to be necessary in order to render it possible for the smaller unions to collaborate in the I.C.A. For this reason we ask you to add the following sentence to Article 28: "The number of representatives on the Central Committee to which a country is entitled shall be regulated in proportion to the amount of subscription paid by the unions affiliated to the Alliance." Thus the representation of the different unions would be determined by the amount of subscription paid. All the affiliated unions would be assured equal rights, and it would be possible for the smaller unions to take part in the affairs of the International Co-operative Alliance.

Mr. WILLIAMS said the amendment had been carefully considered by the Central Committee, and they did not recommend Congress to adopt it. They thought it was necessary in deciding how many representatives each country should have to take some account of the amount of subscription that came from that country. At the same time they had drawn up a scale so as to give an advantage to small countries. When, however, it came to the division of representatives between different unions and societies they did not think it would be to the interests of all concerned to lay down a rule saying that the seats should be divided amongst those societies and unions in proportion to their subscriptions. Congress should keep within itself the power to say who should be elected as representatives of the various countries. Of course, some attention would be paid to the amount sent in by any particular union which claimed representation on the Central Committee, but that was not the only consideration, and to say that every union by increasing its subscription should be able to increase its representation on the Central Committee would practically have the effect of putting the seats on the Central Committee up for auction. For that reason they suggested that the amendment should be rejected.

Mr. BRAUN (Mülheim): Ladies and gentlemen, the point of view of the Committee is biased. As Mr. Schlack has explained to you, we had quite other reasons for bringing forward our amendment. It is not possible to uproot the differences which prevail in the various countries, even among co-operative societies which are of the same type. Since it is impossible to do this, I think we must take into consideration the tendencies of the different unions by making it possible for them to

collaborate in the administrative organs of the Alliance. If you do not do so you will soon have to reckon with unions, the conditions of which are similar to our own, and thus make it difficult for them to collaborate in the I.C.A. Such, however, cannot be either the intention or the task of the Alliance, and we therefore request you to support our motion in regard to the additional sentence, viz., that representation on the Central Committee be divided among the unions in proportion to the amount of subscription paid by the individual unions affiliated to the Alliance.

The PRESIDENT said the amendment had evidently arisen from the fact of two unions existing in one country. They in Great Britain carried on their work with only one union. They could easily imagine what would be the position if they had two unions, with one in opposition to the other. However, in this particular Continental country there were two unions, and they took different views of what should be the basis of subscription. They were both German unions, and were legally built up. The Central Committee of the Alliance, which represented all countries in Europe, had carefully considered the proposed amendment, and they did not see how its adoption would lead to peace and harmony. (Hear. hear.) He had no sympathy with the idea, and he thought he was expressing the views of his colleagues on the point, of bringing in the splits and dissensions of any country to a meeting of that kind. (Hear. hear.) Whatever method leads to peace and harmony, that was the road they would have to travel. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT having read the amendment, put it to the vote and declared it lost by a large majority.

Mr. WILLIAMS then moved, on behalf of the Central Committee, a slight addition to Article 36 (b), by which it would be possible for the unions to send deputies to the meetings of the Central Committee in the event of one or other of their members being prevented from attending a meeting. A resolution to this effect was passed at a meeting of the Central Committee which was held in 1910, and should now be confirmed by the rules. It was unnecessary to point out that it was in the interests of the Alliance to be as fully represented as possible at its meetings, in order that expression might be given to the views of co-operators in all countries.

This alteration was agreed to.

The Central Committee published in the Congress agenda the following reasons for the motion with regard to the revision of Articles 18, 19, 28, and 36 (b) of the rules:—

“ The new rules which were adopted by the Congress at Hamburg have proved satisfactory, and it has been possible to

bring into practice the numerous new provisions without difficulty and with benefit to the Alliance. When the new rules were drafted stress was laid on the fact that it could not be expected in undertaking the revision that they would prove entirely satisfactory in all points of detail, and that it might soon be necessary to introduce changes in some of the paragraphs of the new rules. This has now become necessary. In particular, the regulation with regard to the amount of subscription payable by members has, in some respects, had ungratifying results. The increase in the amount of subscriptions, as laid down in Article 18 of the rules, has caused a number of small societies in the different countries to resign membership in the Alliance, since they were unable to pay a subscription of 12s. It is equally important to us that we should make membership in the Alliance possible to a large number of societies as that we should increase and strengthen our funds. The affiliation of small societies to the I.C.A. is of much value to them, especially in the case of societies operating in countries where Co-operation is not greatly developed. Although there is a general tendency to let our Alliance become more and more an organisation of national co-operative unions, we are far from under-estimating the importance of the affiliation of individual societies, which cannot be done without in those countries where there are, as yet, no consolidated co-operative unions. For this reason we suggest that in Article 18 the minimum subscription for societies which have less than 500 members be reduced to 6s., instead of 12s. We think, however, that we should adhere to the other rates of subscription for individual societies as prescribed in Article 18, and not introduce any changes, since the increase in the amount of subscription according to the number of members already causes considerable difficulties which it seems inadvisable to increase. The regulations with regard to the amount of subscription payable by unions and other organisations remain unchanged, since it has proved possible to carry them out without much difficulty.

“ Article 19, with regard to the unions which have joined the Alliance collectively with all their members, has been carried into practice by various unions, viz., in Belgium, Germany, Holland, Finland, Austria, and Switzerland. Further, the new co-operative union of distributive societies in France and the Hungarian ‘ Hangya ’ intend to become collective members. Experience has proved that the collective affiliation of unions with all their members has, in every respect, been of advantage to the Alliance, and we therefore hope that in future other unions will become affiliated collectively.

“ With regard to the application of Article 19, it has been proved in some cases that a subscription of 2s. per society is too high, and is beyond the capacity of unions which are composed, for the most part, of societies whose membership is small. For

instance, there are some unions the average membership of whose societies is less than 150. If those unions have to pay a subscription of 2s. per annum per society, it would necessarily add considerably to their annual expenditure. We think, therefore, that in such cases the annual subscription per society should be reduced to 1s.

“ On the other hand, we have to suggest in the new Article 19 an increase in the amount of subscription payable by collective members. Hitherto the maximum subscription for collective members has been 5s., and was applicable to all unions having an average membership of more than 1,000. The progress made by Co-operation during recent years shows plainly that in the more developed co-operative countries there is a tendency not only to increase the number of individual societies but to form large societies by the amalgamation of several societies. At present there is a strong movement towards concentration. The number of societies which have 5,000 to 10,000 members or more is constantly increasing, whilst, on the other hand, the number of new societies which are founded is relatively small and is, indeed, on the decrease. This line of development would tend to reduce the subscriptions of collective members of our Alliance, whilst their societies are increasing in number. If the societies are to contribute to the expenses of the Alliance according to their activity, the amount of subscriptions must be raised for those unions the average membership of whose affiliated societies considerably exceeds 1,000. We, therefore, suggest that the amount of 5s. per society shall apply to such unions the average membership of whose societies ranges from 1,001 to 1,500. Those unions the membership of whose societies ranges from 1,501 to 2,000 shall pay 6s. for each affiliated society, and 8s. if the average membership exceeds 2,000.

“ The desirability of introducing this provision is apparent from the following fact: If the British Co-operative Union were to decide to become affiliated collectively to the Alliance with all its members, it would mean a loss of several hundred pounds to the Alliance. According to the rules as they stand at present, the Union would have to pay a subscription of £350, or, at the most, £400, whereas at present the subscriptions of the British societies exceed £700.

“ Another paragraph of the rules seems to us to require revision. viz., Article 28, which provides that the representation of the different countries on the Central Committee shall depend on the amount of subscriptions paid. According to the rules, as they are at present, the number of members of the Central Committee to be newly elected at the Glasgow Conference will be about 40, and it is the small countries which, owing to the increase in the rate of subscription from £10 to £25 and £25 to £70, will in many cases be entitled to more than one representative. Thus the influence on

the Alliance of the large countries, the subscriptions of which have also increased, and which contribute the most to the funds of the Alliance, would be reduced, since they already have the maximum number of representatives (five). It, therefore, seems to us desirable to make it possible for the more developed co-operative countries to have more representatives on the Central Committee, especially as in these countries there are organisations which have the right and to which it would be of advantage to be represented on the Central Committee of our Alliance. According to our revision of Article 28, the maximum number of representatives to which a country is entitled shall be increased by two—that is to say, the co-operative organisations in a country shall be accorded the right to propose six members for election on the Central Committee in cases where the annual subscriptions exceed £450. In cases where the subscriptions exceed £600 they shall have the right to elect seven representatives. We consider that, according to these additional provisions, representation of the different countries on the Central Committee would be more equally proportioned than is the case at present.

“ Finally, we suggest a slight addition to Article 36 (b), by which it will be possible for the unions to send deputies to the meetings of the Central Committee in the event of one or other of their members being prevented from attending a meeting. A resolution to this effect was passed at a meeting of the Central Committee which was held in 1910, and should now be confirmed by the rules. It is unnecessary to point out that it is in the interests of our Alliance to be as fully represented as possible at its meetings, in order that expression may be given to the views of co-operators in all countries.

“ For the reasons mentioned above, we recommend the adoption of Articles 18, 19, 28, and 36 (b) as proposed by us

“ For the Central Committee of the I.C.A..

“ WILLIAM MAXWELL, President.

“ HANS MÜLLER, General Secretary.

“ Basle, June 5th, 1913.”

Report on Uniform Co-operative Statistics.

The PRESIDENT announced that the committee appointed to consider the question of obtaining statistics from the various countries on a uniform basis had met, but desired further time before submitting a final report.

Greetings from Mr. R. Stewart (S.C.W.S.) and Dr. Hans Müller.

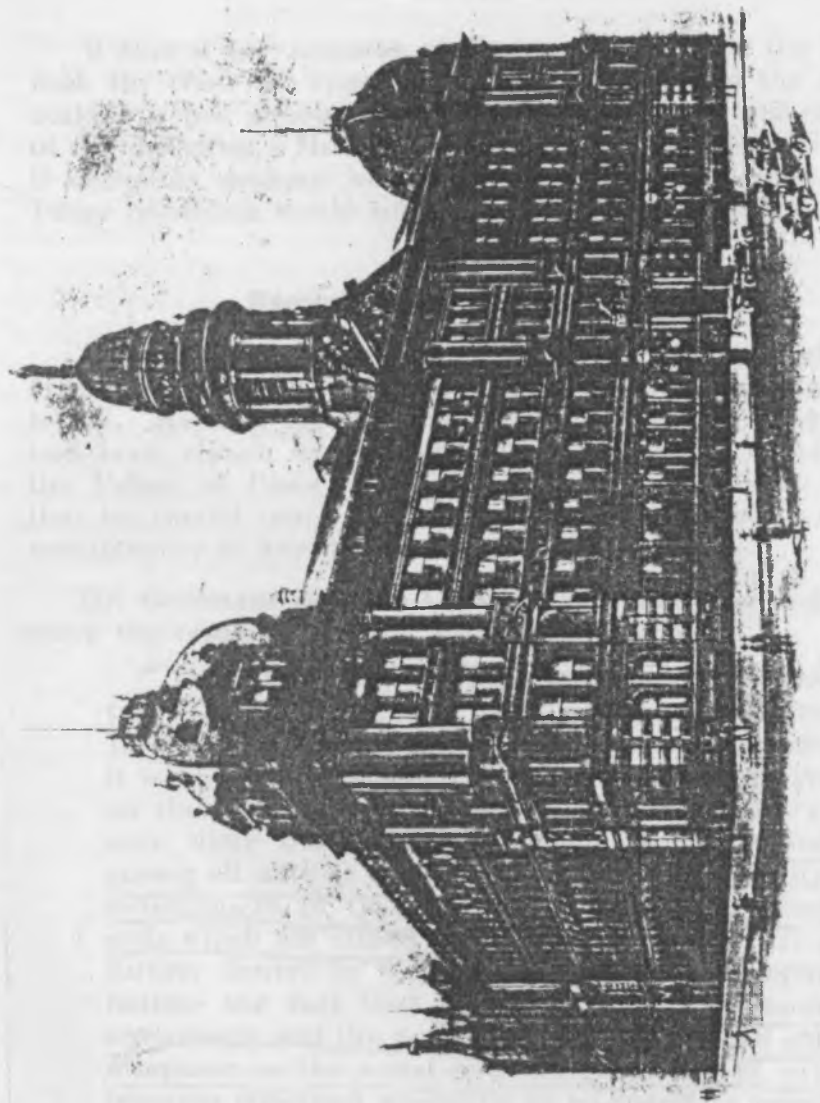
The PRESIDENT read the following telegram from Mr. Robert Stewart (Chairman of the Scottish Wholesale Society), who was at the moment in New York on the business of the society: "Sorry unable to be with you. Trust your meetings will be the beginning of a new era in the co-operative movement, when unity shall prevail in our ranks for the uplifting of the people. Wish you all success during Congress." (Applause.) He also read a telegram from Dr. Müller, who was sorry he could not attend, and who wished Congress "splendid success." (Applause.)

The Congress rose at 12-40 p.m.

SECOND SESSION OF CONGRESS

Tuesday, August 20th, 1913

11. 9-11 a.m.



SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY'S CENTRAL PREMISES, MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW

SECOND SESSION OF CONGRESS,

Tuesday, August 26th, 1913,

At 9-30 a.m.

Within a few minutes of the appointed time the PRESIDENT took the chair on Tuesday morning and opened the session by making a few announcements for the comfort and convenience of the delegates. He also stated that it would facilitate matters if delegates desirous of taking part in the discussion on the Peace resolution would send their names to the platform.

Resolution on International Peace.

The PRESIDENT called upon Mr. G. J. D. C. Goedhart (The Hague) to move the resolution, and introduced him in appropriate terms. He said Mr. Goedhart came from The Hague, which had been chosen by the administrators of the world to house the Palace of Peace. It seemed to be very fitting, therefore, that he should move a resolution which had for its object the maintenance of international peace.

Mr. GOEDHART said the Central Committee had asked him to move the resolution, which was as follows:—

“ That this Congress fully endorses the action recently taken by the Executive and Central Committees of the International Co-operative Alliance in order to manifest that it is in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to uphold peace. The Congress emphasises once more that the maintenance of peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the development of Co-operation and the realisation of those ends which are aimed at by this movement. The Congress further desires to impress upon the public opinion of all nations the fact that the reasons for the continuance of armaments and the possibility of international conflicts will disappear as the social and economic life of every nation becomes organised according to co-operative principles, and that, therefore, the progress of Co-operation forms one of the most valuable guarantees for the preservation of the world's peace. The Congress, therefore, exhorts the people of every country to join our movement and strengthen their

power. The International Congress of the Alliance declares itself in amity with all the co-operators of the world, and welcomes any action they may take in this direction or in which they may participate. Congress also welcomes all demonstrations made or to be made by other organisations with the same aim."

He did not think it would need a long speech to persuade the Congress that it was in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to maintain peace, nor "that the maintenance of peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the development of Co-operation and the realisation of those ends which are aimed at by this movement." What was the aim of the movement? It was to organise first the exchange of goods and afterwards the production, in order that equality and equity might reign in the future. Of course, they would not be able to reach that state while they were still unable to regulate production, buying, and selling, and dispatching of materials and goods produced. Now during a war, and even before a war commenced, the whole traffic and trade of not only the countries at war, but also of the greater part of the world, were put in disorder. It was clear, therefore, that war would do the co-operative movement a great deal of harm. But there was more. Co-operation aimed at raising the labouring classes; it tried to get them better wages and to give them the opportunity of getting better commodities. War disturbed production and trade. It took the greater part of the strong workmen from their workshops—often for ever—and it took the railways for use in carrying things needed in the war. The consequence was that the economic life of the nation was entirely dislocated when war flamed in the land. But even when war was only threatening in some countries it had a disastrous influence on the economic position of other nations. Trade and production were so organised that the nations were dependent on each other for the necessities of life. The various nations were also interested in each other's economic well-being, so that if one is affected all the others feel it. "A war," says Norman Angell, "weakens not only the submerged nation, but also equally as hard its submerger."

This brought him to the next portion of the resolution, viz.: "The Congress further desires to impress upon the public opinion of all nations the fact that the reasons for the continual increase of armaments and the possibility of international conflicts will tend to disappear as the social and economic life of every nation becomes organised according to co-operative principles, and that, therefore, the progress of Co-operation forms one of the most valuable guarantees for the preservation of the world's peace."

If it was true that the economic interests of the nations were so interwoven that a war hurt them even if they were not a party in it, then how much more would they feel the effects if the social life of the people were organised on co-operative lines? It would, therefore, be seen how stupid a war was, even when a nation gained every battle. If the organisation of production and consumption were entirely shaped on co-operative lines then every person would be a member of a co-operative society, all co-operative societies of the country would be members of the Wholesale Society, and the Wholesale Societies of the various countries would have mutual interests. This huge organisation would, therefore, feel the consequences of a war immediately. Nay, even the least cloud on the political life would be felt in such a great concern and move it to care for the maintenance of peace. He had not yet spoken of the greatest evil resulting from war and from the preparations for it for the working classes. It was clear that capital did not grow on trees; it had to be made by continual working, and it must be found out of the results of national production. Now that national production rose from the co-operation of capital, Labour, and materials, and the profit had to be divided by the capitalists, the labourers, and the contractors. It was clear that if the capitalists got more the labourer got less, and it was also clear that war and its preparations made capital dearer for a long time, so, of course, it made less the part of Labour. But the income of the Exchequer had for the greater part to be brought up by the labouring classes.

All the European powers had a tremendous public debt; in the aggregate it amounted to £7,868,879,820, and of that sum £3,000,000,000 represented capital lost in wars and preparations thereto. Interest had, therefore, to be paid on capital which no longer existed. Moreover, the European nations together paid huge sums for war preparations. In times of peace the armies consisted of 7,572,610 men, which in times of war could be increased to 20,017,253 men, whilst the European fleets were composed of 2,356 ships, with 15,271 guns and 451,617 sailors. Of course the maintenance of these armies and navies cost very huge sums, which are lost to better objects, and which have to be found for the greater part out of the lesser incomes. Is it strange that the conviction is being spread more and more that means must be found to lessen the sums hitherto voted for army and navy purposes. One of the best means will be the promotion of Co-operation. That must be clear to you, for Co-operation means the amalgamation of the interests of men and of nations. I pointed out the economic profit of it in the early part of my address, but I need not say to you that Co-operation means brotherhood, and that it aims at

the improvement of the condition of mankind in every way. Therefore our Congress is entitled to emphasise the fact that Co-operation is the best means for the preservation of the world's peace, and to exhort the people of every country to join our movement and to strengthen its power. (Applause.)

Mr. MAXWELL said it would be strange indeed if the ever-growing civilisation of the past centuries had not entirely changed and altered the thoughts of mankind. It was only in the very few uncivilised States that remained in the world that they could find the customs and habits that were generally adopted at the beginning of the Christian era. But there was one cruel and savage custom that had withstood the civilisation of all the centuries—the barbaric custom of war. The change that had taken place in armaments had been to make them more deadly, whilst greed of territory and ambition to conquer were as strong as they were 2,000 years ago, especially among many who held place and power to-day. In ordinary life nations were agreed that disputes and difficulties could be settled in properly equipped courts of justice or arbitration, yet in international differences they clung to the power of the sword as the only means of settlement. The history of the world teemed with evidence that many of their past wars were unnecessary and unjust, and if reason and amity had been applied to the subject in dispute how much life and treasure might have been saved in the past! War was not in harmony with their boasted civilisation nor their vaunted Christianity. Apart from the horrors of war and its attendant miseries, which fell heavily upon the workers, the financial burdens were becoming unbearable in those European countries, and all in order that one Government should possess more engines of destruction than the others. He submitted that international Co-operation was the very antithesis of international strife, and every man and woman in the International Alliance had some influence. Let them use that influence so that the huge and costly armaments of war that disfigured the civilisation of the 20th century might be abolished for ever. Let them hope that the growing sense of harmony between nations which that great Congress represented would in a very short period wipe out many of those deadly engines upon which so much of the workers' hard-earned money was expended. Then they would bring in the time when men would beat their swords into ploughshares and bring peace and hope and comfort to the workers of the world. (Loud applause.)

Mr. VON ELM (Hamburg) was specially greeted, and significance was attached to the fact that he delivered his speech in both German and English. Mr. von Elm said he supported the peace resolution with great pleasure, because he knew that there

was no German co-operator who did not want peace—(loud applause)—and who did not agree absolutely with the tenor of the resolution. They all knew that under present conditions the rulers of the world cared very little for the resolutions of co-operators. Nevertheless they considered it their duty to express their determination for the maintenance of international peace, and they would hail the resolutions of all the other friends of peace, because the rulers could not resist the expressed will of the people, which in the end was the law supreme. (Loud applause.) That would have to be acknowledged by the ruling powers one day. When the great majorities of the English, French, and German people declared "We don't want war, but peace." When those three great civilised nations were united for peace there would be peace, not only among those nations, but among all nations. (Applause.) He knew the sentiments of the German working classes—and that meant the great majority of the working classes—and they did not want war with any nation. They wanted peace. (Applause.) The war scaremongers of every nation were those who wanted war to serve their own selfish ends. Through the mad competition of armaments in all countries a handful of rich capitalists had been made richer, while the working classes were foolish enough not only to pay for the increasing expense of armaments, but to sacrifice their lives for militarism and imperialism—the monstrosities of the capitalist. (Applause.) So long as capitalism ruled the world the elements that led to war came in. They were therefore convinced that the danger of war would disappear rapidly as the co-operative movement extended among nations. The co-operative movement excluded capitalist profits. It was anti-capitalistic—its profits were distributed among the community, and the organisation among producers and the community on co-operative principles meant peace, because the root of all war (capitalist profit) was excluded. The delegates attended the International Congress to exchange views and to learn from others. The German delegates had learned a great deal in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland. If the German delegates promised to do their utmost to organise and federalise on co-operative principles, and if they did it a little better than it had been done in Great Britain it would please every co-operator in Great Britain. (Applause.) The co-operators of the world were friends. (Loud and prolonged applause.) The co-operators of the world wanted construction and not destruction. (Renewed applause.) They wanted to build up the solidarity of the world on an international basis, and co-operators wanted the workers of all nations to help them to realise and to accomplish that great work for the peace of the whole world. (Loud applause.)

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS (Paris): Fellow co-operators, I wish that one who could have spoken to you more authoritatively than I had been able to come here to solicit, in the name of French-speaking co-operators, your unreserved and enthusiastic acceptance of the motion proposed by the Central Committee of the Alliance, but our highly esteemed friend, Professor Charles Gide, was unable to attend this Congress. I should first of all like to read that which Professor Gide has written to you, I will then voice the few words on behalf of the French delegates which you seem to think indispensable. Professor Gide writes as follows:—

“ I much regret that I am unable to accompany my French colleagues, but I should like at least to join with them in the international manifestation for peace. We know that the voice of co-operators, even the united voice of the co-operators of all countries, is not strong enough to outweigh that of the combination of interests and passions. In view of the fact that the horrors of the Balkan war have not availed to make war accursed, but have even furnished the Press with new reasons to glorify it, our protests will not suffice to open the eyes of our contemporaries. Nevertheless we confidently hope one day to see Co-operation realise in political life that which it has begun to realise in economic life, viz., to transform States and empires into free associations and free federations (co-operative commonwealths) which will not wage war with one another, but will only try to increase by the same means as our present societies. i.e., by the voluntary affiliation of those who desire to come to them.”

As I have said, I beg to add a few words to the letter sent by our eminent colleague. If some of the nations here represented desire to see the union of all international forces it must be those which for 42 years have burdened the world with the heavy weight of armed peace. Since our colleague, Mr. von Elm, has come to tell you of the ideals of peace cherished by the workers of Germany, may I, as the representative of France, be permitted to assert the ideal of peace and the desire for union and for closer relationship and friendship with Germany which animates all the representatives of the proletariat of France. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, my dear fellow co-operators, we French, more than any other section of the Congress, have realised during the last few months how necessary it is for us to act. In spite of our efforts, however, our people are to be burdened with new armaments. The folly of war seems to increase; not only our two nations, but all the nations of Europe are involved, and your action, my fellow co-operators of all nations, has become more necessary. I feel inclined to contradict

the words of disillusion and scientific disenchantment contained in Professor Gide's letter. It seems as if he somewhat doubts the power of the people to make themselves heard, he seems to doubt the power of the masses to gradually impose their will on Governments. We do not doubt that in any case our co-operative forces are strong enough to oppose the folly of some of our Ministers. This reminds us of what occurred in 1870. At that time there was in France an embryo co-operative movement. A few had already come from England, a few had published books and papers setting forth the necessity for Co-operation, and it was Varlin, one of the most disinterested militants, and one of the most heroic characters of the great Communal Insurrection in Paris, who towards the end of the Second Empire founded the first co-operative restaurant in France. You know how everything was swept away by the Commune and the war. The best and most noble of the militant workers were ruined by the repression of Versailles, and it was found that long years were necessary before the French Co-operative Movement could record new progress.

It is in the interests of Co-operation as a whole, as Mr. von Elm pointed out, to prevent new wars. For the sake of the economic development of the various nations, and for the material and moral uplifting of the working classes, it is most important that wars should be avoided. We still hope, however, since we may say that the co-operative principle of itself will penetrate into the inner life of the nations. It will substitute a system of peace and harmony, right and justice, for that of competition and rivalry. That which the movement has done within nations will it not do between all nations? We shall shortly discuss the agreement between the wholesale societies, we shall discuss the international co-operative exchange of goods. Shall this fertile principle not be brought to the notice of all countries? Already the capitalists to whom we are opposed have increased the number of their shops, their cartels, and their trusts, not only within each nation, but even between nations. Already they have formed an *entente*, and already beyond the frontiers they have established agreements which from a commercial point of view are very lasting and profitable to themselves. We in France and Germany saw the singular agreement between Krupp and Schneider. We have already seen that they know how to multiply their profitable agreements beyond the frontiers of the different countries. They have come to an understanding with some, but the result of the understanding has been to set the masses of the workers in opposition to one another. We, on the other hand, when we come to an understanding it is to promote agreement among united consumers and among the

workers to bring about an *entente* between the nations, and not to rouse their antipathy for the benefit of certain people.

I should now like to give the third reason for hope. It is that to-day it is not the Co-operative Movement alone which will make its voice heard—a voice which, according to Professor Gide, runs the risk of being stifled. A few weeks ago Socialists—representative working-men of the world—met in the cathedral at Basle. A few weeks ago the responsible representatives of the great nations of France and Germany met at Berne. Henceforth Co-operation will not be alone. The working classes of the two countries will strive everywhere to this end, and if there are a few who still doubt I should like to remind them of Lamennais' fable: There was once a traveller who wished to climb a mountain. On his way he was confronted with a large rock which blocked his path. He sought to overturn it, but could not. Another traveller who followed him also tried to overturn the rock, but without avail. These two travellers were soon joined by others, and when there were ten of them one said, "If we combine all our strength against the rock perhaps we can overturn it." They joined forces and easily overturned the rock. In the same way, if Syndicalists and co-operators will combine the rock will be overturned and capitalism will be destroyed. (Loud applause.)

Mr. MAXWELL said that they had had the sentiments of the nations of Holland, Germany, and France, and they were now to have a direct descendant of the Viking race—Mr. O. Dehli, of Norway.

Mr. O. DEHLI (Christiania) said he was anxious to support the resolution. The question of peace was one that should concern all nations, great and small. (Hear, hear.) The expenses of armaments fell heaviest on the poor. They all ought to have thoughts for peace. Nobody in his country wished for war, but all were for peace—both Labour and capitalists. (Applause.) He wished to support the resolution with an appeal for peace among all nations, great or small.

Mr. NEIL McLEAN (Frasertown) said that on such a question as international peace he was glad to see that the co-operative movement proved that it was linking itself up with other forward and progressive movements of the world. So long as they had wars, property being destroyed and lives lost, they would no doubt promote a feeling that would set the workers against each other. That of itself was against the true spirit of Co-operation. Co-operation meant the true spirit of brotherhood and fraternity among people of the entire world. If they would make it the real life-force that the pioneers wished to make it, then Co-operation

must take its stand internationally, not merely in the passing of a pious resolution at each Congress, but it must take its place in the forefront of the international working-class movements, prepared in every way to stop the waging of war by one power against another. His firm belief was that the working-class movements were internationally sufficiently powerful, not merely to stop war among small States like the Balkans, but between the great Powers of the world. (Hear, hear.) The workmen were greeting one another across the borders of each country, and forestalling the diplomacy of politicians. Why should there be any difference among workers living in different nations? The fact that they were met together that day discussing the same industrial and economic problems showed that the working classes could do something to stop war; and when they were determined to stop it, war would cease in all countries, and there would be international peace. He knew that they were sometimes told that they ought not to express those sentiments; they were supposed not to be strong enough to carry them into effect. But he wished to challenge that attitude, and to quote, in conclusion, the words of Edwin Arnold:—

We are those whose bugle rings, that all these wars shall cease;
 We are they who pay the kings their cruel price for peace;
 We are they whose constant watchword is what Christ did teach:
 Each man for his brother first—and heaven then for each.

We are they who will not falter—many swords or few,
 Until we make this earth the altar of a worship new;
 We are they who will not take from palace, priest, or code
 A meaner law than brotherhood, a lower Lord than God.

Mr. SCHLACK (Mülheim): Fellow co-operators, peace is the greatest blessing of the nations, and we are very pleased that the International Co-operative Congress is taking a stand on this question. We of the co-operative societies must do all in our power to make our demands for peace heard by the authorities. The reasons for desiring the peace of the nations may vary, but everyone wishes for its achievement. I should like to ask you to make a slight change in the last sentence of the resolution. As it now stands, this sentence reads as follows: "It also welcomes any demonstrations made or to be made by other organisations with the same aim." I beg to alter this as follows: "It also welcomes the efforts of other organisations which pursue the same purpose."

Through this resolution it is asserted that we welcome all efforts towards universal peace. If we do not make this alteration, we approve all means used to this end. Thus the International Co-operative Congress draws a blank draft, by which it accepts all demonstrations which aim at peace, although they may really achieve the contrary. The whole Congress can accept this change without hesitation. Should there, however, be any dissent, I beg that this passage be voted upon.

The PRESIDENT: The various nations have spoken out very plainly on this resolution, and this Congress should now let its opinion go out with no uncertain sound. I am now going to put the resolution to the vote.

A Notable Demonstration.

The President's words having been translated, he called upon all in favour of the resolution to put up their hands. It seemed as if every delegate present did so. He then called upon the delegates who were against the resolution to show hands. Not a single hand was raised.

The PRESIDENT: You have carried the resolution unanimously.

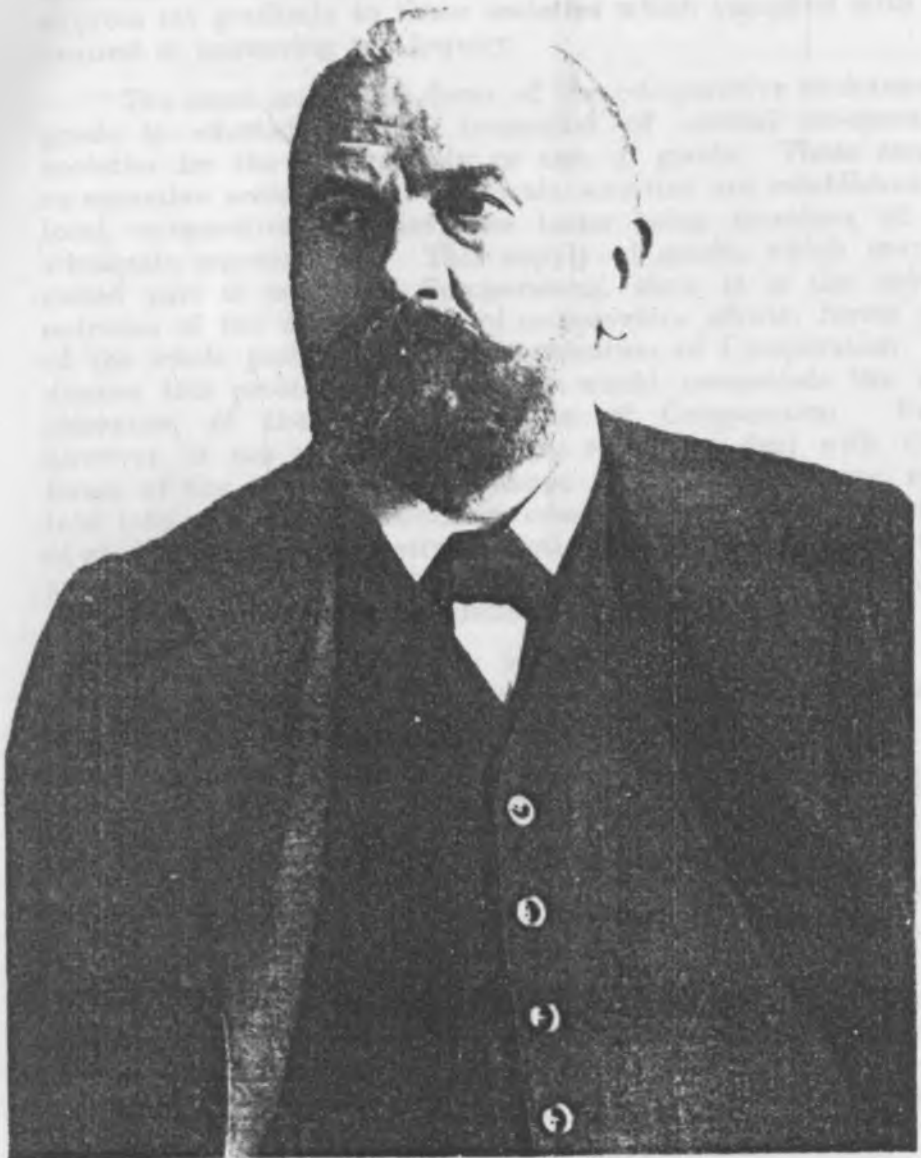
At this announcement the delegates applauded vigorously. The applause was renewed several times, growing louder each time, until they burst into cheers, which grew in volume with the intense enthusiasm which the peace declaration had created, and for a time the delegates were standing, cheering and waving their hands and handkerchiefs in a remarkable demonstration. When silence was at length restored, the PRESIDENT remarked: "You never did a better morning's work in your life, and you never will," an observation which evoked further applause.

Paper by Mr. Heinrich Kaufmann on "The Direct Exchange of Goods between Distributive Societies, Agricultural and other Productive Societies, also between the Wholesale Societies in the different Countries."

Mr. KAUFMANN summarised his paper, which is given in full below:—

"It is impossible to treat this subject in an exhaustive manner owing to the limited time and space at my disposal, as well as to the fact that the statistical material with regard to the extent and development of the co-operative exchange of goods is likewise restricted. It is, therefore, not possible to come to any definite conclusion in the matter, and I must confine myself to contributing in a small way to this extensive and many-sided subject.

"In addition to my personal knowledge of the co-operative movement, which is, unfortunately, not as complete as I could wish, I have at my disposal the results of two inquiries which I instituted in 1904 and 1912. In undertaking the inquiry in 1904 I wished to ascertain the amount of goods drawn by the distributive societies affiliated to the Central Union of German



HEINRICH KAUFMANN

(Central Union of German Distributive Societies).

Distributive Societies and by their Wholesale Society from agricultural societies and farmers. The object of the second inquiry, which I set on foot in 1912, was to obtain information with regard to the amount of goods drawn by the distributive societies affiliated to our Central Union from industrial productive societies (co-operative work societies). I also have at my disposal much valuable information with which numerous co-operative wholesale societies furnished me, and I should here like to express my gratitude to those societies which complied with my request in answering my inquiry.

“ The most important form of the co-operative exchange of goods is effected by the formation of central co-operative societies for the joint supply or sale of goods. These central co-operative societies and wholesale societies are established by local co-operative societies, the latter being members of the wholesale organisations. This supply of goods, which may be called part of organised Co-operation, since it is the natural outcome of the development of co-operative efforts, forms part of the whole problem of the organisation of Co-operation. To discuss this problem in my paper would necessitate the consideration of the entire principle of Co-operation. Such, however, is not my task. I have rather to deal with those forms of the co-operative exchange of goods which we must take into account, in addition to considering the direct exchange of goods between co-operative societies and their central societies, and the collaboration of the central societies in their capacity as agents between their own societies and other societies.

“ I will, therefore, confine myself to briefly considering the most important forms of, we will say, the co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement.

“ I. The supplies drawn by one society from another society, either direct or by means of the wholesale society. In this connection we have to do with two distinct ways of the co-operative exchange of goods. The first way is the supply of goods manufactured in the productive departments of one distributive society to another distributive society.

“ It frequently happens that a large society in a district establishes such a large bakery that it is able to supply bread to the smaller societies in the neighbourhood. Similarly, the corn and cribbling mills of the larger distributive societies perform like services for the small societies in the neighbourhood.

“ Very often the distributive slaughterhouses prepare a larger quantity of sausages and cooked meats than is required by their members, so they supply these goods not only to the

distributive societies in the neighbourhood but to all the distributive societies affiliated to their federation.

“ In the same way, co-operative societies which have their own dairies make more cheese than is necessary for their own use, and they likewise endeavour to sell their surplus to societies in the neighbourhood.

“ The supply of bread and confectionery to the distributive societies in the same district is not undertaken by the wholesale society, but—at least it so happens in Germany—the wholesale society undertakes to supply distributive societies with the surplus produce of the mills, slaughterhouses, and dairies of other distributive societies.

“ Whether the exchange of goods is effected direct or by means of the wholesale society, we have essentially to do with a surplus production which is brought on the market. The more varied distributive co-operative production becomes, the more difficult it will be to adapt it exactly to the requirements of distributive Co-operation. The distributive societies will, above all, be desirous of establishing their productive departments to the best possible advantage. If there is not a sufficient demand among co-operators for certain articles of produce which must, nevertheless, be manufactured, it becomes necessary to find a suitable market for the surplus produce. In such cases distributive societies naturally have recourse to kindred distributive societies and to the wholesale society. It also happens sometimes that a distributive society sells the produce of its productive departments to other distributive societies, in order to obtain a better result. The direct sale of the produce of the bakeries to other small distributive societies in the neighbourhood is, as a rule, a preliminary step to the amalgamation of these societies with the larger distributive societies which undertake the supply of bread.

“ A second form of the direct exchange of goods between distributive societies is to be found in cases where the majority of the members of a distributive society are engaged in home industries. In Germany there are a number of small localities the inhabitants of which are almost exclusively independent home workers. They form a distributive society, from which they obtain not only the necessaries of life and household requisites, but also the raw material for carrying on their work at home. It sometimes happens that these distributive societies undertake the sale of goods produced by those engaged in home industries. In order to do away with the unhealthy conditions of labour which prevail in the small dwellings of the home workers, the distributive societies often establish their

own productive workshops, thereby undertaking, in addition to their functions as distributive societies, the tasks of productive societies. Distributive societies undertake the manufacture of baskets, glassware, woodenware, textile fabrics, boots and shoes, and probably also the manufacture of other goods with which I am unacquainted. Statistical inquiries with regard to the extent of this form of the co-operative exchange of goods have not been instituted.

“ II. The exchange of goods among distributive societies, which is effected by means of selling the goods produced in the productive departments of the larger distributive societies to the small distributive societies in the same district (for example, bread, etc.) is further developed by the combination of distributive societies in one district into co-operative organisations for the joint manufacture of certain goods for their own use, the distributive societies being members of these organisations and purchasing goods from them. Whereas the sale to small societies of goods which have been manufactured in the productive departments of the large distributive societies is generally precursory to the amalgamation of these societies with the large societies, it sometimes happens, on the other hand, that large societies join together and establish special productive enterprises for the purpose of manufacturing goods for their own use. The new co-operative organisations thus formed are to be regarded as central societies or federations for production. They are not always constituted as co-operative societies, but frequently—at least in Germany—they are constituted on the lines of joint stock companies. Societies of this kind would be slaughterhouses and breweries for all the co-operative societies in the district. The establishment of such central productive societies has often been planned in Germany, but has, up to the present, not been carried into effect. In Great Britain there exist co-operative mills and baking societies which are in the nature of central productive societies of a large or small number of distributive societies, and which, for the most part, supply the needs of the distributive societies. In cases where central productive societies of regional importance exist, it generally happens that the wholesale societies are prevented from supplying goods. The societies which have founded these central productive societies are members of these productive organisations, which they finance, and they, therefore, draw their supplies direct from the central productive societies.

“ Other central productive societies are formed by the industrial productive societies (co-operative work societies), and I shall refer to these societies later.

“ The exchange of goods between the distributive societies which supply the goods produced by the home workers of their respective districts, and thus act as agents of the home workers, is a stepping-stone to the drawing of supplies by the distributive societies from the industrial productive societies. It would be well to designate these industrial productive societies labour societies. They have been established by workingmen, not with the object of supplying certain commodities, but to afford the workingmen who are the members the possibility of turning their capacity for labour to the best account, to meet a known demand for goods, independent of private capital. These industrial productive societies have generally a very hard struggle for existence. The experience of Co-operation in the various countries proves that this form of co-operative production can hardly look forward to a more prosperous future. The observation made by Beatrice Webb in her book on ‘ The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain,’ i.e., that the large majority of the co-operative work societies would fail soon after their establishment holds good at any rate for Germany. The causes of failure are: The want of capital, an insufficient market for the goods, inefficient management, and, above all, want of discipline among the workingmen who form the societies and are employed by them.

“ Since the membership of the industrial distributive societies is, for the most part, composed of workingmen, and as these co-operative work societies are likewise founded by workingmen, it often happens, owing to personal considerations, that the co-operative work societies reckon, in the main, on the custom of the distributive societies. They are especially desirous of selling their produce to the distributive societies in the immediate neighbourhood, and later they endeavour to prevail upon the wholesale society to take their goods, in order that, by means of the wholesale society, their produce may be sold to all the distributive societies of the country in question. The custom of the distributive societies, and perhaps also of the wholesale society, often leads to these societies being required to contribute to the capital of the work society. Thus, more and more, they gain control of the capital of such work societies, and regulate the sale of their produce. As a further result, they are represented on the board of management or supervising committee. The society thereby loses its character as a purely co-operative work society, and acquires, more and more, the nature of a distributive central productive federation.

“ Not infrequently, however, the central productive federation is transformed into a productive department of the wholesale society. In this way, the Workingmen’s Co-operative Tobacco

Society in Hamburg was taken over by the German Wholesale Society, as was recently the case with the Workingmen's Chewing Tobacco Society. Similarly, a large number of factories belonging to the English Wholesale Society were originally established by co-operative work societies. The necessity of having to take over what were originally work societies and later central productive federations of distributive societies is not always agreeable to the wholesale societies in question. In establishing work societies no thought is given to the selection of a central position; they are often to be found, at least in Germany, in the most secluded mountain valleys, so that the taking over of these societies as productive departments of the wholesale society means an undesirable splitting up of the production of this organisation. It is, therefore, obvious that the wholesale societies have no inclination to promote the development of these societies, but rather wish to put difficulties in the way of taking over such societies.

“ The possibility is, however, conceivable, that it is not at all desirable for a wholesale society to take over a central productive federation since the direct responsibility of the distributive societies concerned in the enterprise is thereby lessened. If the enterprise were to remain an independent enterprise, the wholesale society would contribute capital, acquire for itself a seat on the supervising committee, and take over the sale of the produce of the central productive society to other distributive societies. We have such an example in Germany in the Rhenish-Westphalian Timber Society, which was originally established as a workingmen's society, of which the Rhenish-Westphalian distributive societies later became members, and which has now been converted into a limited liability company by the Rhenish-Westphalian societies and the wholesale society. This society, however, in reality still retains the character of a central productive society formed by distributive organisations.

“ The industrial productive societies (workingmen's societies), as we have already remarked, generally fail soon after their establishment; but in cases where they are connected with the distributive societies, and thus become capable of continuing their existence, they will frequently develop into productive departments of their wholesale society or into separate central productive federations of distributive societies. In any case, they cease to exist as real workingmen's productive societies. The socially directed production of consumers' societies assimilates to itself the alien body of individualistic co-operative production.

“ Central productive societies are formed on the one hand by distributive societies in a certain district combining for the

joint production of goods, and on the other hand by the workingmen's societies, of which the distributive societies are members, being taken over by the latter and converted into central productive federations. Whereas the former meet the requirements of the district in question and retain their independent character, there exists for the latter the probability of losing their independence, as soon as it seems desirable, by being transformed into productive departments of the wholesale society. The sale of the produce of these central productive societies by means of, or independent of, the wholesale society in the district comes within the sphere of the organised co-operative exchange of goods.

“ Distributive societies with productive departments procure the raw material for these from the wholesale society, in so far as it is possible. The same thing applies to the central productive federations. Further, the genuine productive societies or workingmen's societies are always willing to draw their supplies of raw material from the wholesale society, in so far as the wholesale society agrees to it.

“ Thus the wholesale society performs the functions of a central purchasing society for the workingmen's societies. The individual workingmen's societies are always small, and have but little capital at their disposal; consequently they are not in a position to make very satisfactory purchases. Many advantages accrue to them by procuring the necessary raw material from the distributive wholesale society.

“ III. The most important form of the co-operative exchange of goods, not within the organised movement, is that between the co-operative distributive societies and their wholesales on the one hand and the agricultural productive societies on the other. The economic system which prevailed in mediæval towns consisted chiefly in the direct exchange of goods between the agricultural producers and the urban consumers. The inhabitants of the agricultural environs of a town brought the produce of their farms on certain days to the market in the town, and sold them direct to the urban consumers. They also bought the industrial products of the urban artisans. Even now, in almost all German towns, there is a weekly market, at which the agricultural population of the neighbourhood expose their produce for sale.

“ Often, however, agricultural production has reached a higher stage of development. The individual peasants do not produce the butter, but they sell their milk to co-operative dairies, which work it up into butter or cheese, and sell these products to the consumers. The co-operative dairies, however, which are situated

districts to draw supplies direct from the agricultural co-operative societies.

“ In certain circumstances, this exchange of goods can develop so that the agricultural societies supply the central sale societies, these supply the co-operative wholesale societies, and these in their turn the local distributive societies. Co-operative organisation will thus entirely replace the service which the middleman has rendered in the exchange between industrial consumers and agricultural producers.

“ But it is not only the various districts of a country which differ in being agricultural or industrial; the same difference is apparent in the various countries of Europe. In the industrial countries the production of agricultural commodities is often insufficient to meet the requirements of the population; whilst, on the contrary, in agricultural countries a surplus of agricultural commodities is produced, for which a market must be sought in industrial countries. Thus there comes into existence an exchange of goods between the agricultural productive societies of one country and the distributive societies of another. In almost all such cases, the distributive co-operative wholesale societies and the sale societies of the agricultural productive societies act as agents; thus the individual agricultural societies send their produce to their central sale societies, and these again send it to the distributive co-operative wholesales, which in their turn supply the goods to their affiliated societies.

“ Thus in one and the same district there is the direct exchange of goods between agricultural productive societies and industrial distributive societies, which is much to be preferred. In the separate agricultural and industrial districts of one and the same country, the agency of the agricultural central sale society or the wholesale society of the distributive societies comes between, as the direct exchange leads to all kinds of difficulties, on account of the distances. When we come to the exchange of goods between the agricultural productive societies of one country and the industrial distributive societies of another, as a rule, the agency of the central organisations of both sides is requisitioned.

“ I know nothing of the direct supply of goods drawn by the agricultural productive societies of one country from the industrial distributive societies, or their wholesales, in another country. Theoretically, however, it is quite conceivable that agricultural productive societies in one country, which sell their products to distributive organisations in another, should take the opportunity to draw goods manufactured by these distributive organisations.

“ IV. It is possible that a still more important form of co-operative trading lies in the future; this will be the direct exchange

at some distance from the town, do not as a rule sell direct to the consumers, but to traders. Not infrequently, the organisation of consumers, the co-operative distributive society, takes the place of the trader, and thus there comes into existence a direct exchange of goods between the agricultural productive societies (supply and sale societies) and the industrial distributive societies of the same district. This exchange of goods includes butter, milk, cheese, eggs, fruit, preserves, wine, potatoes, corn, cattle, and other agricultural products.

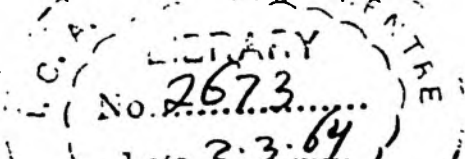
“ In all these cases the distributive society is the purchaser and the agricultural productive society the seller. However, the peasants have also formed purchasing associations, supply societies, which, at least in Germany, represent special organisations as distinct from the agricultural sale societies. The agricultural supply societies have their own central organisations, and they cannot, therefore, be taken into account when considering the supply of goods drawn from the distributive societies or their wholesales. It sometimes, however, happens that agricultural societies, especially dairies, buy certain products, such as fodder, for their members. As they sell the goods they have produced to the co-operative distributive societies and their wholesales, they are often willing to draw their supplies of fodder from these organisations. For example, those distributive societies which have their own mills would preferably sell their waste produce, such as bran, to the agricultural societies.

“ As distributive societies in Germany are locating their shops more and more in the country, and include agriculturists among their members, they find themselves obliged to supply fodder. Sometimes they produce this fodder in bruising mills of their own, and sometimes they obtain it from the wholesale. The latter thus becomes a purchasing centre for agricultural requisites, and is, therefore, in a position to supply the agricultural productive societies, the produce of which it purchases, with these requisites in a manner satisfactory to both.

“ Industry and agriculture are not always equally represented in a country. Besides there being industrial districts with small agricultural production, there are a larger number of agricultural districts with small industrial production. The agricultural products of the rural districts are sold to the industrial districts chiefly through the agency of traders. When co-operative organisation has attained a greater strength, it will be possible to replace the services of the traders by that of central co-operative societies. The agricultural central sale societies will be quite willing to sell to the distributive societies in the industrial districts, whilst on the other hand the distributive co-operative wholesale societies will send their buyers to the agricultural

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of goods between the wholesales in the various countries. We can already perceive the beginnings of such a trade; such great difficulties, however, have to be faced that it has not yet attained great proportions. Above all, the protectionist policy adopted by nearly all the European countries is a great hindrance to the establishment of such a direct exchange. Even without such protective tariffs, however, there would still be many difficulties. The wholesale societies organise their trade merely to meet the requirements of their affiliated societies; they must, above all, follow the taste of the public. Since public taste differs in the different districts, obviously there must be a much greater difference in the public taste in the various countries. This also applies to the productive enterprises of the wholesale societies. Production is throughout adapted to the requirements and the tastes of the members of the affiliated societies. The distributive co-operative production of the individual distributive societies, as well as of the wholesales, is, above all, the production of goods to meet the requirements of a special section of consumers. Thus this kind of production is essentially different from the production of the export industry of a country. The export industry of a country produces goods which are not intended for the population of that particular country; it is adapted to the needs and tastes of that country which imports the goods.

“ There are, however, many articles which are, as one might say, international; and it is indubitable that were it not for the protective system of many countries at the present time it would be possible for the wholesale societies in the various countries to maintain a direct supply of the goods which they produce to a greater extent than is the case to-day. In this connection we must also bear in mind the fact that every wholesale society which draws products to any considerable degree seeks as soon as possible to produce these goods for itself. Thus the co-operative exchange of goods manufactured by the wholesale societies in the different countries will, in the majority of cases, have the character of a merely provisional arrangement.

“ In spite of these limitations and doubts, I willingly admit that the international exchange of goods between the wholesales in the various countries can and will achieve greater importance from year to year. This international trading will also increase in proportion to the manner in which the co-operative movement develops in the various countries.

RECAPITULATION

“ The greater part of the co-operative exchange of goods which is the outcome of the essence of co-operative organisation, viz., the supply of goods drawn by the distributive societies from their

wholesale, by the industrial and agricultural supply societies from their central purchasing association, and of the productive and sale societies from their central sale association, has been left out of this paper. The remaining co-operative trading, which can only to a small extent be organised, and is chiefly outside the organised movement, is almost exclusively based on co-operative production. Co-operative production of distributive societies and the production of the co-operative wholesale societies is in reality the production of goods to meet the requirements of a special section of consumers, and it is only the superfluous production which is used for the co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement.

“ A market for the productions of individualistic industrial co-operative societies is sought in the socially directed distributive co-operative organisation. If this purpose is attained, it usually happens that this production becomes assimilated with distributive co-operative organisation.

“ The production undertaken by the agricultural productive societies aims at selling to the best advantage the produce of individual agricultural enterprise; it seeks to sell goods on the open market. As the demand exceeds the supply, there are no difficulties to be reckoned with in regard to disposal. Among their customers are the distributive co-operative societies and their wholesales, the aim of which is, by eliminating the private middleman, to become the direct purchaser of the products of the agricultural productive and sale societies.

“ The co-operative purchase of goods by the industrial and agricultural productive societies from the distributive societies and their wholesales is generally only occasional—a secondary co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement which is a development of the primary co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement between these societies and the distributive societies and their wholesales.

“ The co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement, in so far as it is based on production by the distributive societies and their wholesales, is not capable of great development. since this production is, in its very nature, production to meet the requirements of a certain section of consumers. So far as it is based on production by the industrial co-operative societies, it is not possible for it to develop to any considerable degree, because either it is not capable of great efficiency or, in cases where it is connected with distributive co-operative organisation, it is assimilated with this, and thus becomes an organ of production to meet the requirements of a certain section of consumers.

“ Agricultural co-operative production and the agricultural co-operative exchange of goods depend on the general market. In proportion as the co-operative distributive movement becomes

stronger customers will increase, and efforts will be made to draw supplies direct from the agricultural co-operative societies and their central sale associations. These are also interested in allowing the private trader, who always seeks to make both the purchaser and the seller of goods dependent upon him, to come as little as possible between them and the consumers of their productions.

“ Time will prove whether it is desirable or possible to develop an organised co-operative exchange of goods out of this most important branch of the co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement, by a general fixing of price and conditions of sale between the general agricultural co-operative productive organisations and the general consumers’ organisations, something like the general wage conventions between employers and employed. In the meantime, there seems to be among the co-operative distributive societies a greater inclination to make attempts in the direction of the co-operative production of agricultural produce. The agricultural co-operative societies—at least those in Germany (where, however, political considerations exercise their influence)—do not seem to attach special importance to the direct sale of their produce to the industrial distributive societies and their wholesales.

“ The exchange of goods between the wholesale societies in the different countries is only at the very beginning of its development ; it is hampered to a very great extent by the system of protection which obtains in most European countries. Also, circumstances within the co-operative movement are not very favourable to the development of this direct exchange of goods. With regard to purely colonial produce, each wholesale society can buy as favourably in the open market of its own country as from a kindred wholesale society of another country. Only very strong wholesale societies, being established in ports and trading centres, which have a considerable importance outside the borders of their own country—e.g., the English Wholesale Society in London, and the German Wholesale Society at Hamburg—would perhaps be in a position to undertake purchases for kindred wholesale societies in other countries.

“ The production of the wholesale societies is production to meet the requirements of the consumers organised in co-operative societies. Only surplus production is, as a rule, used for exporting to the wholesales of other countries. Also, the wholesale societies which import the goods strive to produce these articles themselves as soon as possible.

“ Further, the produce of the foreign or colonial plantations owned by the wholesale societies is chiefly destined for their own use. Thus, here, the question is only that of the sale of the surplus production of the wholesale societies and only until such time as

the purchasing societies shall maintain plantations of their own. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that long since a universal economy was developed out of the national economy of individual countries, and that a certain agricultural and industrial division of labour between the various countries is becoming more and more apparent. It would become stronger if the protective duties ceased to stand in the way of its development. The more the laws of a universal economy predominate, and the more important the co-operative distributive movement and its wholesale societies become in the national economy of a country, the greater will be the extent to which the direct exchange of goods between the wholesale societies in the various countries can develop.

“ The various types of the co-operative exchange of goods may be tabulated as follows :—

“ A.—CO-OPERATIVE EXCHANGE OF GOODS WITHIN THE ORGANISED MOVEMENT.

“ 1. The supply of goods drawn by the co-operative distributive societies from their wholesales and from the productive departments of the latter organisations.

“ 2. The supply of goods drawn by the co-operative distributive societies of a district from their own central federation.

“ 3. The supply of goods drawn by the co-operative distributive societies of a country from their own central productive societies.

“ 4. The supply of goods drawn by industrial and agricultural purchase and supply societies from their central purchasing associations.

“ 5. The sale of the goods of industrial and agricultural productive and sale societies through their own central sale societies.

“ B.—THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS OUTSIDE THE ORGANISED MOVEMENT.

“ I.—DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION :—

“ 1. The sale of the surplus production of distributive co-operative productive departments, which manufacture goods to meet their own requirements, to distributive societies within a restricted area.

“ 2. The sale of the surplus production of distributive co-operative productive departments, which manufacture goods to meet their own requirements, to the distributive societies of the whole country.

“ 3. The sale of the produce of distributive co-operative productive departments, which manufacture goods for the general market (arising out of a home industry), to the distributive societies throughout their own country.

“ Note.—2 and 3 take place entirely through the agency of the wholesale in question.

“ II.—INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION :—

“ 1. The sale of the products of industrial productive societies and workingmen’s societies to distributive societies. (In this case also the wholesales act as agents.)

“ 2. The supplying of raw material to the industrial productive societies through the distributive co-operative wholesale societies.

“ III.—AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION :—

“ 1. The sale of the produce of agricultural productive and sale societies to distributive societies in the same district ; and, secondarily, the direct supply of goods to these agricultural societies by these same distributive societies.

“ 2. The sale of the produce of agricultural productive and sale societies to distributive societies in other districts of the same country, through the agency of distributive co-operative wholesale societies or central co-operative sale societies, and, secondarily, the supply of goods to these agricultural societies by the wholesale societies with which they maintain commercial relations.

“ 3. The sale of the produce of agricultural productive and sale societies of one country to the distributive societies of another, entirely through the agency of the agricultural central sale societies and the distributive co-operative wholesale societies ; and, secondarily, the direct supply of goods to the agricultural productive and sale societies of one country by the distributive societies of another with which it maintains commercial relations.

“ IV. THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS BETWEEN THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES :—

“ 1. Trade in goods.

“ 2. The sale of the produce of wholesale societies which produce their own goods to other wholesale societies.

“ 3. The sale of the produce of wholesale societies having their own plantations to other wholesale societies.

" APPENDIX.

" STATISTICS WITH REGARD TO THE DIRECT EXCHANGE OF GOODS BETWEEN DISTRIBUTIVE, AGRICULTURAL, AND OTHER PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES, AND ALSO BETWEEN THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

" In order to obtain an insight into the extent of the co-operative exchange of goods outside the organised movement, I undertook in Germany a statistical inquiry with regard to the distributive societies affiliated to the Central Union of German Distributive Societies, to which I shall refer later. Similarly, the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies undertook an inquiry with regard to distributive societies. In addition, I had to confine myself to requesting the wholesale societies in different countries to place suitable information at my disposal. The following questions were put to the wholesale societies:—

I. The extent of the inland exchange of goods by the wholesale society.

1. The value of goods supplied by agricultural productive societies.

(If possible, specify the nature of the produce, such as butter, cheese, milk, beer, fruit, wine and grapes, potatoes, corn, cattle for slaughter, other agricultural products.)

2. Value of goods sold to the agricultural productive societies.

(If possible, specify the kind of goods, such as fodder, artificial manure, seeds, machinery, etc.)

3. Value of goods supplied by industrial productive societies.

(If possible, specify the kind of goods, such as clothing, boots and shoes, metal goods, household articles, etc.)

4. Value of goods sold to industrial productive societies.

(If possible, specify the nature of the goods, such as raw material, machinery, etc.)

II. The extent of the international exchange of goods by the wholesale society.

5. Value of goods supplied by wholesale societies in other countries.

(If possible, specify the nature of the goods according to the countries.)

6. Value of goods supplied by foreign agricultural productive societies.

(If possible, specify the nature of the produce, such as butter, cheese, milk, eggs, fruit, wine and grapes, potatoes, corn, cattle for slaughtering, other agricultural products.)

7. Value of goods supplied by foreign industrial productive societies.

(If possible, specify the nature of the goods, such as clothing, boots and shoes, metal goods, household articles, etc.)

8. Value of goods sold to foreign co-operative wholesale societies.

(If possible, specify according to countries and the nature of the goods.)

9. Value of goods sold to foreign agricultural productive societies.

(If possible, specify the nature of the goods, such as fodder, artificial manure, seeds, machinery, etc.)

10. Value of goods sold to foreign industrial productive societies.

(If possible, specify according to the nature of the goods, such as raw material, machinery, etc.)

I beg you to furnish me with information, as far as it is possible for you to do so, with regard to the extent of your own trade.

In some countries there will probably be a direct exchange of goods between agricultural productive societies and industrial distributive societies—that is to say, without the agency of the wholesale society of the country in question. It is not likely that exact returns can be obtained in regard to this matter, but, as a practical co-operator, you will be able to say whether, in your opinion, such a direct exchange of goods exists, and, if so, to what extent between distributive societies and agricultural productive societies, also between distributive societies and industrial productive societies, without the agency of your wholesale society. If you are in possession of definite information with regard to such an exchange of goods I should be much obliged if you would furnish me with particulars.

“The figures relating to the extent of the exchange of goods are given in the following table.

TABLE I. DIRECT EXCHANGE OF GOODS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL.
NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE EXCHANGE OF GOODS.

No.	Name of Country and Co-operative Organisation.	1. Value of Supplies drawn from Agricultural Productive Societies.	2. Value of Goods sold to the Agricultural Productive Societies.	3. Value of Supplies drawn from Industrial Productive Societies and the Productive Depts. of Distributive Societies.	4. Value of Goods sold to Industrial Productive Societies.	TOTAL.
		£	£	£	£	£
1	Austria: 1. Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft österreichischer Konsumvereine 2. Distributive Societies of the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies... .. 3. Wholesale Society of Polish Distributive Societies	57,889 44,459 1,700	— — —	3,509 3,197 —	59 — —	61,457 47,656 1,700
2	Denmark: Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger	52,425	—	—	—	52,425
3	Germany: 1. Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine 2. Distributive Societies of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies	157,353 1,162,757 111,306	— — 119,359	256,691 535 92,291	— — 11,317	414,044 1,163,292 334,273
4	Great Britain: Co-operative Wholesale Society... ..	6,587	—	—	—	6,587
5	Hungary: "Hangya" a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztsai és Ertékesítő Szövetkezete	43,956 381	— —	357 847	— 429	44,313 1,657
6	Netherlands: Handelakamer van den Nederlandschen Coöperatieven Bond. Coöperatieve Winkelvereniging "Eigen Hulp"	19,904	589	62,172	—	82,665
7	Sweden: Kooperativa Förbundet	1,658,716	19,948	419,599	11,805	2,210,068
8	Switzerland: Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine.					
	Total					

TABLE.—Continued.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE EXCHANGE OF GOODS.

No.	Name of Country and Co-operative Organisation	5. Value of Supplies drawn from Foreign Wholesale Societies.	6. Value of Supplies drawn from Foreign Agricultural Productive Societies.	7. Value of Supplies drawn from Foreign Industrial Productive Societies.	8. Value of Goods sold to Foreign Wholesale Societies.	9. Value of Goods sold to Foreign Agricultural Productive Societies.	10. Value of Goods sold to Foreign Industrial Productive Societies.	11. Value of Goods sold to Foreign Distributive Societies.	12. Value of Goods sold to Distributive Societies in the British Colonies.	TOTAL
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1	Austria: (G.E.G.) Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft österreichischer Konsumvereine	845	—	—	552	—	—	—	—	1,397
2	Denmark: Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger	—	—	—	2,812	—	—	—	—	2,812
3	Germany: (G.E.G.) Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine	3,240	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,240
4	Great Britain: Co-operative Wholesale Society	160	3,205,503	43	7,919	381	53	4,729	5,196	3,233,964
5	Hungary: "Hangya" a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete	212	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	225
6	Netherlands: Handelskamer van den Nederlandschen Coöperatieven Bond	713	—	—	819	—	—	—	—	1,532
7	Sweden: Kooperativa Förbundet	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
8	Switzerland: Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine	3,967	4,427	—	4,163	—	—	—	—	12,557
	Total	9,156	3,209,930	43	16,278	381	53	4,729	5,196	3,245,766

“ It is necessary to make the following observations with regard to the figures in Table I. :—

“ DENMARK (Faellesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger).—The sales of the Danish Wholesale Society amounted to £8,107,776 in 1912. The Danish Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £52,425 from the agricultural societies, viz., cheese to the value of £7,312; lard, £19,800; and seeds, £25,313.

“ The Danish Wholesale Society supplied foreign co-operative wholesales with goods to the value of £2,812.

“ GERMANY.—The sales of the Wholesale Society of German Distributive Societies reached the sum of £6,795,359 in 1912.

“ The sales of the distributive societies affiliated to the Central Union of German Distributive Societies amounted to £21,157,256 in 1912.

“ The German Wholesale Society last year drew supplies from agricultural productive societies to the value of £157,353. and from industrial productive societies and the productive departments of distributive societies to the value of £256,691. the total being composed of the following amounts:—

“ From industrial productive societies (co-operative work societies), £86,578.

“ From central productive societies, £94,796.

“ From distributive societies engaged in home industries, £9,299.

“ From productive departments of distributive societies, £66,018.

“ The German Wholesale Society drew goods to the value of £3,240 from foreign wholesale societies.

“ The German distributive societies drew supplies to the value of £1,163 direct from agricultural co-operative societies and farmers, and £535 from industrial productive societies.

TABLE II.—DIRECT SUPPLY OF GOODS DRAWN BY THE GERMAN DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES AND THE GERMAN WHOLESALE SOCIETY FROM THE AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND THE PEASANTS

Kind of Goods.	Direct Supplies drawn by the Distributive Societies from Agricultural Co-operative Societies.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Societies.	Direct Supplies drawn by the Distributive Societies from the Peasants.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Societies.	Direct Supplies drawn by the Distributive Societies from Agricultural Co-operative Societies and Peasants.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Societies.	Direct Supplies drawn by the G.E.G. from Agricultural Co-operative Societies.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Society.	Direct Supplies drawn by the G.E.G. from the Peasants.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Society.	Direct Supplies drawn by the G.E.G. from Agricultural Co-operative Societies and Peasants.	Percentage as compared with total Sales of the Society.	Total of 6 and 12.	Percentage as compared with the Sales of the Society.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
1912 Butter	247,103	1·2	197,916	0·9	445,019	2·1	80,207	1·2	16,329	0·2	96,536	1·4	541,555	2·6
1904	225,732	3·1	20,846	0·3	246,078	3·3	112,729	6·6	...	...	112,729	6·6	358,807	4·9
1912 Milk	31,540	0·1	72,067	0·3	103,608	0·5	...	...	...	...	...	...	103,608	0·5
1904	6,055	0·08	...	...	6,055	0·08	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,055	0·08
1912 Cheese	17,733	0·08	42,051	0·2	59,784	0·3	3,733	0·06	...	...	3,733	0·06	63,417	0·3
1904	...	...	2,352	0·03	2,352	0·03	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,352	0·03
1912 Eggs	45,991	0·2	34,777	0·2	80,768	0·4	31,727	0·5	...	...	31,727	0·5	112,495	0·5
1904	3,127	0·04	323	0·004	3,431	0·05	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,431	0·05
1912 Fruit and Preserves ...	1,173	0·006	11,860	0·05	13,033	0·06	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,033	0·06
1904	354	0·005	120	0·002	474	0·006	2,855	0·2	...	...	2,855	0·2	3,329	0·05
1912 Wine	3,016	0·01	28,400	0·1	31,416	0·1	...	...	...	...	...	...	31,416	0·1
1904	827	0·01	14,755	0·2	15,582	0·2	5	0·0003	...	...	5	0·0003	15,587	0·2
1912 Potatoes..	19,879	0·09	100,121	0·5	120,000	0·6	1,632	0·02	...	...	1,632	0·02	121,632	0·6
1904	1,584	0·02	18,160	0·2	19,744	0·3	2,697	0·2	...	...	2,697	0·2	22,441	0·3
1912 Grain	28,882	0·6	68,703	0·3	97,585	0·5	22,153	0·3	...	...	22,153	0·3	119,738	0·6
1904	7,944	0·1	21,995	0·3	29,939	0·4	140	0·008	...	...	140	0·008	80,079	0·4
1912 Cattle for slaughter ...	850	0·004	198,593	0·9	199,443	0·9	...	...	...	...	...	...	199,443	0·9
1904	1,841	0·03	34,591	0·5	36,432	0·5	...	...	...	...	...	...	36,432	0·5
1912 Miscellaneous	5,965	0·03	6,139	0·02	12,104	0·05	1,570	0·02	...	...	1,570	0·02	13,674	0·06
1904	562	0·008	13,144	0·2	13,706	0·02	278	0·02	...	...	278	0·02	13,984	0·2
1912 Total	402,132	1·9	760,626	3·6	1,162,758	5·5	141,022	2·1	16,329	0·2	157,351	2·3	1,320,099	6·2
1904	248,026	3·4	125,786	1·7	373,793	5·1	118,704	7·0	...	...	118,704	7·0	492,497	6·7

“ The trade done in 1912 by the Wholesale Society of German Distributive Societies and by the German distributive societies with industrial productive societies may be specified as follows :—

	Distributive societies.	Wholesale societies.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£
Treunbrietzen, United Clogmakers ...	39	2,425	2,464
Giessen, Co-operative Cigar Factory...	67	...	67
Eppendorf, Co-operative Boot Factory ...	69	8,200	6,269
Waldenkirchen, Cigar Factory ...	240	...	240
Seifhennersdorf, Tailors' Productive Society	82	13,800	13,882
Altona, Sweet and Chocolate Factory, "Fortschritt" ...	13	13,517	13,530
Hartba, Co-operative Factory ...	17	8,375	8,392
Kellinghusen, United Clogmakers ...	8	...	8
Lauscha, Glassblowers' Society, in the Meininger Highlands ...	...	1,141	1,141
Ehrenfriedersdorf, Co-operative Boot Factory ...	...	3,580	3,580
Strausberg, Bootmakers' Productive Society ...	...	210	210
Altona, Bootmakers' Productive Society ...	...	1,615	1,615
Oppach, Weavers' Co-operative Society ...	...	12,275	12,275
Leupoldsgriin, Weavers' Co-operative Society ...	...	16,400	16,400
	535	79,038	79,573

“ As early as 1904 I set on foot an inquiry in order to ascertain the amount of supplies drawn by distributive societies from agricultural societies and farmers. The returns furnished as a result of this inquiry are given in the attached table.

“ With regard to Table II., we have to remark that the German distributive societies have to record a decrease from 3.4 per cent. to 1.9 per cent. on the supplies drawn from agricultural societies in comparison with the trade done in their own stores, but, on the other hand, the supplies drawn from farmers increased from 1.7 per cent. to 3.6 per cent. of the trade done in the societies' stores, the trade done direct with both farmers and agricultural societies increased from 5.1 per cent. to 5.5 per cent.

“ The Wholesale Society of German Distributive Societies has to record a considerable decrease in the amount of supplies drawn direct from agricultural societies, viz., 7 per cent. on 21 per cent. of the total sales of the society's own goods. The cause of this decrease is chiefly to be attributed to the fact that in 1904 the German Wholesale Society did a trade in butter with a sale society of agricultural societies at Hamburg to the value of £112,729. Later on this sale society was no longer able to carry on business transactions, so it was taken over by a private firm. Naturally the custom went with it, so that this trade, which formerly could be regarded as trade done with agricultural co-operative societies could no longer be regarded as such. Thus the Wholesale Society tried to establish new relations with other agricultural societies. The trade done with these societies, more especially in butter, amounted to £80,207 in 1912.

“ GREAT BRITAIN (Co-operative Wholesale Society).—The sale of goods by the C.W.S. amounted in 1912 to £29,732,154.

“ 1. The amount of supplies drawn from British agricultural societies amounted to £111,307, viz. :—

Butter.	Cheese.	Eggs and poultry.	Seeds and manure.	Wheat and rye.	Potatoes.	Fruit and vegetables.	TOTAL.
£ 86,593	£ 14,017	£ 539	£ 4,075	£ 2,765	£ 224	£ 3,094	£ 111,307

“ 2. The goods supplied to British agricultural productive societies amounted in value to £119,359, viz. :—

Groceries and Colonial produce.	Cloth.	Woollen goods.	Boots and shoes.	Furniture.	TOTAL.
£ 117,729	£ 423	£ 154	£ 194	£ 859	£ 119,359

“ 3. The goods drawn from British industrial productive societies and the productive departments of distributive societies amounted in value to £92,290, viz. :—

Corn and Fodder.	Tobacco.	Boots and Shoes.	Metal Goods.	Watches and Clocks.	Writing Materials and Printed Matter.	TOTAL. £ 92,290
£ 9,898	£ 1,371	£ 8,956	£ 1,545	£ 170	£ 58	
Needles.	Skirts.	Costumes.	Shirting, Flannel, and Silk Materials.	Quilts and Bed Linen.	Silk Thread and Cotton.	
£ 565	£ 10,911	£ 40,595	£ 3,636	£ 5,694	£ 8,891	

“ 4. The goods supplied to the British industrial productive societies amounted in value to £11,317, viz. :—

Groceries and Colonial Produce.	Furniture.	TOTAL.
£ 9,966	£ 1,351	£ 11,317

“ 5. The goods supplied by foreign wholesale societies amounted in value to £160, the supplies being seeds from Holland.

“ 6. The English Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £3,205,503 from foreign agricultural societies, viz. :—

Country.	Butter.	Bacon, Lard, etc.	Eggs.	Cheese.	TOTAL.
Denmark	£ 2,613,456	£ 229,888	£ 5,527	£ ...	£ 2,848,871
Holland .....	...	...	...	40	40
Sweden	356,592	...	...	...	356,592
	2,970,048	229,888	5,527	40	3,205,503

“ 7. The English Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £43 from foreign industrial productive societies.

“ 8. The English Wholesale Society supplied foreign co-operative wholesale societies with goods to the value of £7,919, viz. :—

Country.	Feeding Stuffs.	Tea, Coffee, Cocoa.	Soap.	Southern Fruits.	Tobacco.	Drugs.	Lamp Oil.	Other Colonial Produce.	Cloth.	Woolen Goods.	Household Requisites.	TOTAL.
Belgium	£ 658	£ 28	£ 37	£ 1,387	£ ...	£ 79	£ ...	£ 39	£ ...	£ 317	£ ...	£ 2,545
France.....	...	107	...	...	...	85	...	...	1	6	...	199
Germany .....	...	1,204	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,204
Holland .....	...	...	446	...	6	90	...	...	7	...	...	549
Norway .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	811	11	5	...	...	827
Switzerland ...	...	1,583	...	...	...	209	...	23	...	643	137	2,595
	658	2,922	483	1,387	6	463	811	73	13	966	137	7,919

“ 9. Goods to the value of £381 were supplied to foreign agricultural productive societies, viz. :—

Feeding Stuffs.	Coffee, Tea, and Cocoa.	Soap.	Drugs.	Other Colonial Produce.	Household Requisites.	TOTAL.
£ 309	£ 32	£ 25	£ 2	£ 10	£ 3	£ 381

“ 10. Goods to the value of £53 were supplied to foreign industrial productive societies, viz. :—

Country.	Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa.	Other Colonial Produce.	TOTAL.
Sweden	£ 51	£ 2	£ 53

“ 11. Goods to the value of £4,729 were supplied to foreign distributive societies, viz. :—

Country.	Ten. Confec. Corns.	Soap.	Drugs.	Other Colonial Produce.	Cloth.	Woollen Goods.	Books and Shoes.	Household Requisites.	TOTAL
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Belgium	33	146	115	...	...	106	...	...	400
Bulgaria	4	44	5	11	...	4	...	...	68
Finland .....	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	21
France	695	17	279	234	74	35	124	46	1,504
Italy	163	7	161	31	50	1,956	55	79	2,502
Russia	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	6
Servia	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Spain	44	...	2	14	...	2	...	...	62
Sweden .....	...	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Switzerland ...	...	...	11	...	...	120	...	...	131
United States...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	16
	941	235	596	306	124	2,223	179	125	4,729

“ 12. Goods to the value of £5,196 were supplied to distributive societies in British colonies, viz. :—

Country.	Coffee, tea, cocoa.	Soap.	Tobacco.	Drugs.	Colonial Produce.	Cloth.	Woollen goods.	Books and shoes.	Household requisites.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Australia .....	...	...	...	10	41	...	...	...	147	198
Bermuda Islands. ...	...	...	...	14	110	...	...	434	104	662
Canada	467	91	84	586	335	806	127	519	44	3,059
Hong Kong .....	...	32	...	7	69	...	...	2	7	117
South Africa	195	87	...	55	175	264	127	240	1	1,144
West Indies .....	...	3	...	2	11	...	...	...	...	16
	662	213	84	674	741	1,070	254	1,195	303	5,196

“ NETHERLANDS.—The trade done in goods manufactured in the productive departments of the Dutch Co-operative Wholesale Society (Handelskamer) amounted to £368,186 in 1912. Supplies to the value of £43,956 were drawn from agricultural productive societies, to the value of £357 from industrial productive societies, and to the value of £714 from foreign co-operative wholesale societies. The following were the supplies drawn from agricultural productive societies: Butter, cheese, milk, eggs, fruit,

wine and grapes, potatoes, corn, cattle for slaughtering, and other agricultural produce.

“AUSTRIA (Wholesale Society of Austrian Distributive Societies).—The trade done in goods manufactured by the Austrian Wholesale Society amounted to £1,033,701 in 1912.

“The trade done by the distributive societies affiliated to the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies amounted to £3,628,061.

“The Austrian Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £57,889 from agricultural productive societies, viz.:—

Milk.	Butter.	Corn.	TOTAL.
£ 52,844	£ 5,031	£ 14	£ 57,889

“The Austrian Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £3,509 from industrial productive societies, viz.:—

Bread Crumbs.	Sausages and Cooked Meats.	India- rubber Goods, Braces, Ribbons, etc.	Boots and Shoes.	Turnery.	Raw Material for Weaving.	Brushes.	TOTAL.
£ 189	£ 1,755	£ 71	£ 305	£ 108	£ 20	£ 421	£ 3,059

“The Austrian Wholesale Society supplied industrial productive societies with goods amounting in value to £59, the supplies being boot polish, packing thread, and canvas shoes.

“The Austrian Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £845 from foreign wholesale societies, viz.:—

Country.	Rice.	Cheese.	TOTAL.
Germany ...	£ 314	£ ...	£ 314
Switzerland ...	...	531	531
	314	531	845

“ The Austrian Wholesale Society supplied foreign co-operative wholesale societies with goods to the value of £553, viz., it sold vitriol of copper to the Hangya at Budapest.

“ The Austrian distributive supplies drew supplies to the value of £44,459 from agricultural productive societies, viz. :—

Milk.	Butter.	Cheese.	Eggs.	Fruit.	Wine.	Potatoes.	Corn.	Wheat.	Other Agricultural Produce	TOTAL.
£ 29,390	£ 6,789	£ 239	£ 73	£ 318	£ 4,154	£ 668	£ 1,543	£ 556	£ 729	£ 44,459

“ The Austrian distributive societies drew supplies to the value of £3,197 from industrial productive societies, viz. :—

Costumes and Dresses.	Linen.	Boots and Shoes.	Other Articles of Clothing.	Brushes.	Turnery.	Other Household Requisites.	TOTAL.
£ 81	£ 114	£ 880	£ 541	£ 49	£ 34	£ 1,498	£ 3,197

“ The Wholesale Society of Polish Distributive Societies drew supplies to the value of £1,700 from agricultural productive societies.

“ HUNGARY (“ Hangya ” A Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Ertékesítő Szövetkezete).—The trade done in goods manufactured by the Wholesale Society of Hungarian Distributive Societies amounted to £1,176,971 in 1912.

“ The Hungarian Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £6,587 from agricultural productive societies, and to the value of £212 from foreign co-operative wholesale societies. A co-operative association in Holland was supplied with honey amounting in value to £13. The following products were supplied by agricultural productive societies: Eggs, fruit, wine, peas, beans, potatoes, cucumbers, and onions.

“ SWEDEN (Kooperativa Förbundet).—The trade in goods manufactured by the Swedish Co-operative Wholesale Society amounted to £379,370 in 1912.

“ The Swedish Wholesale Society drew supplies to the value of £381 from agricultural productive societies; from industrial productive societies, goods to the value of £847 were drawn; and from foreign wholesale societies goods to the value of £18 15s. The

value of the goods sold to the industrial productive societies amounted to £429.

“ We have the following statement with regard to the co-operative exchange of goods by the Swedish Wholesale Society.

“ In 1912 the society bought goods as follows from—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Agnestorps andelsmejeri (cheese)	11	15	0			
(Co-operative dairy).						
Karaby mejeriförening (cheese)	223	2	0			
(Co-operative dairy).						
Lantmannaförbundet, Gävle	112	7	0			
(Peasants' Union).						
Sydöstra Skånes andelsslakteri, Tomelilla	34	6	0			
(Co-operative Slaughterhouse of South-Eastern Schonen).				381	10	0
Kooperativa charkuterifabriken, Stockholm	33	0	0			
(Provision factory).						
Cigarrfabriken Fram, Gävle	371	18	0			
Läskedrycksfabriken Skåne, Astorp	13	0	0			
(Mineral water and syrup factory, Schonen).						
Tekniska fabriken, Vega, Gävle	429	11	0			
				847	9	0
Co-operative Wholesale Society, Manchester				18	15	0

“ In 1912 the society sold goods as follows to—

Läskedrycksfabriken Skåne, Astorp	58	1	0			
Tekniska fabriken Vega, Gävle	8	9	0			
Kooperativa charkuterifabriken, Stockholm	362	18	0			
				429	8	0
				1677	2	0

“ SWITZERLAND (Union of Swiss Distributive Societies).—The sales of the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies (wholesale society) in 1912 amounted to £1,490,834, and that of its society members to nearly £5,000,000.

“ The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies drew supplies to the value of £19,903 from agricultural productive societies, viz.:—

Butter.	Cheese.	Fruit.	Cream cheese.	TOTAL.
£	£	£	£	£
18,168	1,035	101	599	19,903

“ The value of the goods sold by the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies to the agricultural productive societies amounted to £589. Sugar was the only commodity sold.

“ The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies drew supplies to the value of £62,172 from industrial productive societies, viz. :—

Cigars.	Wooden goods.	Mineral waters.	Meat.	Polish.	Beef suet.	TOTAL.
£ 552	£ 8	£ 40	£ 57,024	£ 1,255	£ 3,293	£ 62,172

“ The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies drew supplies to the value of £3,968 from foreign wholesale societies, viz. :—

Ten.	Manufactured goods.	Baking powders.	Polishes.	Boot polish.	Meat juice.	Rice.	Sago.	Buck leather.	Spice.	Dried apples.	Coffee.	TOTAL.
£ 1,592	£ 656	£ 154	£ 146	£ 57	£ 308	£ 364	£ 150	£ 79	£ 69	£ 97	£ 296	£ 3,968

“ From foreign agricultural productive societies the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies purchased goods valued at £4,427, viz. :—

Herbal tea.	Eggs.	Wheat.	Potatoes.	TOTAL.
£ 105	£ 2,795	£ 1,304	£ 223	£ 4,427

“ The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies sold goods to the value of £4,013 to foreign wholesale societies, viz. :—

Cheese.	Eggs and Butter.	Cocoa.	Total.
£ 3,159	£ 283	£ 571	£ 4,013

“ As might be expected, the wholesale societies in general are not able to give a reply with regard to the direct exchange of goods between agricultural productive societies and industrial distributive societies. The English Wholesale Society, however, informs us that, according to its estimate, the trade done in

this direction by the British distributive societies is extremely small. Information is given by the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies that, according to its statistical inquiry for 1911, the societies affiliated to the union bought milk to the value of £485,000; the greater part of this was purchased from agricultural cheese or milk societies.

“ Particulars with regard to the direct trading between the distributive societies of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies and the distributive societies of the Central Union of Austrian Distributive Societies with agricultural and industrial productive societies are given in the special inquiries already mentioned.

“ The statistical information given above corroborates what I have said in the recapitulation of my paper. In comparison to the demand, the unorganised supply of goods drawn from agricultural and industrial productive societies forms, on the whole, but a small part of the supply of goods drawn by the distributive societies and their wholesales. The supply drawn from agricultural productive societies seems to offer the best prospect of development, the unorganised inland exchange of goods with the agricultural societies amounted to £1,650,000, or three-fourths of the total unorganised inland exchange of goods.

“ The supply of goods drawn by the agricultural and industrial productive societies from distributive organisations, especially the wholesales, is only a secondary matter in the co-operative exchange of goods.

“ In the international co-operative exchange of goods the English Wholesale Society takes the first place. Especially is this society the purchaser of agricultural produce from the agricultural societies. With the exception of £3,205,500, for which the English Wholesale Society purchased butter, bacon, and eggs from the Danish societies, and also, to a less degree, from the Swedish societies, the international co-operative exchange of goods appears to be insignificant.

“ The direct exchange of goods between the wholesales in the various countries is at the present time, if we take the trade done by the English Wholesale Society as a standard, very inconsiderable. The English Wholesale Society itself, the remarkable capacity of which in the realm of co-operative production is beyond a doubt, only supplies foreign productive societies and wholesale societies to a very moderate extent.”

The PRESIDENT remarked that the names of the speakers on the subject dealt with by Mr. Kaufmann were comparatively few. The first of these was Mr. E. J. Cheney (Assistant-

Secretary of the Board of Agriculture), and he (the President) thought the Congress ought to regard it as an honour that the British Government should send one of its principal officials to deal with that important subject.

Mr. CHENEY summarised his speech, which is here given in extenso:—

“ I deem it a great privilege to represent the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries on this occasion, and to have the opportunity of making a few remarks, however brief, in support of the important subject dealt with by Mr. Kaufmann in his admirable paper.

“ I need hardly say that the Board are concerned with the views expressed by Mr. Kaufmann, solely as far as they relate to matters that affect the farming community and especially the small holder.

“ There is probably no subject to which more attention is being directed in this country at the present time than to the problem of the land, a problem upon which widely divergent views are held, although everyone at work on it is striving to reach a common solution, under which it will be possible to establish on the land a contented, prosperous, and vigorous race of peasantry and smallholders.

“ Now, there are three most important axioms in connection with the small holdings movement, which are often lost sight of by people without practical experience of the return that is to be obtained from the cultivation of land.

“ 1. That it is a hopeless task to endeavour either to retain men on the land or to attract men to it, unless the wages that a smallholder can earn when working for himself, and the conditions under which he can live, are either better, or at least as good as those which he would be capable of obtaining if working in a town for someone else. And in this connection it must not be forgotten that something must be added to discount the amusements and attractions of the town.

“ 2. That it is impossible for a smallholder to obtain the highest return from the land if he only cultivates the same crops as would be grown by a larger farmer.

“ 3. That as the most profitable crops are also, as a rule, the most perishable ones, it is useless to produce them unless a ready market is available.

“ These self-evident truths are not properly appreciated by the general public, who are apt to think that the success or failure of a small holding is mainly a question of rent. Now, rent, if it is

fair and reasonable for the accommodation provided, is often quite a minor consideration, for if a smallholder grows the more intensive crops, from which a net profit of from £5 to £15 and more per acre can be obtained, that is if they are marketed to the best advantage, then 5s. to £1 an acre rent, one way or the other, does not make much difference to the success of the venture. If, however, a smallholder produces only the ordinary farm crops, rent becomes a very important consideration indeed, as he has then to be satisfied with the same profits per acre as the larger farmer, in which case it is conceivable that he would only be able to make a miserable living, even supposing that he held the land rent free.

“I am satisfied, after a long experience of agricultural matters that the main reason why the more modern and profitable methods of cropping are not adopted in this country, except in certain special districts, is because of the difficulty that is often experienced in finding a satisfactory market for the produce. It is infinitely easier to dispose of corn and stock, for example, than of vegetables, fruit, and flowers. Weeks, or even months, may result in no depreciation in the value of the former, whereas in the case of the latter, unless a satisfactory market can be obtained on a particular day, profits disappear, and the labour of months may be absolutely wasted.

“The marketing problem is one of the most important, if not the most important, that confronts the smallholder who grows the more valuable but more perishable crops. There is strong reason for supposing, however, that the solution of the problem will be found in the adoption of some such methods as those advocated by Mr. Kaufmann, more especially those that relate to:—

“1. The sale of the produce of agricultural productive and sale societies to distributive societies in the same district; and, secondly, by the direct supply of goods to these agricultural societies by these same distributive societies.

“2. The sale of the produce of agricultural productive and sale societies to distributive societies in other districts of the same country, through the agency of distributive co-operative wholesale societies or central co-operative sale societies; and, secondly, by the supply of goods to these agricultural societies by the wholesale societies with which they maintain commercial relations.’

“I am fully aware, of course, that a certain amount of propagandist work has been done in this country with these objects in view, indeed, when a grant was first made to the Agricultural Organisation Society from the Small Holdings Account, care was taken to insure that one of the organisers appointed under the terms of the grant was engaged for the purpose of promoting interchange of trade between the agricultural and the industrial

societies. In this and in other directions the Agricultural Organisation Society has done very valuable work, both in the way of keeping the co-operative movement before the agricultural community and in assisting in the formation of societies; but the time has arrived when the benefits offered must take a more tangible form, and effect a wider and more direct improvement in the condition of the smallholder than has been the case hitherto. Propagandist bodies cannot assist a society in its actual business or trading, this help must come from the larger trading societies on the lines indicated by Mr. Kaufmann, and it is here that the industrial societies of this country have such a splendid opportunity of helping forward a great national work. Before commenting further on this, I will refer to another matter mentioned by Mr. Kaufmann which has some bearing on the question.

“It is extremely interesting to note that many of the difficulties experienced by societies in one country are identical with those that arise in another. Mr. Kaufmann agrees, for example, that among the principal causes of failure of certain societies are, want of capital, an insufficient market for goods, inefficient management. These are difficulties that arise in connection with almost every small isolated society in this country, as, I fear, that many of them are finding out to their cost. They are difficulties that can only be overcome by the federation of the smaller societies, or, better still, by their affiliation to existing large and powerful organisations, for there is no object in setting up new machinery if adequate machinery is in existence already.

“I wish to offer a word of warning to farmers and their advisers on the question of capital. There is a good old Latin proverb: *Ne sutor supra crepidam*: let not the shoemaker go beyond his last; in other words, it is primarily the business of the farmer to produce raw material, so to speak, in the shape of crops and stock, and not to produce the manufactured article, say, bacon, jam, pickles, and the like. The farmer should be content to obtain the market value of the day for his produce and stock, for the raising of which he has, in many instances, all too little capital, and leave the commercial or distributive part of the business to the trading or manufacturing society that is in a very much better position, both financially and otherwise, to deal with it. Agricultural societies should act, as a rule, merely as commission or collecting agencies, which can be run without encroaching seriously on the capital that is urgently required for the proper cultivation and stocking of the holding.

“The pressing problem before us is how best to show smallholders the way to obtain a maximum return from the land. An ideal system would be for the large industrial society of a district to inform the smallholders of that district of the particular produce

for which they have a market—and not only they, but also other industrial societies throughout the country—and to undertake to purchase it at market price. The local education authority, the County Council, should then step in and show the smallholder the way to produce the crops or produce required to the best advantage, and care should be taken to impress upon the smallholders the necessity for not having all their eggs in one basket, for owing to the vagaries of the English climate it is of vital importance to success that reliance should not be placed on one crop alone. Five or six kinds, at least, should be grown, all of which might not be successful in any one year, but which might be reasonably expected, taking one season with another, to return a good average profit.

“To those of us who are acquainted with the striking improvement that has taken place in the condition of the smallholder in those comparatively few districts in which the more intensive crops are grown, it is clear what a sweeping revolution in the conditions of rural life is possible. In those districts the men are independent, prosperous, and happy, a marked improvement has taken place in their standard of living, intelligence, and physique; and if proof is needed of the truth of what I say, it is only necessary to visit South Lincolnshire, the fen lands of Huntingdon, and the Isle of Ely, the fruit growing districts of Cambridgeshire and Worcestershire, the vegetable districts of Bedfordshire and North Gloucestershire, to obtain ample evidence of the improvement that has been effected in recent years in their rural economy. A satisfactory market, however, is absolutely essential to the success of the smallholder, and therefore I would urge the leaders of the industrial or distributive movement of this country to give their serious and urgent attention to forging a bond of union between the agricultural and industrial branches of the co-operative movement, whereby the organised workingman of the country, the producer, is brought into direct touch with the organised workingman of the town, the consumer. These men should be brought within the same fold, and each should strive to promote the welfare of the other.

“I am authorised to say that Mr. Runciman agrees generally with the view that great good might result from a working arrangement between rural and urban co-operative societies, that is, between organised producers and organised consumers, and I am confident that he would give very sympathetic consideration to any reasoned scheme that may be put before him, and which it would be possible for him to assist.

“The industrial co-operative movement of this country is built on the solid foundation of self-help, and it furnishes an example to the whole world of what can be effected by independence,

perseverance, and grit, without anything in the nature of State assistance, charity, or philanthropy, and if the leaders of the industrial movement can evolve a comprehensive scheme on some such lines as those outlined by Mr. Kaufmann, and to which I am aware that some consideration has already been given, it is possible that you may furnish the solution of one of the most complex problems of modern times, and earn the lasting gratitude not only of those workingmen who live by the land, but of the whole country also."

Mr. AMOS MANN (Leicester) said that in the paper something was said about the failure of small productive societies. It seemed to be somewhat of a favourite saying of those who did not believe in that form of Co-operation that these societies had been failures. He ventured to say, however, that if a mortality of distributive societies and ordinary private enterprises were taken it would be equal in extent to that among productive societies. There were over 103 of these societies in Great Britain, and many of them were eminently successful. The writer of the paper had told them that Beatrice Webb, in her book on "The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain," had said that the large majority of workingmen's co-operative societies would fail soon after their establishment. Mr. Mann said he was sorry to hear that that was the case in Germany. He wished to say, however, that a number of societies that existed when Mrs. Webb wrote her book were still living. He wanted the Congress to know that the statement about the failure of these societies was an injustice to them. Mrs. Webb, in her enthusiasm for the advocacy of the consumers' theory, under-stated the value of the co-partnership production. Mr. Mann said that the inference by Kaufmann that the small societies were taken over by the wholesale societies because they were failures was not true—at any rate it was not the case in England. Those that had been taken over by the English Wholesale Society had been the most successful of these workingmen's co-operative organisations. He did not criticise in any spirit of antagonism, but he felt that some of the things expressed by the writer needed a word of explanation. He held that the co-operative societies for productive purposes by workingmen formed the best means of attaining the ideals of the pioneers; they ought to promote them in all forms. (Applause.)

Dr. V. TOTOMIANZ (Russia): Fellow co-operators, I am much pleased with Mr. Kaufmann's paper, and I agree for the most part with what he says, but I am dissatisfied that the whole subject is being treated so theoretically. I am of the opinion that questions which are discussed here should not be simply treated theoretically, but that an endeavour should be made

to find the way to a solution of such problems. There are no practical suggestions made in Mr. Kaufmann's paper. Further, the statistical table with regard to the international co-operative exchange of goods is incomplete, since neither France, Russia, nor Italy have been included. With regard to practical arrangements, Mr. Kaufmann might have suggested:—

1. The formation of a permanent exhibition, in which all co-operative societies affiliated to the Alliance could take part.

2. An exhibition to be arranged by the Alliance in connection with the Congress, when the various products of co-operative societies in all countries would be exhibited.

I must frankly say that I regret that no international exhibition was arranged in Scotland in connection with this Congress. We must all admit that the British co-operators are showing us great hospitality and are taking a great deal of trouble to make our visit as pleasant as possible, but I think that we should have been glad to have had the opportunity of purchasing goods manufactured by the British societies in order to show those at home how goods are manufactured in other countries and the progress that is being made elsewhere.

The PRESIDENT said the Wholesale Societies of Great Britain frequently held exhibitions of their productions, and would doubtless be glad to see visitors from the co-operative organisations of the Continent. He also stated that the Wholesale Society in Manchester had an international trading department, and periodically sent a commercial representative to the Continent.

Mr. D. McINNES (Central Committee of the Alliance) said there was no doubt that Mr. Kaufmann's excellent paper contained many points for discussion, and he believed he was right in saying that during the next twelve months a number of those points would be dealt with at conferences in Great Britain. The remarks he had to make applied to England alone, because he was not so closely in touch with Scotland and Ireland as he was with England. He looked with satisfaction at the progress that agricultural co-operation had made in England. Ten or twelve years ago the teaching of Co-operation in the schools in any form was forbidden by the Government, but now there were large grants being given for the propagation of agricultural Co-operation in England. (Applause.) So they were moving forward. The trading transactions of the agricultural co-operative movement in England ten or eleven years ago reached the "magnificent" sum of £10,000 per annum. Last year the transactions of the agricultural co-operative movement in England exceeded two millions sterling. A friendly feeling had

been promoted by the Agricultural Organisation Society and the Co-operative Union by the convening of conferences between the agricultural movement and the distributive movement, and between district industrial societies, the C.W.S., and the agricultural societies, and ultimately they hoped to see one consolidated movement in this country—the agriculturists growing for the use of the industrialists, and the great factories of the Wholesale manufacturing for both. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT at this stage said the delegates must now leave, in order to adhere to the programme of the Reception Committee. He had tried to keep to time, but he had had too big a task. (Laughter.) Mr. A. Young would have the first call in the morning to speak five or ten minutes, and then Mr. Kaufmann would have the right to reply.

Announcements.

Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS made several announcements, among others the receipt of a letter from the Glasgow District Council of the British Socialist Party, as follows: "The above Council send fraternal greetings to co-operators assembled in St. Mungo Halls, hoping that the decisions arrived at by this Conference will help forward the great Co-operative Commonwealth of the future."

It was agreed that a reply be sent in acknowledgment.

The Congress then adjourned.

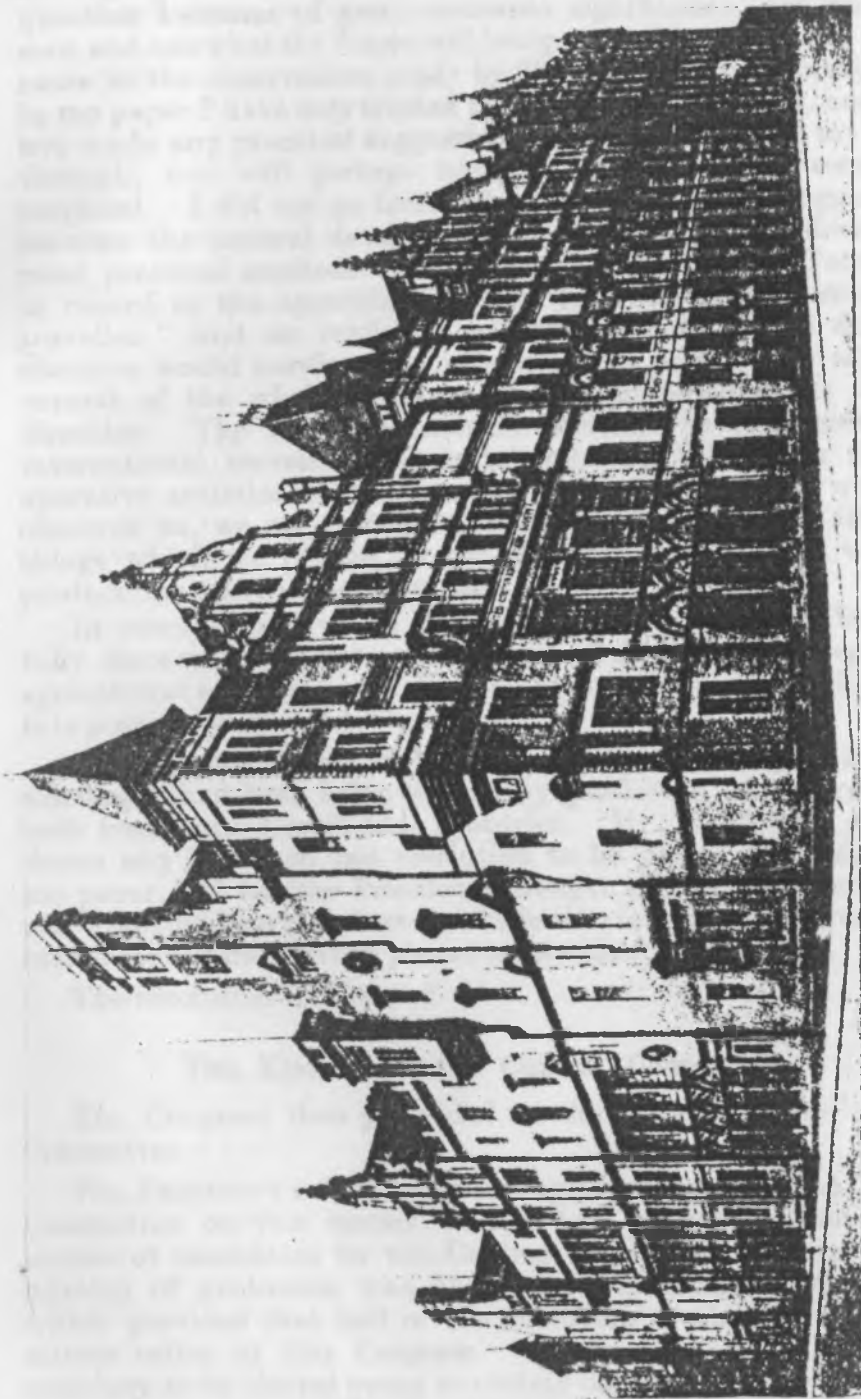
THIRD SESSION OF CONGRESS,

Wednesday, August 27th, 1913,

At 9-30 a.m.

The PRESIDENT took the chair, and called upon Mr. Andrew Young (Edinburgh) to continue the discussion on the subject introduced by Mr. Kaufmann on the previous day. Mr. Young was not, however, present, whereupon the PRESIDENT asked Mr. Kaufmann to reply to the discussion.

Mr. KAUFMANN: Ladies and gentlemen, yesterday's debate on the subject of my paper was very interesting, and I thank those gentlemen who took part in it. From the discussion, you will see that there were three different points to be considered, viz., the position of distributive societies in regard to productive societies, of distributive societies in regard to agricultural societies, and the relations of all the wholesale societies to each other. The representative of the British Government considered in detail the question of the return of agricultural workers to the land and the sale of the produce of these workers. He was of the opinion that it was not expedient to get workingmen to leave the towns and return to the country, until the conditions of life in the country are as good or even better than those which prevail in the towns. This limitation is inadequate, for whoever is acquainted with agricultural conditions will agree with me when I say that the industrial worker who is born in the town and who is only accustomed to industrial or urban work is incapable of working a farm, as in most cases he does not possess the necessary knowledge. In Germany, and not only in Germany but also in other countries, thousands and thousands of agricultural labourers come to the industrial centres and bring down the wages of the industrial workers there, at the same time destroying the advantages which the workers have gained for themselves by means of their co-operative organisations. The best solution of the problem would be to give small holdings to the agricultural labourers or to sell or let farms to them, according as conditions allow of it. They must, however, be independent of the landed proprietor, and the farm be large enough to enable the labourer to support a family. I do not, however, entirely agree with what Mr. Cheney says about the prices which the agricultural labourer can realise for the produce of his farm. I will give an example. The Danish co-operative dairies obtain the same prices for their butter as the landed proprietors. Ten years ago it was generally recognised that the butter made by the Danish co-operative societies was better than that of the landed proprietor, and consequently they obtained



THE UNITED CO-OPERATIVE BAKING SOCIETY'S PREMISES.

better prices for it. Now we will take the position of the working-men's productive societies. We have the principle—production for organised consumption. It will eventually happen that this question becomes of great economic significance, but we must wait and see what the future will bring us in this connection. I now come to the observations made by Dr. Totomianz, who says that in my paper I have only treated the subject theoretically, and have not made any practical suggestions. If you have read my paper through, you will perhaps have found that I am somewhat sceptical. I did not go farther in making practical suggestions, because the natural development of these ideas will devise the most practical methods. The proposals made by Dr. Totomianz in regard to the appointment of an international "commercial traveller" and an exhibition of the products of the different societies would hardly prove successful. I would only say that several of the wholesales have already made attempts in this direction. The British Wholesale Societies have appointed an international traveller, who is in communication with the co-operative societies in other countries. In so far as this question concerns us, we are glad if we are able to manufacture all those things which we require for our own use. We do not wish to produce for sale to other countries.

In conclusion, I would suggest that these questions be more fully discussed at a future Congress. Our position in regard to agricultural societies especially requires further consideration than it is possible to give it to-day.

The PRESIDENT said they had had a splendid paper, and the discussion had been taken part in by gentlemen who represented both home and Continental countries. Mr. Kaufmann did not desire any hard and fast resolution to be passed with regard to his paper, but he (the President) thought the least they could do was to accord him their best thanks for the interesting and valuable information which he had placed before them. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried.

The Election of the Central Committee.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of the Central Committee.

The PRESIDENT said he wished to speak on behalf of the Central Committee on this matter. They had received a number of names of candidates for the Central Committee. There were a number of gentlemen who had retired according to the rules, which provided that half of the members of the Central Committee retire at this Congress. There were some additional members to be elected owing to certain countries having increased their subscriptions. The list of the candidates, however, was before the Congress, and he proposed to take first of all the names

of those whose seats were to be filled. Mr. Maxwell then read out the number of seats to be filled as follows:—

NOMINATIONS FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Country.	Present Members of the Central Committee.	To be re-elected or replaced.	No. of seats to be filled	Proposals for seats to be filled.
1 UNITED KINGDOM	A. Whitehead W. Maxwell D. McInnes J. Deans A. Williams	J. Deans A. Williams	4 seats	J. Deans A. Williams J. Shillito W. Gregory
2 GERMANY.....	H. Kaufmann *M. Radestock H. Lorenz A. von Elm	H. Kaufmann M. Radestock	3 "	H. Kaufmann K. Barth R. Assmann P. Schlack
3 AUSTRIA	B. Karpeles L. Exner A. Fiser	L. Exner	2 "	K. Renner Pittoni
4 SWITZERLAND	O. Schär E. Angst	O. Schär	2 "	O. Schär B. Jaeggi
5 HUNGARY.....	J. Mailath A. György	A. György	2 "	A. György E. von Balogh
6 FRANCE.....	E. de Boyve M. L. Héliers	E. de Boyve	2 "	Ch. Gide E. Poisson
7 DENMARK	S. Jørgensen A. Nielsen	A. Nielsen	1 "	A. Nielsen
8 BELGIUM	V. Serwy L. Bertrand	V. Serwy	1 "	V. Serwy
9 FINLAND	H. Gebhard V. Tanner	V. Tanner	1 "	V. Tanner
10 RUSSIA	V. Totomianz	...	1 "	V. Sellheim
11 SWEDEN	H. Müller	H. Müller	2 "	K. G. Rosling G. W. Dahl
12 ITALY.....	L. Buffoli	L. Buffoli	1 "	Vergnanini
13 HOLLAND	G. Goedhart	...	1 "	J. Posthuma
14 NORWAY.....	O. Dehli	O. Dehli	1 "	O. Dehli
15 ROUMANIA.....	J. Duca	J. Duca	1 "	J. Duca
16 SERVIA	M. Avramowitch	M. Avramowitch	1 "	M. Avramowitch
17 INDIA.....	...	...	1 "	...

* Deceased.

The PRESIDENT explained that India was entitled to one seat, but no name had been sent in, and the matter must, therefore, stand adjourned. With regard to Germany, there were three seats to fill and there were four candidates. The first three were nominated by the Central Union, and the other (Mr. P. Schlack) was nominated by the West German Union. It was for the Congress to say which three gentlemen they would elect. Mr. Braun (Mülheim) desired to address the Congress on behalf of the West German Union.

Mr. BRAUN (Mülheim): Ladies and gentlemen, we have brought forward the motion of the Imperial Union of German Distributive Societies with regard to the election of Mr. Schlack, because we consider it wrong that the election of members of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance should be limited to a certain organisation. According to the motion which we brought forward on Monday, we intended to give the minority their rights also. Although there may be differences of opinion with regard to the effects and tendencies of our motion, yet you cannot be divided in your opinion that all co-operative societies and all forms of Co-operation should be represented on the International Co-operative Alliance according to their size and strength, and that they must be allowed to do their part in collaborating in the Central Committee. Our motion having been rejected on Monday, it would, in my opinion, be doubly in the interests of the Alliance to support the motion brought forward by us to-day to the effect that the Imperial Union of German Distributive Societies be granted representation on the Central Committee of the I.C.A., thereby assuring us direct collaboration on the committee. What would it mean if our motion were rejected? It would simply mean the sanctioning of efforts on the part of the large unions in order to prevent the smaller organisations from collaborating in the I.C.A. What would be the result of such a sanctioning? The smaller organisations would become embittered and annoyed, and finally they would be denied collaboration. Thus the universal character of the Alliance would be lost. The desire on the part of some countries to exclude the minority from collaborating cannot be the desire of the I.C.A. Our union, therefore, requests you to vote for our president, Mr. Schlack, and thus grant us one seat on the Central Committee. It ought to be all the more possible for you to do so, since at the last Congress of our union it was decided that we should join the Alliance collectively with all our affiliated societies, which at present number 150, the membership considerably exceeding 100,000. In view of this decision on the part of our union, I think that it should be an easy matter for you to grant us representation on the Central Committee of the I.C.A. Yesterday Mr. von Elm stated that

it is desired to show brotherliness and friendliness within the Alliance, and I think—I am also addressing myself to our friends from Hamburg—that if you wish to exhibit brotherly feeling, friendliness, and, above all, tolerance, you should grant our union the representation to which it is entitled, although we represent a minority.

The PRESIDENT said that the Central Committee had had the matter before them and had considered it as impartial judges. They had come to the conclusion that it would be well to select one of their members to put their views before them before voting. Mr. D. McInnes was appointed to explain the matter to Congress.

Mr. McINNES (Central Committee) said that in such a contingency it was very necessary that an expression of the opinion of the Central Committee should be placed before the Congress. He would attempt to do so as briefly as possible. Under the new rules Germany was entitled to five members on the Committee. Article 28 of the constitution set forth the conditions under which the unions should have a member on the Committee. The Central Union of Germany last year subscribed £298 6s. This union was established ten years ago; it had a wholesale society and had gone into co-operative insurance, and both departments had been thoroughly successful. The West German Union was begun only two years ago, and must be regarded as a rival union. In Great Britain the Co-operative Union was regarded as a British section of the Alliance and comprehended all phases of co-operative effort. Whatever difference there might be British co-operators settled for themselves. (Applause.) The West German Union, as he had said, had been established only two years ago. It had also established a wholesale society, and had allied itself to independent insurance societies working against the interests of Co-operation as a collective movement in Germany. The Central Union of Germany had 91 delegates at the Congress and the new union had eight, and the subscriptions from the Central Union amounted to £59 per representative on the Central Committee. The efforts of the Alliance had been directed to unifying Co-operation in all countries, and they had scored a brilliant success when those two unions which had been dividing co-operative effort in France were amalgamated into one triumphant union, which gave great promise for the future. (Loud applause.) They would be departing from that policy if Mr. Schlack were elected.

Mr. SCHLACK (Mülheim): The point of view of the Central Committee of the I.C.A. is altogether biased, and the existing conditions have not been taken into consideration. According

to their point of view all consumers should be given the opportunity to organise themselves co-operatively. In Germany there are innumerable consumers who cannot and will not identify themselves with the point of view adopted by the Central Union. For this reason the point of view of the Central Committee is biased, since all the members of the Alliance should have equal rights. Further, our union has not been in existence for two years only, but was founded a number of years ago. Three years ago we took part in the Hamburg Congress. If we joined a people's insurance society for the public good the reason is that the popular insurance of the Central Union is connected with the Social Democratic Trade Unions. We joined the I.C.A. in order to collaborate in it. The stand taken by the Central Committee renders this impossible. If this is still adhered to we must ask ourselves if we can still continue our membership in the I.C.A. However, if you have thus struck us off your list of members, still you will not have wiped us out of Germany. The Committee's declaration is inconsistent. At the very moment in which you promise the Czech section in Austria a seat on the Central Committee at the next Congress you have refused us. If the Congress does not recognise the Imperial Union of German Distributive Societies as having equal rights, we must draw our own conclusions.

The PRESIDENT said the Central Committee, after carefully considering the question, had laid their views before Congress, and it was for the delegates to decide the matter by their votes. They would continue to recognise all forms of co-operative endeavour, but the claiming of seats on the Central Committee was quite a different matter.

The PRESIDENT then asked the delegates to vote for the German representatives, and declared Messrs. Kaufmann, Barth, and Assmann elected on the Central Committee for that country. Mr. Schlack only received ten votes.

The result of the election is that the Central Committee is now constituted as follows:—

1. United Kingdom. Messrs. J. Deans, W. Gregory, W. Maxwell, D. McInnes, J. Shillito, A. Whitehead, and A. Williams.
2. Germany ... Messrs. R. Assmann, K. Barth, A. von Elm, H. Kaufmann, and H. Lorenz.
3. Austria ... Messrs. A. Fiser, B. Karpeles, and L. Renner.
4. Switzerland ... Messrs. E. Angst, B. Jaeggi, and O. Schär.

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| 5. Hungary | ... | Messrs. E. von Balogh, A. György,
and J. Mailath. |
| 6. France | | Messrs. Ch. Gide, M. L. Héliès, and
E. Poisson. |
| 7. Denmark | ... | Messrs. S. Jørgensen and A. Nielsen. |
| 8. Belgium | ... .. | Messrs. L. Bertrand and V. Serwy. |
| 9. Finland | ... .. | Messrs. H. Gebhard and V. Tanner. |
| 10. Russia | ... .. | Messrs. V. Totomianz and V. Selheim. |
| 11. Sweden | ... .. | Messrs. G. W. Dahl and K. Rosling. |
| 12. Italy | ... .. | Mr. A. Vergnanini. |
| 13. Holland | | Messrs. G. J. D. C. Goedhart and J.
Posthuma. |
| 14. Norway | ... .. | Mr. O. Dehli. |
| 15. Roumania | ... .. | Mr. J. Duca. |
| 16. Servia | ... .. | Mr. M. Avramovitch. |

Paper by Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.A. (Chairman of the Executive Committee), on "The Closer Relationship and Mutual Help of Co-operative Societies, and the Comprehensive Character of the International Co-operative Alliance."

MR. ANEURIN WILLIAMS (Central Committee) then read his paper on "The Aims and Objects of the Alliance," and moved a resolution appealing to the unions and societies to become affiliated.

"When the International Co-operative Alliance was first formed it was intended by its founders that it should be strictly limited to those forms of Co-operation which recognise the principle of profit-sharing with labour. When, however, the first Congress was held in London in 1895 and the statutes of the Alliance were drawn up, its scope was extended so as to include every form of Co-operation, whether profit-sharing or not. Although I was one of the friends of profit-sharing as I still am, and had originally worked for the Alliance on that basis, I voted for throwing its doors open to all other forms of Co-operation, believing that its most valuable work would be to bring them all together for mutual knowledge. For some years afterwards the Alliance remained fairly representative of all forms of Co-operation.

"In the year 1906, however, the International Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies was formed, partly because it was desired to have an organisation which could devote all its time to the interests of agriculture. From this time on, a large part of the agricultural co-operative organisations have been lost to our Alliance, although happily, we still retain the agricultural movement in Denmark, Finland, and in some other countries. Moreover, the tendency has been for some of the other forms of



ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.A., J.P.
(Chairman of the Executive of the Alliance)

Co-operation—more particularly those of the Schulze-Delitsch type—to retire from the Alliance. This has arisen not from causes inherent in the work of the Alliance, but rather from dislike of certain things said at our Congresses which were thought to have a political bearing, or to advocate the class-war. Hence a theory has been formed by some people that the Alliance must more and more become, and ought more and more to become, a federation of one form of Co-operation only, namely, of consumers' co-operation based on retail distributive societies of consumers, and on federations of such societies formed for wholesale trading and for manufacturing.

“ My object in this paper is to maintain the opposite view, namely, that the Alliance should continue to comprise within its borders—and as time goes on should more and more comprise—every form of Co-operation, and especially should comprise, as far as possible, all the great federations and unions of every form of Co-operation. There may, indeed, be co-operative organisations from time to time which will not agree to come into our Alliance, but we must not allow it to be said that it was we who kept them out or in any way discouraged them from entering.

“ There are, happily, very important examples to show the advantages of having various forms of Co-operation included in the same propaganda and educational unions. In Great Britain, for instance, the Co-operative Union comprises every form of Co-operation. We British regard that as something to be proud of, and all parties would make considerable sacrifices, if necessary, to prevent it being otherwise. Of course, certain special forms of Co-operation, which are in a minority in the Union taken as a whole, have also their special organisations, which can give the whole of their time to the consideration of the special affairs of the societies they represent. For instance, the co-partnership productive societies have their federation—the Co-operative Productive Federation—for business purposes, and for propaganda purposes they have the Labour Co-partnership Association; but these productive societies are also members of the Union and take an active part in its affairs; and their federation is not only recognised by the Union, but is a member of the Union. In the same way, the English agricultural societies have their Agricultural Organisation Society, and the Irish societies their Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, but these two organisation societies are themselves members of the Co-operative Union of Great Britain, and so are some of the agricultural societies separately. Again, on the governing body of the Agricultural Organisation Society the Co-operative Union has direct representatives. This union of all forms of Co-operation in one propaganda and educational organisation is of the greatest benefit to the British societies, and promotes

co-operative feeling and co-operative business relations between the workers organised as consumers and workers organised for production, whether of manufactured articles or of agricultural supplies. Nor does it in any way interfere with the work of the wholesales formed by the consumers' societies.

“ In Finland; also, we have another fine example of every form of Co-operation working within the same general union. In the Alliance's ' Bulletin ' for January, 1912, there is a very full account of this common working in Finland. To summarise it briefly: when the propoganda society ' Pellervo ' was established in 1899, it was intended to confine its operations to the rural population, and to work only for agricultural Co-operation and not for distributive. It was deemed essential that the co-operative movement should have two distinct branches, and that the work done for agriculture should be distinctively in the interests of the producer. Soon, however, it was found that the industrial workers of the town applied to ' Pellervo ' for advice and information on the various forms of Co-operation adapted to their needs, and, on the other hand, the rural population asked for help in establishing distributive societies. This at first was refused them, and they began to establish distributive societies on their own account, which finally compelled ' Pellervo ' to comply with their wishes and identify itself with distributive Co-operation. This led to the establishment in 1905 of a special organisation under the auspices of ' Pellervo ' for the development of the distributive movement, but even then it was believed that the agricultural and distributive movements would follow entirely separate courses, it being argued that this was the experience of the larger European countries, and that endeavours made to bring about international collaboration between agricultural and distributive Co-operation had met with but little success. However, in spite of this expectation, as time went on it was found that many bonds were formed between the various branches of Co-operation in Finland, with ' Pellervo ' as the centre of them all. Since 1909 there has been a periodical representing the interests of all branches of Co-operation, and its expenses are borne equally by ' Pellervo ' and the four special organisations representing distribution, banking, export, and agricultural supply. Elaborate arrangements are made to provide that all these forms of Co-operation shall be represented fairly in every issue of the paper, and that the main article of the paper shall always deal with some question affecting all of them. This periodical has rendered much valuable service to co-operative societies of all kinds. Another piece of joint work in Finland are the meetings for instruction of managers and committeemen, which are held twice a year, and extend from two to six or eight weeks, according to circumstances. They are organised by the united efforts of all the forms of Co-operation. The Finnish

co-operators make the following striking statement regarding them :—

“ ‘ All the organisations interested in it declare that no single one of them is in a position, at any rate at the present time, to carry on such an institution economically and well. We have found that the association of co-operators following various branches of the movement for educative and other purposes has a very stimulating effect. The singing of co-operative songs, and small festive gatherings, serves to increase the feeling of unity which has been fostered by attending the same lectures on co-operative law and on the theory of co-operation.’

I might go on to describe a great deal of other common work, but I have said enough to show how beneficial it is to have all forms of Co-operation in one organisation. They need one another's help, and to be animated by the true co-operative spirit. I want to plead for the application of this principle on a world-wide scale in the International Co-operative Alliance.

“ The idea that the Alliance should be confined to one form of Co-operation only must spring either (1) from the belief that that form is the only true form or (2) from the belief that each form of Co-operation should have its own separate International Alliance. Of these, I think the second supposition is easily disposed of, for surely it is inconsistent with the very theory of Co-operation that there should be separate organisations of bodies of people who have separate and sometimes conflicting interests, and that these organisations should not be related to one another by the bonds of mutual help and mutual agreement. If, therefore, there are to be international alliances of the separate forms of Co-operation, it follows, as a matter of course, that every co-operator must want to see those separate alliances in their turn co-operating with one another, in one all-comprehending alliance. If, however, we hold the opinion that there is only one true form of Co-operation, then, of course, it follows that no co-operative organisation—whether international, national, or local—should include any other form, for that would be to include false forms which are not Co-operation at all.

“ The question how wide the scope of the International Co-operative Alliance should be, therefore, resolves itself into the questions :—

“ (1) What is true Co-operation? How far does it extend? How many forms of it are there?

“ (2) How far can these various forms, if they exist, mutually aid one another in their day by day work, and in the interchange of ideas and encouragement?

“ Now, Co-operation in its widest and deepest sense is really a creed—a creed that life in all its departments is best organised, not by a struggle of each for his own interests, but by voluntary association to work together on terms freely chosen; to divide the wealth produced among all those concerned; and to adjust all other conflicting interests, on principles of reason and equity agreed on beforehand. So far for Co-operation as a creed. By Co-operation in the narrower and more concrete sense, we mean any system of organisation which is practically engaged in carrying out that creed, especially in joint work, and the production and distribution of goods. The principle involved is the same in friendly societies and all mutual institutions, but the word ‘ Co-operation ’ is usually used to mean Co-operation for the production and distribution of goods.

“ All men are inclined to expect too much from the particular form of effort they themselves are most intimately connected with, and co-operators are no exception to the rule. Formerly, in England at least, some people believed that the whole social question could be solved by voluntary association. I think there are few, if any, now who do not recognise that this is impossible. Voluntary association can do much, but it cannot do everything; much remains for the State and municipality, which are forms of compulsory association, to do, and, on the other hand, much for individual forces, which are not association in any form. Much, for instance, will always remain for the great artist or inventor to do as an individual, acting quite independent of any organisation. Much also for the man born with a genius for creating new business organisations, which his master mind controls through paid assistants. Almost all people admit this, but there are still some who maintain that whatever voluntary association can do in the matter of the production and distribution of goods must be done by one particular form of Co-operation—viz., consumers’ Co-operation—and that every other form of Co-operation is false or futile.

“ To me it seems that we need almost every conceivable form of Co-operation, according to the different ideas, needs, and circumstances of different people, countries, industries, and times. In England and Germany to-day a great work is being done by consumers’ Co-operation, and it probably has a still greater work to do in the future, but there is no sign that, even in England and Germany, it will solve all that part of the social problem which Co-operation can deal with. No sign that it will solve, e.g., the problem of the democratic organisation of agriculture. In Germany the Co-operation of agricultural producers, especially for credit purposes, has done very much, so have other forms of credit Co-operation, formed to supply

capital for small industries in the towns—industries which show no sign of being brought under the control of organised consumers. So also have other forms of co-operative organisation of producers, such as raw stuff societies. Similarly, in England, though consumers' Co-operation is by far the greatest form of Co-operation, others are not insignificant, nor could they be dispensed with without great loss. How, for instance, could consumers organise the making of padlocks for export to remote parts of the world, such as South America and South Africa? But the Co-operation of working padlock makers has done that. How could consumers' societies organise the work of printing for publishers and for the general public, in which copartnership printing societies are steadily increasing their hold? So in other countries Co-operation has many valuable forms besides the distributive. There is much agricultural Co-operation in France, Switzerland, and Denmark. Navvies' work and masons' work are organised co-operatively by the workers themselves in Italy. In France, again, we have important and increasing co-operative productive societies of builders, roadmakers, cabdrivers, and many classes of artisans. All these are genuine efforts at association—true Co-operation. They, no doubt, have their defects, as all other institutions have, but they are all helping to transform our capitalistic society into a Co-operative Commonwealth. Probably, indeed, there is a great future for forms of Co-operation at present little developed in the most advanced co-operative countries, such as Great Britain and Germany. In these countries consumers' Co-operation is already well developed, but other forms are not so—certainly not in Great Britain. There is, therefore, a vast field for the development of these other forms, and the coming generation may see developments we know nothing of. Moreover, our Alliance is not limited to Europe. Who shall say what forms of co-operation China, Japan, and India may develop? We must keep an open door to welcome them.

“ In thus claiming a place for other forms I am not seeking to limit the development of the consumers' movement. I am willing to grant it, for the purpose of this argument, all the sphere that its most earnest champions claim. But even they admit that its sphere, great as it is, is small compared to the whole realm of industry.

“ In chapter VIII. of her book, “ The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain,” Mrs. Sidney Webb (Miss Beatrice Potter), than whom the consumers' movement has had no more ardent champion, considers the question whether it is possible to develop the system of consumers' Co-operation until it embraces the whole field of industry, and concludes that there are limits soon

reached—social and economic barriers to its further extension. The first of these she finds in the conditions of life of certain classes. Men living below a certain standard of life or in isolation, populations continually shifting their abode and changing their occupations, are incapable, she says, of voluntary association, whether as consumers or producers. This is a lower limit to the growth of Co-operation, but if this were all we might expect that, as factory laws and other social legislation advanced, and as education spread, the limitation might slowly be got rid of. Then the supplying of these classes would be brought within the limits of Co-operation. There is, however, an upper limit also, whose removal must be even slower and more difficult. 'Fastidiousness and the indifference bred of luxury constitute,' she says, 'a higher limit to the desire or capacity for democratic self-government. The upper and middle classes, with incomes altogether out of proportion to their actual needs, demand the servility of the profit-making traders and the irregular and diversified production of profit-making manufacturers.' This saying is, perhaps, a little hard on the well-to-do, but at any rate it emphasises the fact that such people are no way inclined to consumers' Co-operation—their demands constitute another market which cannot be supplied by Co-operation of that school.

"But, she goes on, the social limits to the extension of consumers' Co-operation are not the only ones. The administrative limits are, if anything, more important. For the group of co-operators who administer a store or wholesale society are necessarily the actual consumers of commodities or services supplied through these organisations, and this form of democracy does not always form a possible or desirable administrative group. She instances the case of steamboats, railways, and docks, whose users are so casual and scattered that we could not well imagine their forming a constituency of consumers to control them. She might also have instanced cabs and omnibuses, hotels, jobbing printing, bookbinding, newspapers, theatres, building, and many other trades. Here we have a third market which cannot be supplied by voluntary Co-operation of consumers.

"Lastly she argues that the whole export trade is necessarily beyond the boundaries of consumers' Co-operation. 'For here it is evident that administration by an open democracy of actual consumers cannot even exist unless we await the miraculous conversion of the hordes of China and the savages of Africa to the doctrines of Robert Owen. . . . It is, of course, conceivable,' she adds, 'that the store system might be developed among other Anglo-Saxon nations with whom we trade, and that a relationship such as exists between the Scottish and English Wholesale Societies might be established in the corresponding

central establishments of Australia, Canada, America, and Great Britain.' This was written in 1891, and when we note in passing that she did not even contemplate the possibility of such relations with the wholesales of Germany, France, Finland, Russia, Scandinavia, and Italy we see how far forward in internationalisation we have travelled in 22 years. Even within the Anglo-Saxon world she did not consider such developments of relations between the wholesales at all likely. To-day, though they are certainly possible in a much wider sphere, we cannot say that they promise to cover any great proportion of the export trade. Mrs. Webb's conclusion, therefore, remains sound, that in the main the export trade, if it is to be carried on by voluntary Co-operation, must be carried on by producers' societies. She rejects the idea that the stores and wholesales should themselves enter into the general export trade and do a profitable business by selling to foreign merchants. If they did this, all the economic advantages of the control of production by the actual consumers would be abandoned, co-operators 'would taste the forbidden fruit of industry—profit on price,' and 'the whole fabric of Rochdale Co-operation might fall into disrepair, if not into hopeless ruin.'

" Trying to reduce the above estimate to figures, Mrs. Webb did not think that much more than one-fourth of the then national income could in any case be included in the trade of the stores, while the limits of manufacturing by consumers' societies must be narrower still. A very small proportion of the commodities purchased by possible store members could be produced by stores or wholesales. Clearly, imports of food, tobacco, etc., could not, nor could certain native products which can only be manufactured advantageously on a very large scale, as, for instance, cotton cloth. 'The range of variety in calicoes and prints bought by the working class render the quantity of any one quality or style demanded by co-operators too small for profitable manufacture even by their central institution.' This is the barrier to manufacturing by consumers' societies, though it may be pushed farther back by the extension of their distributive trade.

" Thus, according to this great exponent of consumers' Co-operation, there is only a small part of the production and exchange of wealth which can be done by the voluntary Co-operation of consumers. The remainder, and by far the greater part, must either be done by the State or municipality—compulsory forms of association—or by producers' societies, or, finally, must be left indefinitely as the sphere of capitalism and wage service. The last solution we, as co-operators, are not prepared to contemplate. The extension of the activities of the State and municipality we need not grudge, but we must admit that they

grow very slowly, and the Syndicalism of a part of the workers begins to show that they are not prepared to submit to the all-pervading bureaucracy which State and municipal production would imply. For long enough, therefore, we see that the field for possible Co-operation of producers will be enormous; a field which consumers' Co-operation, splendid as its achievements have been, and will still be, cannot fill.

"I have been obliged to refer above, especially in quoting Mrs. Webb, to the extension of the action of the State and municipality. I have done this with regret, because it, of course, verges on politics. But I will ask all those who criticise me to believe that I have tried to deal with the matter in a philosophical and not in a political spirit. I hope they will follow my good example. Our work as co-operators is to lead the strivings--blind strivings we may think them--whether of Syndicalists or any others, towards a voluntary organisation, in which two things shall be secured--first, the right of the workers to an existence worthy of human dignity, with a direct voice in determining the conditions of their labour; and, secondly, acknowledgment of the duty of every worker and every body of workers, however organised, to serve the whole community. These two things must be equally emphasised, and they must be safeguarded by appropriate institutions.

"I conclude, therefore, that it is impossible to say that no form of Co-operation but the consumers' movement is true Co-operation. Time only can show what other forms are for the general good, and are therefore true Co-operation, and what forms tend too much towards selfishness or inefficiency, and are false Co-operation.

"Our second question was whether all the various forms of true Co-operation could usefully associate together in one organisation. I have already touched on this on its propaganda side; there remains the business side. Even when they have done all they can and made for themselves all they can, either singly or in federations, the distributive societies need to buy much from other workers who make goods and render services, which these consumers' societies cannot themselves organise, for the reasons I have quoted. Conversely, such producers need the custom of the organised consumers, which is far better for them than the custom of the unorganised only. What is to be desired therefore, is to get these mutually dependent bodies into one organisation and let them make co-operative arrangements together--arrangements, I mean, which are voluntary and mutually advantageous.

"Take agriculture: It is clear that on the whole the consumers have not been successful in organising it. There are,

of course, exceptions. For instance, the Scottish Wholesale have considerable success to show in the organisation of dairies in Ireland. On the other hand, the English Co-operative Wholesale Society recognises that it has not been successful with its Irish dairies. The future may change this or it may not, but, meanwhile, there is vast progress going on of Co-operation among agricultural producers. There is, however, a real danger of a conflict between their organisations seeking good prices and the organisations of the co-operative consumers seeking low prices. That apparent conflict of interests makes it difficult, I admit, to get these two forms of Co-operation into one organisation. But the danger of serious conflict and mutual loss is not lessened—it is increased—by ranging them in entirely separate organisations. An example of the conflict we must deprecate is seen, while I write (May, 1913), in the milk supply of Bâle, where the distributive society on the one hand and the organisation of the peasants on the other, having failed to come to terms as to prices, a rupture has taken place, with the result that the rural co-operators have suffered heavy financial loss, and damage to their co-operative organisation, while the town co-operators can no longer feel that their milk supply is part of that complete co-operative organisation which we believe we are building up. In properly organising the milk supply of a great population there ought to be such economies as would render it possible to give the consumers their supply at a reasonable price, with a perfect guarantee of purity, such as only organisation can ensure, and, at the same time, to give the producers a better price and steadier demand than they can get in the unorganised competitive market.

“ I say, then, get them into the same organisation, into national unions, if you can, as is done in Finland, but if not, then at least get all forms of co-operative organisation into one international body like this Alliance. It may be easier for them to join our Alliance than to join a national union, because in so doing they can have no fear of losing any part of their independence, seeing that we only meet at considerable intervals, and then only for discussion. Nevertheless, at those meetings, and between them also by our literature and our propaganda, we help to hold up a common ideal before all co-operators of all varieties; to get them to know each other; to look at things from each other's point of view; and to recognise that those arrangements between them which are most just are, in the long run, most truly in the interests of all parties.

“ I conclude, therefore, that it is impossible to say there are not many forms of true Co-operation, and that it is demonstrably wise and truly co-operative for these various forms to be brought together for mutual understanding and mutual help. I hope this.

and I am convinced that this has much to do with the sound development of co-operative thought in Denmark. In my opinion, the productive societies are as useful and as much real co-operative societies as the distributive societies, although in many countries they do not hold such an important position, since they cannot include as much of the population as do the distributive societies. All the societies have, however, the same aim, viz., to oppose the system which has hitherto prevailed in all commercial activity—in trade and in production—according to which the greater part of the profits go to individual persons. They must seek an equal and just division of this profit among the people. This task is so great that they must unite all their forces.

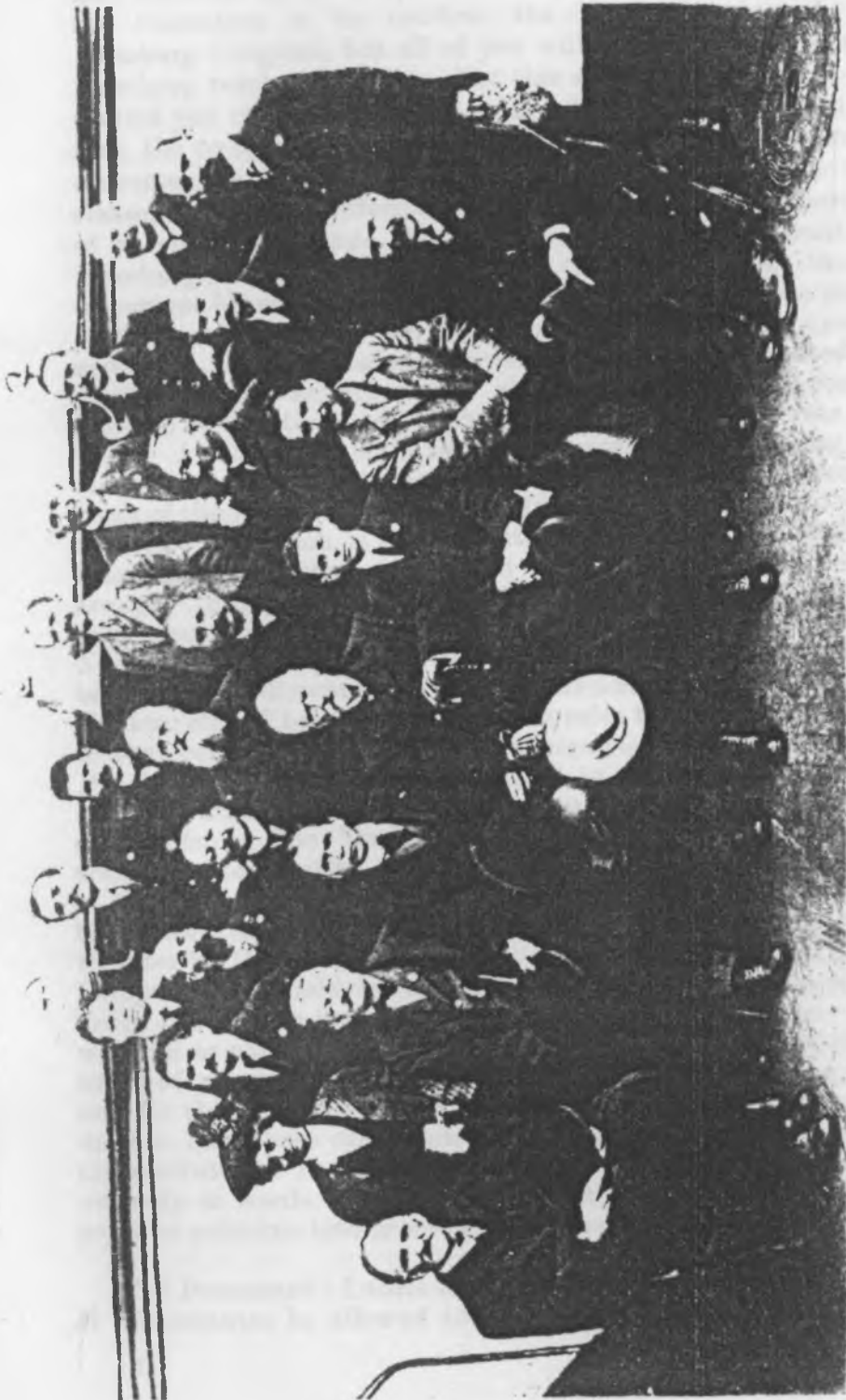
“In my opinion it is the duty of the International Co-operative Alliance to do its best to bring about this unity of forces to gain the goal of the co-operative ideal.”

Greetings from the Women's Guild.

Mrs. COFFER (Hebburn-on-Tyne) said it was her pleasant duty to bring to the Congress hearty greetings from the English Women's Guild. She was sorry the Central Committee of the Alliance in the agenda had omitted the women from their papers altogether. The previous speaker was the only one to make any reference to them. She might tell them that they (the Guild) accepted the Alliance as a great and useful organisation, and regarded it as an essential part of the co-operative movement. They had 30,000 members in their Guild. She thought all women would be glad when the consumer and producer were brought into closest harmony. Co-operators should not neglect education for £ s. d.; it would be bad for the movement if they did so. She was pleased at the way in which they had adopted the resolution relative to peace; it would go with no uncertain voice to all nations. Co-operative women would be particularly pleased at the adoption of the resolution, for the time when swords would be beaten into ploughshares could not come too quickly for them. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT said they (the Central Committee of the Alliance) had been taken to task for not mentioning women on the agenda, etc. He could assure Mrs. Coffey, however, that the Central Committee had a warm heart for the Women's Guilds and appreciated the work they were doing. He was sure he was speaking the voice of the Congress when he said to the Guilds “We wish you Godspeed in your work.”

Mr. LORENZ (Hamburg): Ladies and gentlemen, if you have read Mr. Williams' paper and compared it with the resolution



A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF DELEGATES

which has been laid before you on behalf of the Central Committee, you will notice that there is a difference between the contents of the report and the resolution. The aim of the resolution is to confirm the resolution passed at the Hamburg Congress, but all of you will not have read through the Hamburg resolution again. Yet this should be done if to-day we remind you of that resolution. According to the Hamburg resolution, the co-operative movement is to be a social movement. Our movement is designed to prove its sympathy with the working classes. We have different forms of the co-operative movement, of varying significance, but according to what was said at the Hamburg Congress, distributive Co-operation is the most important branch of the movement, and why? Because its object is first and foremost to transform the capitalistic system of economy, and as a logical conclusion it is further stated in the resolution that an agreement should be made with the Trade Unions, so that the workers should receive a standard rate of payment. I will now explain to you my reasons for referring to that resolution. The substance of the Hamburg resolution forms the basis of the line of action of our Alliance, and we have to see to it that this resolution is carried into effect. It is the duty of the Executive Committee to see that the provisions of the resolution are put into practice. I think that everyone who wishes to collaborate in the work of the I.C.A. will approve this resolution. Now, in the paper observations are made in regard to the relations between the different types of Co-operation in England, Germany, France, etc. I have in particular to refer to Germany. We have in that country credit societies, agricultural and other societies. But how do they stand with regard to the Hamburg resolution and the transformation of the capitalistic system? They are opponents of the Trade Unions—quite apart from payment according to tariffs. They will not even accept the wages of the Trade Unions. In my opinion, we have no right to open back-doors in order to admit all those who are not permitted to enter by the front-door. Then it will be said that all forms of Co-operation should be represented. We German Co-operators are of the opinion that one link together with other links—the one working as willingly as the other—will contribute to the improvement of the moral and material position of the working classes, and for this reason we wish to support the I.C.A. If we wish to do this, only those can be members of the Alliance who recognise the resolution. Then you must carry it into effect, and so prove, not only in words, but also in deeds, that you seriously mean to put this principle into practice. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to help me. If ten minutes be allowed to each speaker I cannot keep to the

time-table. Should we not have five minutes only to each speaker now?

The delegates agreed to this suggestion, and the PRESIDENT intimated that that would now be the rule.

Dr. TOTOMIANZ (Moscow): I entirely agree with Mr. Williams' report, but I should like to add a few remarks and give a few examples with regard to other countries. I agree with Mr. Lorenz that in Germany there is much division between the different forms of Co-operation. There are, however, countries in which you find the ideal, for instance, Russia and Italy, where different forms of Co-operation are represented in national unions. It is also much easier to agree nationally, and if we do not do so there will never be a union of distributive societies or an international union which performs international tasks. If you really wish to accomplish much, you must agree with the principles of the workingmen's unions, that is, if you desire to further the industrial production of distributive societies. We recently held a Congress at Kieff, when almost all forms of Co-operation were represented, and much satisfaction was expressed therewith. At the morning session each section held its own meeting, and afterwards all met together for the discussion of general subjects. This was the third of such Congresses held in Russia, and not once has there been a split. The co-operative movement has been fortunate in Russia, as also in other countries where the different sections are united. They grasp the fact that the co-operative movement is a movement that requires to be organised nationally. I think you only need to remember such names as Godin, Leclair, Schulze-Delitsch, and others.

Professor STAUDINGER (Darmstadt): Mr. Williams has brought up a controversial question which I thought had been settled long ago. I believed that there would not be another dispute about the division of the various forms of Co-operation and the loose unity of co-operative societies. I thought that a decision had been come to on this point long ago. It is stated by Mr. Williams in his paper that at the first Congress it was decided to include in the Alliance all forms of Co-operation, whether they adopted the principle of co-partnership or not. Whoever ventures to take up co-partnership for pedagogical reasons, well, let him do so. This point, however, remains to be discussed: Who pays the profit? The profit is obtained from the customers. He who has many customers gets rich, and he who has not remains poor. (Laughter and applause.) With regard to the relations between co-operative societies, we must endeavour to unite them in our Alliance. We wish that all co-operative societies were affiliated to our Alliance, as it would then be still more of an international alliance. Our Alliance should

endeavour to bring about a closer connection between production and consumption. We must work towards this end in cases where this connection has not yet been established. It is not our fault, but is due to the obstinacy and autocracy of the productive societies, which refuse to collaborate with the distributive societies. (Loud applause.)

Mr. POISSON (Paris): I have only a few words to address to Congress. I am afraid that there is some ambiguity with regard to the proposed resolution and the paper which has just been read, and that this misunderstanding is merely due to a question of friendship and good fellowship. The paper was presented to us by one of the men who has most sympathy with us, and whose devotion, activity, and efforts we all appreciate. This question is, however, too important to permit of our being guided merely by feelings of friendship. I do not think that the paper and the resolution agree, in fact they contradict one another. In order to convince yourselves of this, all you have to do is to read through the paper and the resolution. Mr. Williams presented his paper to the Committee of the Alliance at Basle, where his colleagues were not unanimous in agreeing with his ideas. I even think that the majority of the members of the Committee were opposed to Mr. Williams' paper. France has since presented to the Committee, through its delegates, a motion which confined itself to recalling the Hamburg resolution, and we supported the motion which was brought forward, taking away, however, what one might call the chief thing, that which underlay Mr. Williams' paper, and reducing the motion to a mere reminder of the Hamburg Congress. The goodwill which before the Congress we showed through friendship for Mr. Williams would now result in a dangerous misunderstanding with regard to an important matter. On the other hand, we realise the spirit which animates Mr. Williams' paper. We know what he thinks. We find, however, in the paper two things which are becoming more and more removed from the Alliance. An old acquaintance of its youth—profit-sharing, which for about twelve years has almost disappeared, and which comes back more or less directly, but always receives the welcome which ripe age accords an acquaintance of its wild youth. (Laughter.) In Mr. Williams' paper there is an idea that the Alliance should be merely a philosophic and theoretical movement of men for Co-operation considered from the theoretical, sentimental, and romantic point of view; this is not the case at all. At the present time we are concerned with a practical organisation, a federation of institutions composed for the greater part of workers, either agricultural or industrial, but, above all, of members of the proletariat. This is precisely what is contained in the resolution, but not in Mr. Williams' paper. The resolution says that the Hamburg Congress must be recalled, that

is to say, that the fact must be remembered that the distributive societies are the back-bone of the co-operative movement, that without excluding the others, it is these which bring us nearer to the co-operative goal. In conclusion, therefore, I would say that Mr. Williams' paper would be a step backward, and that the resolution would be a step forward. Those who vote for the resolution will be voting against the paper. (Laughter and applause.)

Dr. KARPELES (Vienna): Mr. Williams should have pointed out the importance of the productive co-operative societies, instead of which he sought to belittle the importance of the distributive societies. If he quoted passages from Mrs. Webb's book demonstrating the limits of the distributive movement he should also have quoted passages with regard to the productive societies, and also the passage in which Mrs. Webb points out that the reception of all the various types of society into the British Union is not proof of toleration, but of the absence of discernment. It is true that the distributive societies are not yet in a position to organise the export of padlocks to South Africa, but these societies can well bear this reproach. The truth is that there are no other limits to the distributive movement than the narrowness and indifference of the working classes.

Mr. ANGST (Basle): Fellow co-operators, in his paper Mr. Williams says that it is desired that as many agricultural societies as possible should join the Alliance. This desire may apply to Great Britain and a few other countries, but it does not apply in any way to our agricultural societies in Switzerland. All our agricultural societies have banded themselves together into powerful peasants organisations, and have acquired such strength that they control the highest authorities in our country, and if we were to express the wish that they should join our International Co-operative Alliance we should at the best call forth a sympathetic smile at what would be regarded as weakness on our part and our suggestion would be sternly rejected. In my opinion the inclusion of the Swiss peasants co-operative societies would weaken and maim the activity of our Alliance. The interests of the Swiss agricultural societies are diametrically opposed to our interests. I do not understand what interests the Alliance can have in common with the agricultural societies. The Peasants Union in Switzerland is the bitterest enemy of our co-operative movement, and seeks to hinder our development in every possible way. This union fears that the consumers' societies will unfavourably influence the prices it has fixed, and, therefore, it seeks to suppress the formation of co-operative distributive societies. The Peasants' Union prefers to trade

with private customers, for it is firmly convinced that the unorganised consumer can do less than the organised in opposition to its interests. If this peasants' organisation makes any profits it divides them according to the number of shares held by each member. It does not divide the profits as we do in our workingmen's organisations, but in the manner adopted by the limited liability companies, in which the greatest amount of dividend goes to the one who has the largest number of shares. Such are the methods of the agricultural co-operative societies in Switzerland, and I do not think that it is in the interests of the Alliance to admit them. If you read the resolution and compare it with Mr. Williams' paper you will find that there is a difference by no means small between them. The reason for it is this. Mr. Williams submitted his report to the Central Committee at the last meeting held in Basle. This report was only partially approved; and, therefore, remained the property of Mr. Williams. The Committee wished, however, to draw its own conclusions on this question, and has, therefore, laid this resolution before you, which corresponds to the resolution passed at the Hamburg Congress. This explains the conceptions of Mr. Williams, which are more philosophical. We are, however, here to deal with practical matters. There is practically a contradiction between Mr. Williams' report and the resolution, and whoever votes for the report opposes the resolution, and whoever votes for the resolution opposes the report.

Mr. BRAUN (Mülheim): Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say a few words with regard to the opinions expressed by Mr. Lorenz, which, in my opinion, reveal the true position. If there was anyone who did not know that though nominally the Englishmen hold sway in the International Co-operative Alliance, in practice the Central Union at Hamburg holds the power, they must have been convinced of this fact by the words of Mr. Lorenz. The Central Union at Hamburg lays down the law which opens the doors of the Alliance to certain types of society and shows the International Alliance the necessity for close union between Co-operation, the Social-Democratic Party, and the Trade Unions.

The well-known fact that the Hamburg Union already manages the Alliance is proved by the circumstance that Mr. Lorenz dared to demand in the manner he did that the point of view of the Central Union at Hamburg on co-operative matters should decide the action of the I.C.A.

The character of the Central Union at Hamburg being what it is its representatives will endeavour to hinder the universal and neutral nature of the Alliance from being manifested at its Congresses, as has been the case at this Congress: a telegram

of thanks in response to the telegram of greeting from the Social-Democratic Party at Glasgow, grace said by a servant of the Church; the singing of the National Anthem at official gatherings.

The opinions expressed to-day by Mr. Lorenz provide food for thought for all neutral and non-distributive co-operative societies. They must ask themselves whether they can remain affiliated to an organisation which acts on the lines laid down by Mr. Lorenz.

Mr. WILLIAMS, replying to the discussion, said he would reply only to essential points. In the first place, he said he never had advocated the inclusion, either in national unions or in the Alliance, of all co-operative societies, but only of all true co-operative societies—a distinction which was very well recognised. They had been told that in Germany there were societies calling themselves co-operative which did not pay fair wages. Of course, they should never have these in their national unions or in the International Alliance. (Applause.) If they did not pay fair wages they were not truly co-operative, but they would find societies of that sort in every class if they looked carefully. He had been told that there was some conflict between his paper and the resolution, but then the Congress was not asked to approve of his paper but to approve of the resolution. There were all sorts of things in the paper, and he flattered himself that he had succeeded in raising a discussion. What he wanted to bring out was that while the consumers' movement was great and powerful and had a magnificent future there was no evidence before them that it could do everything that Co-operation was destined to do for the workers of all countries, and he wanted to express the opinion that the door should be left open for all true forms of Co-operation, so that all found to be working for the good of the workers in the different countries might be welcome. Replying to the remarks of Dr. Karples, Mr. Williams said he had not dwelt upon the shortcomings of consumers' or of any other societies. What he had dwelt upon was the limits of possible action as laid down by the chief of the English champions (Mrs. Webb), who had pointed out that outside the great work open to the societies of consumers there were other very important spheres of work which could not, in her opinion, be realised by these societies. She might perhaps not be right in that, but all he had done was to indicate the need for keeping the Alliance open to other forms of Co-operation. Referring to Mr. Angst, who had pointed out that the aims of the societies in the towns and of the agricultural societies in the country were so opposed that they could not join the same national union, Mr. Williams said he quite recognised that that could be so, and it might be impossible to get

them into the same national union, but he did contend that where it was possible to get them into the national union it was a useful thing to do. (Applause.) And there was no reason why they should not get these societies into the International Alliance. (Applause.) He had been accused of saying something in favour of co-partnership. That was true, but he reminded the Congress that co-partnership between workingmen doing work in the co-operative factories and the consumers who were using these productions was very different from the co-partnership between the capitalist-employer and the worker. He had been accused also of having raised a question of principle that had brought about a great fight in that Congress. Well, it had been a very good-natured fight—(laughter)—but he had not raised this question, it had been raised in the columns of the 'Bulletin,' where it was stated that the Alliance was destined to be an alliance of consumers. In conclusion, Mr. Williams asked the delegates to refer to the resolution passed at Hamburg, and he urged them to pass his resolution now and to think what they liked about the paper.

Mr. LORENZ (Hamburg), in a personal explanation, pointed out that the Hamburg Congress resolution was adopted unanimously, and that the representatives of the West German Union were, of course, included amongst its supporters. They were, therefore, under an obligation to support that resolution.

The PRESIDENT said that the Central Committee had placed before them the resolution. Would they, he said, decide by vote whether to accept it or not?

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

A Message from the French Minister of Labour.

The PRESIDENT announced that a telegram had been received from Mr. HENRI CHERON (Minister of Labour in the French Government). It was as follows: "I had asked Mr. Charles Gide, the eminent professor of the Faculty of Law in Paris, to represent me at your important Congress. As he is unable to attend Glasgow, I express to you my regrets, and offer you my best wishes for the success of your work." (Applause.)

It was decided by Congress to send the following reply: "The Ninth International Co-operative Congress, representing the workers of many countries, begs to thank you for your gracious telegram, and to express the earnest desire for the progress and perpetual friendship of all nations." (Applause.)

Congress then adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION OF CONGRESS,

Thursday, August 28th, 1913,

At 9-15 a.m.

The PRESIDENT formally opened the proceedings, and Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS announced the receipt of a letter of congratulation from the Penge Co-operative Society, England. A telegram had also been received by Professor Totomianz asking him to convey to the International Congress the greetings of the Russian Co-operative Congress then being held at Kieff.

The PRESIDENT then announced that, through some unexpected change in the arrangements, the German delegates found it necessary that they should leave Glasgow that morning, instead of on Friday morning. On behalf of the Congress, he wished their German friends a safe return to the Fatherland, and God-speed in their co-operative work. (Applause.)

Mr. KAUFMANN (Hamburg): Fellow co-operators, it is my duty to inform you that to our great regret, owing to special circumstances, a large number of the German delegates will be obliged to leave the Congress before the termination of the proceedings. In acquainting you with this fact, I must express the hearty thanks of the German delegates to the British co-operators. Of all the Congresses held in our movement, we may say that this Congress held in Scotland is quite the best. It may be said that from year to year the influence and importance of our Congress increases, and that is a sign of the progress of our movement. Apart from this, the Congress has had a special importance for a number of the foreign delegates, owing to the fact that a students' trip through Great Britain has been organised in connection with the visit to Congress. England and Scotland are model countries for the co-operative movement, and our students' trip has confirmed our opinion that there is still a rich field open for the development of the co-operative movement, and that we Continental co-operators can learn much from our British comrades in this respect. But it is not only in this that the British societies are examples to us, but, above all, in unbounded hospitality, and in the kindly reception which they have accorded us wherever we

have been. I, therefore, ask the Continental delegates to express their gratitude, and to join with me in three "Hochs" for British hospitality and the British co-operative movement.

Mr. Kaufmann's speech was heartily applauded by the delegates, and cries of "Hoch" were given for British Co-operation by the German delegates.

The PRESIDENT in response said he was quite sure the German delegates would take kindly reminiscences of the work of the last three or four days. British delegates were delighted to have the testimony of the German delegates that that had been the best Congress ever held. (Applause.) If the Committee would allow him to be a Scotsman for a minute, he would like to say that they all wished the Germans, with whom they were very closely connected, and whom they would never fight—(laughter and applause)—every success in the splendid progress they were making in co-operative work. He would not be astonished if Germany were to take the lead, instead of Great Britain. (Applause.)

The German delegates then withdrew.

Paper by Dr. O. Schär (Switzerland) on "The Development of the Co-operative Press in the interests of Co-operative Education."

Dr. SCHÄR briefly summarised his paper, which was as follows:—

"If ever it was necessary for a movement to expound its aims and the means by which it hopes to attain them, it is certainly necessary in the case of the co-operative movement. This explanation is essential not only to obtain as members persons who have hitherto been unacquainted with the movement, but even more for the sake of educating members to become true co-operators. In the case of a co-operative society being able to offer its members immediate material advantages, there is no great difficulty in obtaining members, and everyone who has the opportunity of becoming affiliated to a certain branch of the movement will do so without much persuasion, provided that no injury is likely to befall the special interests of his position and vocation. The fact of becoming affiliated to a co-operative society does not imply that one is necessarily a true co-operator, since a person drawn from among the adherents of the present system of individual profit-making does not at once come to think rightly with regard to

social matters. It is therefore necessary that the leaders of co-operative societies should make all possible efforts to inspire their members with the co-operative spirit, thereby educating them to become true co-operators. There are a number of types of co-operative societies which, in accordance with the intentions of their leaders, have been built up on a rather individualistic basis, and whose membership comprises but a comparatively small portion of economic life. These societies wish to add their quota to the present-day competitive and profit-making system, instead of helping to abolish it. To such as these the education of true co-operators does not appear to be altogether essential. On the other hand, it is the full intention and desire of a true distributive society or workingmen's productive society to become integral societies, and thus the question of co-operative education is a matter of vital importance to them. Thus we find that distributive societies make serious and successful endeavours to further co-operative education among their members.

“ With this end in view, special courses of instruction are arranged for adults and children, and lectures and lantern-lectures are held. Further, debates are arranged, reading-rooms and libraries opened, addresses given, special education committees formed, and, finally, propaganda is undertaken by means of the society's own organs or by kindred journals, etc. The English distributive societies especially, and in recent years also some of the Continental organisations, have each year devoted a considerable amount of their profits to educational purposes. Our task here is not to examine the aims of and the courses of instruction adopted in co-operative educational work—that alone would form a subject of discussion which would fill agendas of several international co-operative congresses. Nor have we to discuss various other means to be employed in the education of members; we are to-day exclusively interested in the consideration of the co-operative Press as a means of education.

“ This limitation of the question can be set without hesitation, since education by means of the co-operative Press is the most important of the means mentioned above. Its efficiency can only be compared with the oral lecture. Although the spoken word is undoubtedly the most direct and effective method, it is not, however, possible to reach every member of a society as regularly in this way as it is by means of the Press.

“ The pioneers of the co-operative movement considered that the Press not only served the purposes of co-operative propaganda, but that it was also of the utmost importance for the education and enlightenment of members. This fact is apparent in Dr. King's ‘Co-operator,’ a periodical published from 1828 to 1829,

which Dr. Hans Müller has once brought to light* It is true that this paper did not appear for very long, and, so far as the writer knows, many decades elapsed before a journal was published which was entirely devoted to the subject of Co-operation. According to the 'International Press Directory,' which was published by the International Co-operative Alliance in 1909, the oldest co-operative periodical in existence must be the organ of the German General Union, which was edited by Schulze-Delitzsch in 1861, under the title of 'Die Innung der Zukunft' (Guild of the Future), and is now published as 'Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen.' Next to the 'Innung der Zukunft,' the 'Co-operative News,' which began to appear in 1870, is the oldest paper.

" During the years that followed, the growth of the co-operative Press was very slow, since, according to the Press Directory mentioned above, only 36 co-operative periodicals were published during the period 1871 to 1895. During the five ensuing years, 1896-1900, the number of new periodicals had increased by 20; whilst from 1901 to 1908 there was an increase of 58. It was impossible to ascertain the date of the first appearance of 28 other journals. In recent years there has been a considerable increase in the number of new periodicals which are devoted to Co-operation, more especially in the Slavonic countries. It is, however unnecessary to ascertain the exact number for the purpose of this paper. From the facts given in the Press Directory, a survey of the position of the co-operative Press at the beginning of 1909 in relation to the total number of members of co-operative societies in the different countries has been made: we give the results of this survey below. The figures with regard to the membership of the co-operative societies are taken from the second Year Book of the International Co-operative Alliance.

* NOTE.—The writer of this paper has recently received the following valuable information from Dr. K. Munding:—

" At the base of Dr. William King's co-operative propaganda lie social-educational tendencies which are to be attributed to the influence of the renowned Swiss pedagogues, Heinrich Pestalozzi and Emanuel von Fellenberg. King and Lady Byron wished to make use of Fellenberg's Hofwyl educational system for the co-operative societies which were to be established in England on the lines of the Brighton Society. According to Holyoake, the first English journal to represent the co-operative movement was the 'Economist,' published by Mudie; in 1868 this was changed into the 'Social Economist,' under the leadership of Holyoake and E. O. Greening. The first issue of the earlier 'Economist' was dated 27th January, 1821. On the title-page it was stated that the purpose and programme of the journal was to expound the new system of Robert Owen. In one of the 1821 numbers we read: 'The secret is out: it is unrestrained Co-operation on the part of all the members for every purpose of social life.' The journal was the organ of the 'Co-operative and Economical Society.'

It was impossible to ascertain in each case the corresponding figures for 1908 and 1909, hence the figures for the two years do not entirely agree. This will, however, not affect the general survey to any great extent.

“ In the two-volume work on Robert Owen by Frank Podmore (London, 1906), in addition to the ‘Co-operator’ of Dr. King, of Brighton, a few other co-operative periodicals of that time are mentioned—the ‘British Co-operator,’ the ‘Co-operative Miscellany,’ and the ‘London Co-operative Magazine.’ Of these journals, the first two disappeared after less than a year, whilst the last-named (the ‘London Co-operative Magazine’), with varying fortune and under various names, appeared from January, 1826, until the end of 1830. The ‘Co-operative and Economical Society’ mentioned above was founded on the lines of the ‘Verein für Soziales Genossenschaftswesen,’ established in Berlin in 1897, which takes an important place in the history of the German distributive co-operative movement, and which published a journal under the title of ‘Der Pionier.’ The first German co-operative periodical to represent distributive organisation in the modern sense was, however, the ‘Genossenschaftlicher Wegweiser,’ published in Berlin from 1894 to 1900. The co-operative programme of V. A. Huber was taken up by this journal. Huber’s earlier journal, ‘Concordia (1849-1850), of which 27 numbers appeared, may well be called in a certain sense the first German co-operative journal.

TABLE I.—POSITION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS, 1908-9.

COUNTRY.	Number of Co-operative Periodicals.	Circulation 1st January, 1909.	Approximate total number of all members of Co-operative Societies, 1908-9	Percentage of Co-operators who subscribe to a Co-operative Newspaper.
Austria	8	15,000	2,400,000	0·6
Hungary	3	9,300	800,000	1·1
Belgium	3	14,800	500,000	2·8
Denmark	1	9,600	614,200	1·4
France	7	27,350	800,000	3·4
Germany	17	316,200	4,800,000	7
Italy... ..	12	?	1,460,000	?
Netherlands	8	19,000	355,000	5
Norway	2	14,500	100,000	14·5
Romania	3	7,800	442,000	1·8
Russia	3	4,600	5,800,000	0·08
Finland	4	31,100	200,000	15·5
Servia	1	1,000	60,000	1·6
Spain	8	19,000	80,000	24
Sweden	2	23,700	160,000	15
Switzerland	10	153,550	375,000	41
United Kingdom	50	745,550	2,750,000	27
United States of America...	3	7,750	60,000	13

“ The insight into the position of the Co-operative Press gained from the above table is inexact in that the strength of the Co-operative Press is placed in relation to the total number

of co-operators in a country. It is therefore inexact, as certain types of Co-operation have no co-operative journals, or only such journals as have a very small circulation. If one were to arrange these co-operative periodicals according to the different branches of the movement which they serve there would remain only a small number of periodicals which are in the service of a number of branches of Co-operation. The majority are designed to further the development of a certain branch of the movement—for instance, distributive Co-operation, including building societies and their central unions, productive societies, credit societies, and agricultural societies. The organs of the distributive societies predominate, not only in point of number (83 out of a total of 146—see the table on page 45 of the International Press Directory), but also with regard to their circulation. Of the total circulation calculated at the end of 1908, viz., 1,458,800 copies, about 1,250,000 were copies of the organs of the distributive societies and their central unions which had been subscribed for. The circulation of the organs of all the other branches of Co-operation was about 200,000. These figures prove better than words that that branch of the Co-operative Movement which is the most desirous of inspiring its members with the true co-operative spirit, viz., distributive Co-operation, also makes the greatest efforts in this direction, and has far surpassed all the other branches of the movement. This circumstance, together with the fact that in the International Co-operative Alliance the distributive societies far outweigh the other societies, justifies us in devoting special attention to the distributive Press, and in considering the best means to be adopted for its further development.

“ From the above table we see that of the countries which have attained a high stage of development with regard to Co-operation, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Switzerland take the lead, both absolutely and relatively, in so far as the development and strength of the Co-operative Press is concerned. Although there must have been some change in the figures since 1908, they certainly have not decreased. For instance, in Switzerland the circulation of the distributive Press, as represented by the organs of the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, has increased from 140,250 copies at the end of 1908 to 201,170 copies at the end of 1912. Taking into consideration the fact that at the end of 1912 the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies counted approximately 244,000 members, and that two societies affiliated to the union, having a membership of 6,000, published their own journals, it is evident that only a small percentage of the total number of members do not receive a co-operative journal periodically. If the large distributive society at Geneva decides, as is expected, to subscribe collectively to ‘La Co-operation’ for

all its members, which number approximately 20,000, we may well say that the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies has attained its aim, viz., to foster the insight in modern economics and the co-operative education of its members by regularly entering into communication with its affiliated societies and their members. The advance made by Switzerland on all the other countries—the United Kingdom not excepted—in regard to the development of the co-operative distributive Press justifies me in shortly depicting this development, and in showing the advantages which may be derived therefrom by other countries.

“The oldest purely co-operative journal in Switzerland is the ‘Genossenschafter,’ which is the organ of the Union of East Swiss Agricultural Societies. This paper was first published in 1891, and was sent every week by post to all members of the agricultural societies affiliated to the union. The local societies subscribed collectively to the paper for their members, paying 1s. 10d. instead of the usual price (2s. 2d.), whilst the remaining 4d. was borne by the union. Thus the individual members of the union received gratis copies of the periodical. The circulation will not far exceed the total number of members (about 12,000). The second Swiss co-operative periodical was first published in 1893, at the suggestion of the late Stefan Gschwind, a co-operative pioneer, under the title of ‘Bauern—und Arbeiterbund Baselland.’ This periodical is published fortnightly, and is the organ of the sections of the Peasants and Working Men’s League in the district of Basle, which is a social political association, and also of the Birseck productive and distributive society at Oberwil. It has a circulation of rather more than 3,000 copies, the annual subscription being 1s. 7½d. per copy. Since 1900 the distributive society at Winterthur has published a periodical on the lines of the English ‘Records,’ which appears at least 15 times during the year, and is supplied to members gratis. The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, which at the present time holds the record with regard to the distribution of its periodicals among its members, was comparatively late in deciding to publish its own journals for the enlightenment of its members on matters pertaining to Co-operation. Although the union was founded in 1890, it was not until 1897 that a ‘Korrespondenzblatt,’ in quarto form, was published fortnightly, containing articles in French and German. The matter of merchandise was also taken up in this journal. Only a limited number of copies were subscribed for by the societies affiliated to the union, these being destined for the members of the committees. After having appeared for four years, this paper was replaced by the present organ, ‘Schweizerischer Konsumverein,’ which was published every week. During the first year it contained reports on the general market, and a special portion, generally consisting of

two pages, called 'Le Coopérateur Suisse,' contained articles in French. Although the paper was intended chiefly for committees, some of the societies affiliated to the union subscribed to it for a fairly large number of their members. In 1901 the delegates of societies affiliated to the union decided that it should be compulsory for every society belonging to the union to subscribe for a certain number of copies (according to the number of committee members), so that in 1902, without fear of weakening the first journal, it was possible to publish a second, the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt,' which was intended for all members. This step was facilitated by a large number of societies, members of the union, pledging themselves to subscribe collectively to the paper for all their members. This paper was at first published fortnightly, one of the first and most important collective subscribers being the distributive society at Basle, which, with its large membership, would have been quite well able to publish its own organ. It preferred, however, to leave the publication of the journal to the union, in order that it might at the outset have a wide circulation, and thus make it possible to offer it to other societies affiliated to the union at a low price. The number of collective subscribers to this popular journal increased from year to year, this being due to an extensive propaganda carried out by the secretary of the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, and to the gratifying experiences which collective subscribers had made with their members as a result of subscribing collectively.

" These experiences justified the hope that an organ published in French on the same lines would be well received, and from January, 1904, onwards a fortnightly journal, under the title 'La Coopération,' was published for the French-speaking members of the societies affiliated to the union, in the same way as the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt' is designed for those speaking German. With the appearance of 'La Coopération,' that part of the official organ, the 'Schweizerischer Konsumverein,' which had hitherto been published in French, was no longer issued, since from 1902 onwards the report on merchandise has appeared as a separate publication in the two languages. As the number of Swiss distributive co-operators speaking the French language is considerably smaller than that of those speaking German, the number of subscribers to 'La Coopération' did not increase as rapidly as that of those who subscribed to the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt.' Nevertheless, the results were so satisfactory that at the beginning of 1906 it was decided to publish a fortnightly organ in Italian, 'La Cooperazione.' In 1906 a change was introduced into the 'Volksblatt,' viz., that a weekly edition should be issued in addition to the fortnightly. This weekly edition was at first intended solely for the members

of the distributive society at Basle. The board of administration of this society considered that, owing to the large trade done with their members, they ought to establish relations with them more frequently than had previously been the case. The directorate of the Union of the Swiss Distributive Societies met the wishes of the Basle distributive society by placing at their disposal a weekly edition at the same price as the fortnightly issue; the weekly edition was, however, considerably smaller than the fortnightly had been. It was possible to supply the new edition at the same price, as the more frequent publication did not entail greater expense, since the distributive society at Basle had always undertaken the distribution of the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt,' among its members, whereas all the other copies had to be sent by post. It was at the outset decided not to distribute the journals at the societies' branches, since in this way only members who were desirous of acquiring knowledge of Co-operation would take a copy with them; while, on the other hand, others would not fetch it regularly, or indeed trouble about it at all. It was, therefore, agreed that it would be a decided advantage and lead to an appreciation of co-operative literature if copies were sent by post to the address of every member.

" A further advance was made in 1912, when the distributive society at Basle expressed its approval of a small increase in the amount of subscription, and decided to increase the size of its small weekly issue of the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt' to that of the large fortnightly edition, since by so doing it would be possible to make the large weekly edition accessible to a greater number of collective subscribers. A considerable number of societies affiliated to the union availed themselves of this opportunity, so that in 1912 the weekly edition gained about 10,000 new subscribers. The latest project, which is to be carried into effect towards the end of 1913, is the publication of an illustrated monthly periodical, in which controversial subjects are to be avoided, and which is chiefly intended for women and children.

" The following table provides information with regard to the development of the organs of the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies, and we have also included figures giving the total membership of and the trade done by the societies affiliated to the union, in order to point out the causes which have contributed to the increase in membership and sales, the increase in sales being partly attributable to the work undertaken in the sphere of co-operative education :—

TABLE II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS OF THE V.S.K. SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

Year.	Korrespondenzblatt.		Schweizer Konsumverein.		Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt.		In Coöperation.		In Coöperatione.		Total.	Number of Members.	Total Sales.
	Copies.		Copies.		Copies.		Copies.		Copies.				
1897	300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800	—	£ 1,035,053
1898	500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	64,192	1,235,684
1899	800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800	76,288	1,309,017
1900	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,000	83,549	1,427,667
1901	—	2,400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,400	96,492	1,546,600
1902	—	2,800	—	50,000	—	50,000	—	—	—	—	52,800	102,869	1,729,401
1903	—	3,000	—	54,000	—	54,000	—	—	—	—	57,000	111,210	1,940,558
1904	—	2,500	—	59,000	—	59,000	5,900	—	—	—	67,400	126,698	2,164,393
1905	—	2,800	—	65,000	—	65,000	7,600	—	—	—	75,400	140,768	2,467,705
1906	—	3,200	—	68,600	26,000	92,600	9,100	—	—	—	105,750	152,494	2,783,867
1907	—	3,400	—	80,000	27,000	107,000	11,300	850	—	—	122,650	171,610	3,264,633
1908	—	3,700	—	90,600	28,400	119,000	15,600	1,950	—	—	140,250	188,366	3,575,068
1909	—	4,000	—	99,000	29,000	128,000	18,400	2,400	—	—	152,800	204,250	4,008,504
1910	—	4,050	—	109,000	29,500	138,500	19,700	2,600	—	—	164,850	212,322	4,380,608
1911	—	4,250	—	120,000	29,800	149,800	25,200	2,800	—	—	181,550	224,423	about 4,800,000
1912	—	4,600	—	122,000	39,800	161,800	29,630	4,310	—	—	200,370	244,000	4,800,000

“ It is evident from the figures shown that the co-operative periodicals which have the widest circulation are those which are intended for distribution among the members. That there are such a large number of subscribers is explained by the fact that the societies affiliated to the union subscribe collectively to the journals at their own expense, and have them sent by post to their members, so that the individual members do not contribute directly towards the subscription. The paper is sent to members, although perhaps they do not at first wish to receive it; but so long as they remain members of the society they are unable to escape it. We have repeatedly found that persons who have at first only taken the paper because it was supplied to them gratis have become, in course of time, zealous co-operators. The individual societies are quite able to meet the expense of subscribing to the periodicals, since the amount of subscription is comparatively small. The annual subscription for the weekly edition is 1s. 6d. per member, and for the fortnightly edition 10d. per annum, postage included. Since the beginning of 1913 there has been a slight increase owing to an augmentation in the cost of printing. A co-operative society easily recovers the money spent in this respect; since, as a result of reading the journals, every member, almost without exception, increases his purchases from the society to the amount of 8s. to 16s.—in fact, as a general rule several times the necessary amount is realised. In addition to the collective subscribers, who naturally pay a special rate, there are individual subscribers: these are, however, inconsiderable in number.

‘ That the members of the union are able to regularly obtain a co-operative periodical at such a small cost is further explained by the fact that, in accordance with co-operative principle, many individuals are supplied collectively, and thus form a capable whole. A large circulation which is achieved by the concentration on one organ of all the societies affiliated to the union makes it possible to offer the paper at a low cost. Further, the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies undertakes to meet the deficit which may result from the publication of periodicals which have only a small circulation, since it is in the interest of the co-operative movement to do so. The union also refuses to increase the amount of subscription which a calculation of the costs warrants.

“ It is characteristic of those periodicals which are intended for members that they have not exactly the same contents. They consist of two parts—the first part being compiled by the central editorial office for all subscribers, while the second and local part, which is placed at the disposal of the subscribing society, is the work of their local editors. This part varies according to the number of members of the collective subscribers, from the twelfth part of a page (societies the membership of

which is 100 or less) to a whole page (societies with 1,000 or more members). The General Distributive Society at Basle has even two pages of the weekly edition placed at its disposal; and, similarly, the 'Lebensmittelverein,' at Zürich, has two pages of the fortnightly issue of the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt.' As a rule, the fourth page is left for local information, whilst the societies at Basle and Zürich make use of both the third and fourth pages. Collective subscribers whose information does not fill a whole page insert the information of other societies in a similar position, so that the members of small societies see from the local part of the paper what is being done by the other societies of a similar size.

“ According to this arrangement, which is on the lines followed by the English co-operative periodical, the 'Wheatsheaf,' although different in form, the members of the societies affiliated to the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies are in regular communication with both the leading authorities and their own distributive societies. The chief editorial office devotes the first two or three pages to matters of general interest, which are designed to educate the readers into becoming true co-operators, whilst the columns placed at the disposal of the subscribing societies naturally contain commercial information, advertisements, of new commodities, price lists and changes in prices, information with regard to committees, official announcements, annual reports, etc. There are, however, editors of the local part who in the space allotted to them publish information of an instructive nature, maxims, etc., and who from time to time either draw attention to co-operative principles or repeat them. The leading authorities of the union facilitate the work of the local editors by supplying them, on request, with information published by other societies affiliated to the union, and they also place at their disposal for use at any time a series of co-operative epigrams which would be sufficient to fill the space at their disposal in one issue.

“ These papers intended for the members play a very special part in the establishment of new distributive societies in localities where these organisations for self-help have not hitherto been known. In order to help the initiators in the difficult task of establishing societies in such localities, and to assist them to gain members and to explain the movement, the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies places at their disposal for a limited length of time gratis copies of the 'Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt' (or 'La Coopération' or 'Cooperazione'), grants them the use of part of the fourth page (the space varying according to the number of members), and usually allows this local part to be compiled by one of its employees who is acquainted with the local conditions

and is experienced in the difficulties of establishing societies. Otherwise the editorship of the local portion is generally entrusted to the committee members or employees of the society in question; in medium-sized or large societies the task is usually undertaken by the manager. The local portion will naturally be more or less successful, from the point of view of co-operative education, according to the literary inclinations of the person who edits it. The suggestion has been made that in the individual societies affiliated to the union, more especially the larger societies, a special official—a kind of secretary of the society, such as do not at present exist in Switzerland in the case of single societies—should be trained to edit the local portion, or that the local portion of various societies should be compiled by one person. As this local portion, in order to arouse the interest of members, should differ from the usual business circular, without leaving out of consideration the fact that the members must be encouraged to concentrate their purchasing power in their own society, all efforts must be directed towards this by no means easy task.

“ In order to give those taking part in the Congress an opportunity of judging how this task is performed, the complete 1912 issue of the edition published by the ‘Allgemeiner Konsumverein,’ at Basle, will be on view during Congress. In this edition, at least in my opinion, this task of explaining Co-operation and of providing co-operative education has been well carried out. The ‘Unione Cooperative,’ at Milan, has also very carefully arranged for the editing of its organ, ‘Idea Cooperativa.’ The society ‘Produktion,’ at Hamburg, provides very admirably for the editing of its local journal, which usually takes the form of a supplement to the German ‘Konsumgenossenschaftliche Volksblatt.’ The German Wholesale Society has also, in a monthly supplement to the ‘Konsumgenossenschaftliche Volksblatt,’ the propaganda journal of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies, set itself the task of enlightening readers on commercial matters.

“ Also supplements of various kinds to the organs of the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies are not infrequent for local circulation. Thus often annual reports, rules, price lists, propaganda pamphlets, special advertisements, supplements for special occasions or announcing sales are added to the paper and sent out with it to all the members. If occasionally a certain society finds it necessary to have a larger space on the fourth page than usually falls to its lot, the additional space is immediately assigned to it at a moderate charge. For example, at Christmas time frequent use is made of this increase in the local portion, and the edition of a single number

appears with 40, 50, or even more different fourth pages. During 1912 the fortnightly edition of the ' Genossenschaftliche Volksblatt ' had on an average 44 different versions of the fourth page—a total of 1,146 for the year. Several of these different editions will be on view during the Congress.

“ The delivery by post, which is customary in Switzerland, pre-supposes at the central editorial office an accurate list of all the members of those affiliated societies which subscribe to the paper, and also the fact that this list is kept up to date. Once this is done, however, the card-index system is a great help. The central editorial office is usually quicker and better informed of changes in membership and changes of address, etc., than are the affiliated societies themselves, and is, therefore, often able to render good service to the latter.

“ The publication of such journals intended for the use of members would be considerably facilitated and the cost diminished if private advertisements were accepted. In consideration of the enormous circulation of these papers, such high fees could be obtained for advertisements that a lucrative business might be made out of the publication of these journals. In the interests of co-operative education—to which, however, such advertisements must in the end be of use in some form or other—the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies has not taken advantage of this source of income; with the exception of advertisements of co-operative situations, private advertisements are not accepted. In this respect the Swiss co-operative Press differs from the ordinary daily Press, which often, for the sake of money, recommends in its advertisements commodities which it should really oppose in the text of the paper.

“ A question of great importance is how frequently these journals for members should be published. If we examine the Press Directory for 1908 (the table on page 48), we see that only two journals were published twice a week, 21 appeared weekly, 24 fortnightly, and 84 monthly. Among the last-named, the ' Records ' of the English distributive societies are particularly noticeable, these, almost without exception, appearing only once a month.

“ The two journals which figure in the directory as appearing twice weekly are not co-operative papers in the true sense of the word, but only incidentally serve the interests of particular branches of the co-operative movement. We must, therefore, face the fact that the co-operative press has as yet only arrived at publishing weekly journals, the greater number of the publications only appearing once a fortnight or even once a month. In the opinion of the writer of this paper this state of

affairs is not satisfactory. For example, the fact that the number of collective subscribers to the weekly edition of the ' Genossenschaftliche Volksblatt ' is not larger than it is is not due to the increase in price—this could be more than balanced by the increased supply drawn by the members—but to the fact that the large number of co-operative officials who are entrusted with the task of editing the local portion shrink from the additional work which would be entailed. It is to be expected, however, that in course of time an alteration will take place, and we hope that, in Switzerland at least, the weekly edition of journals intended for members will be more common than the publication of those papers at longer intervals. It is most desirable, in the interests of co-operative education, that the co-operative organs should not appear at too long intervals. As we in Switzerland have gradually progressed from a fortnightly to a weekly edition, and are still progressing, within an appreciable time we shall be able to give information to our members twice weekly; and I, for my part, hope to live to see a co-operative daily press established. Thus only shall we be able to oppose with equal weapons the efforts of the opponents of Co-operation, who now triumph on accounts of the influence of advertisers in the daily Press. It would even now be possible to give members of societies more frequent information with regard to the co-operative movement if the societies would make arrangements with newspapers appearing at shorter intervals, e.g., daily papers, and if the latter would regularly devote a certain amount of space to the societies. Still, I do not recommend such a solution of the question, for, apart from other difficulties, complications would soon arise.

“ Although there are certain characteristics connected with the publication of the Swiss co-operative papers for the members of societies which the organisations of other countries might be recommended to imitate, I do not know whether it would be possible to copy all the characteristics—for instance, the delivery by post. On the other hand, we are not able to give the special characteristics of the co-operative press in other countries. Further, in countries where the chief educational work is carried on in the journals intended for members, it is advisable that in addition to these there should be journals for the officials and the leading men of the movement. These (we mean here principally the higher officials and the members of the committees of the societies) must have a certain knowledge of Co-operation beforehand. A journal is necessary for this class which should more particularly have for its aim the deepening and strengthening of co-operative principles and instruction in the rational management and administration of a co-operative society. Such a journal, intended for the managers of societies, should

offer instruction and inducement for the development of co-operative enterprise, should sometimes treat of technical administrative questions, and should serve to strengthen the relations between the central union and the organ of individual local societies. Also, in all countries in which the co-operative distributive movement is developed there should be such papers as the 'Co-operative News' and the 'Scottish Co-operator.' These papers now do practically all that can be expected of them, so that, apart from an increase in the number of subscriptions, there seems to be no possibility of development in these journals during the next few years. It would be a very good thing if subscription to these papers was made compulsory for the societies in the countries in question, on behalf of all the co-operative officials.

“ Perhaps, however, as time goes on, still further differentiation will be made in the co-operative press, viz., that, as is already the case in England and Germany, the employees of the societies will have their own organs, or that, as is intended in England, further special journals treating of special technical matters—for instance, technical book-keeping questions—will appear to be desirable, as the development of co-operative enterprise increases. In the same way, special co-operative journals appear desirable for women and children in which importance is attached to good illustrations. Such changes will naturally come about quicker in the large countries which have a developed co-operative movement than in the smaller and less-developed countries.

“ These seem to me to exhaust the possibilities of the development of the co-operative press for some time to come, in so far as this rests on a national basis. From the international point of view, however, there are still further possibilities of development. In the commercial sphere it would perhaps be desirable to publish in time a report on the fluctuation of prices on the world-market, similar to the special reports on merchandise published by the wholesale societies, in order to be independent of the often partial information given in the current trade and daily papers. The writer of this paper has also frequently felt the need, especially in view of the present debates on and complaints of the rise in prices, of a journal in which would be published, for instance, comparative price statistics with regard to the retail price of similar articles of consumption in the various countries. One of the most important problems to be solved in the future is the question of how our present international organ, the 'Bulletin,' can be developed. Without in any way wishing to deprecate this organ, I hold the opinion that the 'Bulletin' at present seeks to fulfil two purposes which are to a certain extent opposed to each other. This journal was

originally published in the form of correspondence, and provided the editors of co-operative journals in all lands with welcome information with regard to co-operative events in other countries, and thus saved them the trouble of hunting through foreign co-operative journals for interesting events and articles, in so far as lingual difficulties allowed. The 'Bulletin' has for some time been taken up with the reprinting of original articles either by the editor or other well-known co-operators, which bear more especially upon the scientific, historical, and technical sides of the movement. In this way the 'Bulletin' raises a claim to be subscribed for and read not only by the editors of co-operative journals, but also by the leading men of the central unions, the wholesalers, and the individual societies. It seems to me that one and the same periodical cannot undertake these two tasks; that the thing to be aimed at is that the International Co-operative Alliance should publish two journals—the one in correspondence form; which should be only for the editors of co-operative journals, and which should appear according to requirements, at least once a week; in special cases—for instance, in the event of the death of a prominent co-operator, the announcement should be made by telegram through one of the telegraphic agencies. There should also be a kind of review of co-operative reviews, which should not only publish original articles of general—not exclusively particularistic—interest, but should also especially report regularly upon and give summaries of articles published in the scientific and commercial journals in the various countries. Without under-estimating the propaganda value of articles on Co-operation appearing in other important co-operative journals and reviews, the plan should be adopted of reproducing or giving summaries of these articles, should they be to a certain extent interesting, in the special organ of the international co-operative movement.

“ It will be remembered that the representatives of the co-operative press voiced a similar proposal at a meeting held at Hamburg in 1910. In view of the increase in the financial resources now at the disposal of the Alliance, the publication of such a review should not present very great difficulties. Naturally, such an enterprise could not be undertaken without an increase in the office staff, especially if, as is expected, within an appreciable space of time the publications of the Alliance are brought out in other languages, e.g., Scandinavian and Slavonic.

“ We may mention in passing that the secretarial office of the International Co-operative Alliance, apart from the publication of international organs, can render valuable assistance to the editors of national co-operative periodicals by supplying blocks,

diagrams, information on literature, translations of articles in which certain journals are interested, etc.

“ At the present time, we are unable to say whether it will be necessary at a future date to establish courses of training for the editors and other officials of co-operative newspapers, or to introduce among editors of such journals a division of labour similar to that which now obtains among the editors of the large daily papers. This question cannot be considered an urgent matter at the present day. It is, however, very important for the development of the co-operative press that the publication of the periodicals should not be looked upon as the exclusive task of the editors, but that the latter should understand how to obtain the collaboration of those affiliated members who have the requisite powers, thus attaining the desired connection with the readers. If financial resources permit, such contributors should be adequately rewarded, in accordance with the principle, ‘The labourer is worthy of his hire.’

“ Finally, a question must be considered which up to the present has only been touched upon, although it has been somewhat prejudiced by the foregoing arguments. The question is: Who shall publish the co-operative journals? Various replies may be given to this. The publication might be entrusted to a private profit-making contractor (as usually happens in the case of the daily papers), to an association of friends of the co-operative movement working in the common cause, to individual societies established for this special purpose or which undertakes publishing a side issue, or to central organisations of co-operative societies. In my opinion, the proper publishers of co-operative journals are the central unions, although it must be admitted that individual co-operative societies, which generally issue so-called ‘Records,’ co-operative societies for this purpose, or friends of the movement are also in certain circumstances to be welcomed as publishers of co-operative journals. The publication of co-operative periodicals by an association of friends of Co-operation would render possible a freer exchange of opinion than if the periodical is issued under the direct influence of a certain co-operative society or union. The former would be far less inclined than would co-operative societies or unions to suppress any critical discussion which may arise. This consideration gives rise to the opinion that, in addition to the official and semi-official organs of the societies, it is desirable that the publication of certain independent journals acting in the interests of the co-operative movement should be upheld.

“ In the ordinary course of events, the only publishers of co-operative periodicals to be considered would be local or

regional societies on the one hand, and central unions on the other. Both would lead to the same goal. The publication of a special journal for each local society would make it possible for the paper to adapt itself better to local requirements and opinion than could the organ of a large central union. Personally, however, I recommend the latter solution, which would guarantee the greatest success. Apart from the fact that the idea that periodicals can be published with the least financial outlay, in accordance with the principle underlying the co-operative movement, viz., the combination of many small forces into one large effective enterprise, is borne out by the consideration that the principles of the co-operative movement are the same not only for one single society, but for the whole civilised world, and that any separation leads to a certain estrangement and division of co-operative forces, the maxim 'Union is strength' must hold good for the co-operative press also."

At the conclusion of his paper Dr. Schär formally moved the following resolution:—

"That the Ninth International Co-operative Congress recommends all co-operative unions, in the interests of the further development of Co-operation and of the co-operative education of members, and in so far as special national conditions permit, to publish propagandist journals, and, as far as possible, arrange with all co-operative societies to supply their members with gratis copies, so as to enable the boards of management of the societies to regularly enter into relations with the members. These propagandist journals are not only an excellent means of spreading co-operative principles and of popularising our aims among all circles of the people, but at the same time render it possible for the committees of societies to better organise the purchasing power and the capital power of the members, thereby furthering the development of co-operative production. These journals are especially indispensable to all large co-operative societies whose membership counts thousands, in order that the democratic character of the constitution of societies may be preserved and members be won to participate in co-operative life.

"Moreover, Congress recommends co-operative unions to publish special periodicals for the discussion of theoretical questions and practical and technical matters in connection with Co-operation. Congress recommends the Central Committee of the I.C.A., in order to make its organ, the 'International Co-operative Bulletin,' better meet the requirements of the international co-operative movement, to extend

the contents of the journal, and to consider the question of issuing a correspondence bulletin to the co-operative Press of each country."

Mrs. FREUNDLICH (Vienna) was the first to speak on the paper. Her speech was delivered in German, and she herself repeated it in English and in French. Addressing the Congress in English, she said it was to her a great honour and pleasure that the Central Union in Austria had delegated her to the International Congress. England was of such importance in the whole evolution of the co-operative movement that everybody could profit by its great work. England had for her a far greater significance, because it was there that the first organisation for women arose in the co-operative societies. With the greatest interest she had read the books that the Women's Guild had published in commemoration of its ten years' existence. What the English women have done with such success the women intended to do in Austria also. It was a great pleasure to be able to report that the male members, with few exceptions, furthered the co-operation of women as much as it was possible, and if the women now and then in one town met with difficulties they were, fortunately, only the exceptions which proved the rule. (Applause.) Since January 1st they had transformed their family journal into a journal for women, so that they might comprehend questions concerning political economy and the problems of the co-operative societies. The journal was distributed gratuitously in all the co-operative shops to the women doing their shopping, who accepted it with pleasure. It had an edition of 85,000 copies, and sometimes it reached 100,000 copies. Already it could be seen that the women took more interest in the co-operative movement, and that they were more willing to do their work as a result of these efforts, because the women doing the shopping could do more in favour of the co-operative movement and its evolution than the men. She had a last wish to express. In Austria they had profited from the English Guild, and they thought it would be very instructive when the co-operative women could create an international union, by which they might be able to exchange their experiences. They could derive advantage from this, for in all countries new ideas were animating the co-operative propaganda and educational work. Perhaps it was possible that the "International Bulletin" would dedicate some space to the publication of the reports from the women, which might also be published in the family journals, to animate the women in different countries. (Applause.) They might begin by discussing her proposal, and if the Editor of the "Bulletin" would give permission, they could begin in a short time. The successful beginning of the organisations of co-operative women showed that women could be good co-operators, if they were educated to it and shown the way. There were women

members on the management committees of all their co-operative societies in Vienna, and they were doing their duty very well. If they were only working in this way, they would soon have created an International Women's Co-operative Guild. That should be their desire and aim. (Applause.) She wished to add to Dr. Schär's resolution:—

“ That the family journals should provide matter for women and children.”

Dr. TOTOMIANZ (Moscow): I have no material addition to make to Dr. Schär's paper. I should merely like to say that the international co-operative Press should have greater financial resources at its disposal. I quite agree with Dr. Schär that the “ International Bulletin ” cannot be conducted in the manner suggested by Mrs. Freundlich without adequate expenditure. Funds are, however, lacking, and if one wishes to achieve anything one must have funds. In Russia we are very lucky in this respect. Recently the Congress at Kiew voted 200,000 roubles for educational purposes. A high school will be founded, and courses of lectures will be undertaken in all branches of co-operative education. The Congress decided this. And now we are going to build up the national co-operative Press with the surplus of the capital. Our international co-operative Press must also be built up, and must be so arranged that, before all else, the women and children may learn from it and may reap advantage from it. And now I should like to say once more that our “ International Bulletin ” should be published not only in the three languages—German, English, and French—but also in Italian and Russian.

Dr. SCHÄR: Ladies and gentlemen, the discussion on the question of education and the development of the co-operative Press has not resulted in any new facts being brought to light. I quite agree with the opinion expressed by Dr. Totomianz, that our “ International Bulletin ” might be improved in various ways. With regard to the opinions of Mrs. Freundlich, she brings forward the objection that in my paper itself no attention has been paid to the special part played by women in the co-operative movement. I should like, however, to point out that if you read my paper through you will see on page 125: “ In the same way, special co-operative journals appear desirable for women and children, in which importance is attached to good illustrations.” No other mention is made either in the paper or the resolution with regard to this duty of the Press, because I considered it obvious that attention would be paid to women in the co-operative Press, as is the case, for example, in our Swiss “ Genossenschaftsblatt.” On the third page of this journal there is a “ Women's Corner,” in which questions that are of special interest to the wives of co-operators are considered. The first and second pages deal with general



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matters, which are of interest to all, whilst the third page is reserved especially for women. Attention is also paid to the interests of women in our French and Italian organs. If I have not dealt in detail with this matter in my paper, it was no intentional omission, but I took it for granted that the special interests of women would be attended to, and for this reason I declare myself in agreement with the wishes of Mrs. Freundlich, and I ask you to add the following sentence before passing the resolution :—

“ Family journals should serve to educate women and children, so that the family may be educated to a full understanding of the co-operative movement.”

The resolution was carried, with the addition suggested by Mrs. Freundlich.

Paper by Mr. Luigi Buffoli and Mr. Camillo Mellini on “The Plurality of Distributive Societies having their Seat in the same Locality.”

The PRESIDENT intimated that Mr. Luigi Buffoli (Milan) was unable to present the paper on “The Plurality of Distributive Societies having their Seat in the same Locality.” He had commissioned his secretary, Miss Boschetti, to speak for him, to which the Committee had agreed. (Applause.)

The paper, which was taken as read, was as follows :—

“ It may perhaps appear, on first consideration, to be a superfluous and purposeless undertaking to discuss before a meeting of the leading authorities on Co-operation—before the co-operative world-parliament—the distressing question of the plurality of distributive societies in one and the same locality or in neighbouring localities, in order to show the injurious results of this overlapping and the remedies to be adopted. Many prominent co-operators have already devoted much time and thought to this problem, and it therefore seems scarcely possible to set forth any new principles, especially since, at the proceedings of the British Co-operative Congress, held in Birmingham in 1906, our friend the late Mr. J. C. Gray advocated the amalgamation of all the distributive societies into one national distributive society. Unfortunately, however, this suggestion has never been carried into effect.

“ There are, nevertheless, some fortunate countries, such as Switzerland, which can boast of being practically free from the evils which result from overlapping. This is due to the fact that in these countries the unions have, by means of wise provisions in their rules, set definite limits to the commercial sphere of activity of the different distributive societies. In other countries—viz., in Denmark, Sweden and Hungary—we are told that no great

injury is done to the movement as a result of the overlapping of distributive societies in the same locality. Yet, on the other hand, there are countries which, although standing at the head of the co-operative movement in other respects, suffer considerably from competition among distributive societies. Great Britain is one of this number. This country is regarded by the whole world as the fatherland of the co-operative movement, the Mecca towards which the eyes of the friends of Co-operation are turned. Even in this country, which, with its large number of distributive societies, its ever-increasing membership, sales, and profits, affords a striking proof of the vital power of the co-operative movement, there are districts (both in England and in Scotland) where the amalgamation of several distributive societies is ardently desired by some of the most experienced and highly esteemed co-operators. The same observations apply to Germany, which is also at the head of the movement, and to Belgium and Austria. In some of the districts in these countries, up to the present, it has not been altogether possible to overcome tendencies towards particularism and to induce the small distributive societies to amalgamate. This is especially the case in the mountain districts of Germany—in the Harz, the Thüringerwald, the Erzgebirge, and the Franconia Forest. In Belgium a similar state of things prevails in the districts of Verviers, Liège, and the Borinage; and in Austria in the districts of Northern and Western Bohemia, and in parts of Steiermark, Moravia, and Silesia. If such conditions obtain in strongly developed co-operative countries, what must be the state of affairs in those countries in which, owing to racial differences and other conditions, conflicting interests make themselves felt?

“ Unfortunately, we are unable to report on each of the above-mentioned countries—firstly, because we were unable to obtain the necessary returns; and, secondly, because all the countries did not send in replies to our inquiries. Thanks to the courtesy of various unions, and owing to the fact that we already had information at our disposal, we have been successful in accumulating some interesting material. Further, in compiling this report we have made use of numerous articles with regard to overlapping, by prominent leaders of our movement, which have been published in pamphlet form and in periodicals.

“ With regard to Norway, we know that in that country there are only a few localities in which more than one distributive society is to be found. There are, however, five distributive societies in Christiania, but they were established at a time when a law was in force (this has since been modified), which did not allow distributive societies to open more than one shop. Since this regulation was modified (in 1907) attempts have been made to bring about the amalgamation of the small societies into one large society.

“ We know that in Russia it frequently happens that after the establishment of one society a large number of small societies are called into being. This was the case at St. Petersburg, where, two years after the establishment, in 1906, of the large distributive society, the ‘ Association of Workingmen,’ several small distributive societies were founded. The division of forces is very prevalent in this country. It is quite the exception when an agreement is come to between the societies for the purpose of joint purchase. At present there seems little prospect of the efforts towards the fusion of societies meeting with success.

“ In Holland, where there are three different unions—viz., a union of neutral societies, a union of Socialist societies, and a union of Catholic societies—it is considered quite natural that where a neutral society is established (an ugly word to express a valuable quality, or rather one of the qualities, viz., the elimination of party-political influence, which, in the opinion of experts, offers the strongest guarantee of the progress of our movement), a Socialist society is immediately founded, and very often also a society with a religious tendency. ‘ If this were not so,’ writes Mr. van der Mandere, not without regret, ‘ a large part of the population would not participate in the benefits of co-operation. That is why we have three separate distributive societies in one district comprising scarcely 30,000 inhabitants.’ In such circumstances, is it possible to speak of the movement towards concentration ?

“ Those countries in which co-operative particularism appears to remain master of the field are the Latin countries, and among these we regret to say that Italy holds the first place. With us, as with our French neighbours, large and strong distributive societies are the exception, whilst small societies are extraordinarily numerous. One is almost tempted to believe that co-operative circles are swept by a kind of madness, under the influence of which distributive societies multiply as rapidly as weeds. Every district of a town, every small street, and every category of persons thinks that its dignity demands a distributive society of its own. As though the bread, the wine, the butter, the oil, or the meat which the railway employee or the gasworker consumes is not the same as that which the compositor enjoys, and the provisions which the teacher buys have nothing in common with those purchased by other classes of civil servants ! This regrettable and at the same time ridiculous state of affairs is to be found in Milan, where, in addition to a few large organisations decried as ‘ middle-class ’ (thus decried because, following the example of the English distributive societies, they sell goods to non-members, in order not only to bring to their notice the advantages of the co-operative movement but also to gain them as members), there are many small societies, which, as a rule,

fade away and disappear as rapidly as they come into being. This is usually the case with societies which have a political or class bias.

“In France, especially in Paris, Monceaux-les-Mines, Lorient, Roubaix, Creusot, and Lyons, there is as great a division of forces, which, in spite of all efforts, it has not yet been possible to bridge over. We hope, however, that the efforts which have been set on foot in Paris to amalgamate the societies of the thirteenth arrondissement and of the left bank of the Seine will be crowned with success.

“The result of this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that co-operative statistics in France and Italy (in the latter country statistical returns are confined to the societies registered according to law) presents a picture which is not very cheering. Whilst the number of existing societies is very, even exceedingly, high, one notices that they are not equally divided over the country, and that the figures with regard to their membership and turnover are relatively small.

“In France there were 3,094 distributive societies in 1912. The total membership was only 851,634, and the total turnover £12,005,885. Thus the average membership of a French society was 275, and the average turnover £3,920, or £14 6s. per member.

“In Italy, where, in 1910, 1,623 societies sent in returns, the membership was given as 346,474, and the total turnover as £4,224,556. From this it will be seen that each society had on an average 213 members, and a turnover of £2,603—an average turnover per member of scarcely £12 4s. As the figures with regard to the amount of trade done include the sales to non-members, the average amount of supplies drawn per member are considerably less than the figure given.

“England, on the other hand, shows an average membership per society of 1,880, and an average turnover of £57,600 per society, or £30 per member.

“However, the results given in the statistics were obtained, it is certain that ideal conditions do not exist in any country, and that the present situation is not only injurious, but also irrational, and, both in theory and practice, contrary to co-operative principles.

“The co-operative movement, as it was conceived by the Rochdale pioneers and practically developed by them with a clear insight into the future, is based on the voluntary association of all those who believe that the combination of their powers will further the good of the community, by altering the present economic conditions and by assuring to labour a just wage, and that in the sphere of the production, distribution, and consumption of goods it will

eliminate the useless middleman, and replace him by organisations which will work not in their own interests, but in the interests of the community in general. All this is to be accomplished by organising the purchasing power of all, since only by so doing can the soundest basis possible be given to the principle of association, and this because every individual is from the day of his birth a consumer.

“ Thus it is clear that the co-operative movement is designed, on the one hand, to oppose the accumulation and centralisation of capital, by doing away with a characteristic factor of this kind of trade, i.e., profit; and, on the other hand, by organising the functions of the distribution of the necessaries of life in the most obviously economical and profitable manner. And if, in carrying out these two aims, Co-operation is sometimes led to act like any other corporate body, playing in regard to some third person the part of purchaser or contractor, or to take part in the price-struggle like any other private capitalist enterprise, it is nevertheless true that the merchandise, once in the possession of a co-operative society, ceases to be merchandise, and, above all, ceases to be a source of profit.*

“ It is just because all idea of profit is banished from the distributive society that all the other noxious weeds which usually surround it should also be banished. Chief among these is ‘competition,’ which is, however, natural, competition being a normal outcome of the spirit of antagonism aroused by those principles which characterise present economic conditions, and therefore also an outcome of the pursuit of sale and custom which is peculiar to those who produce for the open market. This, however, could not happen in the case of co-operative societies, where the function of production adapts itself to the needs of consumption. Further, in the co-operative society the law of love and of solidarity regulates all the relations within as well as without, a law which attains its zenith in the systematic collaboration of effort and labour which must result in a higher standard of economic and social life.

“ Co-operation is at the same time concentration and fraternity, solidarity and the free expansion of the various forces previously ordained to reach one single goal, viz., just that goal opposed to that towards which the phenomenon which forms the subject of this paper is irrevocably leading us.

“ Although, as we have already said, distributive societies range themselves, by reason of their very nature and of the aims

*Cf. Schaefer, ‘Soziale und wirtschaftliche Aufgaben der Konsumgenossenschaft,’ in the ‘Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau,’ 1909; No. 52, page 981.

they pursue, on a level quite opposed to that of private commercial enterprises, still they are compelled to adhere to those same forms in all that concerns the methods of mercantile organisation. From this point of view, they cannot help adopting all the improvements which private enterprise has been able to conceive to increase its power and to make larger profits. Had they acted otherwise—that is to say, had they, instead of showing progress, showed a retrograde step, or had they ended by stopping or compromising the progressive development of the production of riches—they would have become a power, the utility of which would have been open to doubt, and, in any case, they would have become organs which could only with difficulty have confronted the omnipotence of private trade.

“ However, since capitalism has been able by various means, and especially by concentration into large organisations with innumerable branches, to monopolise certain branches of trade, diminishing, to its own exclusive advantage, the cost of distribution, Co-operation should in its turn adopt these systems, which do very well as ‘ means,’ if not as ‘ ends,’ using them exclusively as means in order to attain its moral and social aims.

“ We have shown, or at least we have tried to show, that not only from the theoretical, but also from the practical point of view, of the conditions of existence and of development, which must be assured to our movement, the policy of division adopted in certain centres can only be condemned. This inconsequent and reprehensible policy is the road which leads to many of those mistakes which are imputed to the present economic system, and especially to the spirit of rivalry and competition which, in the sphere of the co-operative movement, is a paradox and a contradiction in terms.

“ What are the causes and the consequences of all these evils? These have already been brought forward, notably by Mr. J. C. Gray, Mr. J. Deans, and Mr. D. McInnes, and by the special committee appointed to report on this question to the Congress of British societies which was held at Cardiff in 1900. Nevertheless, it will not be out of place to repeat them here.

“ The most usual, if not the chief cause of this phenomenon is the intentional or accidental encroaching on the sphere of activity which each society must mark out for itself.* We say ‘ or accidental,’ since sometimes two or more societies are established in one and the same centre without any intention of destroying one another, but with the sole idea of serving the combined interests, which seem to be too much neglected or insufficiently served by one society alone. However, one fine

* Cf. Schaer, *ibid*, 1910; No. 1, page 4.

day, the number of members and of branches of each society having increased, they find themselves opposed so unexpectedly and abruptly that a struggle is inevitable.

“ To this cause, however, we must add others no less harmful, either directly or indirectly. Among them is the difference of opinion which arises from time to time within a society or among the population of a district. These differences of opinion are sometimes caused by the false conceptions formed by certain persons of the working of our movement or of its aims, unless it is a question—and, unfortunately, this is not infrequent—of less worthy motives, viz., too great an attachment to certain interests of a particular class, the vain hope of receiving a higher dividend, or even the personal spite of a certain individual, who, annoyed at not being ‘ somebody ’ in the society of which he is a member, seeks to rally round him those discontented persons who are to be found everywhere, and form a new organisation in which he will rule to his heart’s content, thus satisfying his ambition.

“ All these causes produce the same effects, viz.:—

“ (a) The most ill-advised division and waste of energy and power, caused by the co-existence of a number of independent societies, each having its own committee, directorate, and shop, whereas one society, one committee, one directorate, and one shop would amply suffice.

“ (b) An excess of useless expenditure—cost of building, of management, and of separate staffs of employees, shop assistants, and cashiers; and, what is even worse,

“ (c) The triumph of the most foolish of all competition, the source of the most regrettable conflicts, which bring in their train the following serious consequences:—

(1) The desire for a very high dividend, which leads, on the one hand, to the manipulation of the balance sheet, to the diminution of the amounts written off, to the payment of profits which have not been realised, and, on the other hand, to an increase in prices, which allows the private trader to sell at a lower rate and at the same time to do very well.

(2) The ever-increasing favour shown to the system of credit, and the consequent harmful competition as to which society will grant the highest and longest credit.

(3) The growing animosity between the committees of administration, and the inevitable extermination of every co-operative duty and ideal, while the member is compelled

to view merely his own individual interests and to limit his horizon, until he completely loses sight of the aims of the movement.

“ Such a state of affairs is very serious. It is clear that as time goes on that which is preying upon the competing societies will attack the very foundations of the co-operative edifice. We must, therefore, find a remedy, and apply it without delay.

“ What are the remedies? Many recommend an active propaganda, in order to create a better understanding of the principles on which the movement is based. Some also approve of the intervention of a higher authority, universally recognised, whose duty it would be to fix the limits of the sphere of activity of each society. The first of these propositions is very abstract, and its success doubtful. The second is certainly valuable as a preventative measure, and, applied from the very beginning, would not fail to yield very good results. It would not, however, be so efficacious in the case of evils which date far back and which have become chronic ills. Further, this remedy presupposes the existence of a higher authority recognised and respected by all. This, in its turn, implies on the part of the authority in question a serenity and a disinterestedness both apparent and real, carried to a degree that it is difficult to credit them with, especially in the countries in which the chief federal organ, instead of being autonomous, affects a general character and represents, in addition to the interests of distributive Co-operation, the different and sometimes opposing interests of other co-operative organisations.*

“ This is not all. The placing of limits to the sphere of activity cannot in any way decrease the number of existing societies, whilst the real root of the evil lies in just this unreasonable and illegitimate multiplicity. However, these remedies may, perhaps, be applied in some cases with advantage, and it is well to bear them in mind, since, all things considered, a limitation of the sphere of activity is preferable to unlimited competition.

“ The best remedy is that which, partaking of the very nature of our movement and of its essential interests, suppresses the harmful multiplicity of societies with the same aims, in order to concentrate them and lead them towards a joint activity in the interests of the community rather than of the individual—we mean amalgamation.

* “ Cf. H. Müller, ‘ Development of Co-operative Distribution— Present and Future,’ in the ‘ Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, held at Hamburg,’ page 85.

“ One may well say that the superiority and the practical efficacy of this remedy is at the present day universally recognised. By replacing an infinity of small, badly-organised, weak societies, destroying one another in the struggle for the conquest of an impossible hegemony, with a vigorous, well-managed institution, capable of raising itself above the miserable interests of one class and above petty personal jealousies and rivalries, and powerful enough to undertake on a solid basis the trade in all the necessaries of life, which would extend its activity throughout the town and the district, one would be giving Co-operation the highest prestige. In this way we should be placing the movement in a position to resist the efforts at concentration made by private traders. No one can disagree with me on this point. ‘Unity is strength’ is the motto we have inherited from our fathers; we cannot forget it.”

“ Further, it is not a difficult matter to prove the superiority of large co-operative societies over small organisations, which are constantly opposed to attacks and oppression. Mr. Adolphe Rupprecht* has already published a masterly work on this subject, and we need only quote a few passages in order to confirm our argument.

“ The economic superiority is beyond dispute. This superiority is revealed in several ways. (1) By more advantageous purchases. As these can be made on a much larger scale, the conditions are more favourable; also, the society, in establishing direct relations with the producers, can abolish the middleman. (2) By a wiser and more economical administration, which avoids useless expense. (3) By a greater solvency, caused by the credit it possesses, in view of the increase of the funds in its savings bank. (4) By the possibility of establishing productive departments of its own on more rational lines, being better prepared for such enterprises.

“ The large co-operative society has also a social superiority over the small society, in that its power enables it to recompense its employees better, and to establish for them and for its members various provident institutions (provident funds, relief funds, convalescent homes, holiday homes, libraries, etc.), and to come to a better understanding with regard to wages, etc.

“ Finally, a large society has an obvious superiority with regard to organisation and education. On the one hand, its strong organisation enables it to meet fearlessly all inner crises. On the other hand, the possibility of putting aside part of the profits for an education fund places it in a position to undertake a more

* * ‘Konzentration der deutschen Konsumvereine,’ pages 6-16. Hamburg, 1912.

active propaganda, either by organising lantern lectures, publishing periodicals, or paying a collective subscription for its members to the organ of the federation to which it is affiliated, etc. Thus it spreads among its members and among the general public a knowledge of our principles, which serves to strengthen their understanding of the aims and duties of co-operative societies and to attract and interest them in our movement.

“ Briefly, the large society, whilst it avoids the mistakes and detrimental results of a plurality of small societies, is of use to the common cause, and furthers that other sound federative tendency which leads to the foundation of a wholesale society. Once the question of tangible and immediate competition is solved, it will be easier to bring about the supply of goods from one and the same source, which, whilst being useful to strong organisations, will be especially welcome to those which for various ethnical and demographical reasons are unable to develop into large societies.

“ Let no one object, as has already been done, that amalgamation has a depressing effect on the spirit of initiative of associated consumers, since it suppresses that emulation (let us admit also competition) which is the spirit of commerce* and which never fails to be of use and to encourage progress. If this were so we should be led to believe that the best system for the consumer is that of free trade and competition, and that the co-operative movement is radically wrong, since it is entirely opposed to all competition for the sake of gain.

“ The technique of the fusion is somewhat complicated, and, in consideration of the fact that it includes legal questions, we must content ourselves here with examining the matter in its general aspect; the formalities which have to be gone through in accordance with legal provisions must be specially studied for each individual country. It is nevertheless possible to formulate a general rule, viz., that the largest distributive society will absorb the small societies. When it is a question of societies of equal importance, the society which possesses the largest amount of real estate will take over the other societies, or the society the members of which are perhaps less disciplined and advanced than those of the other societies will take over the latter, since they would be more opposed to amalgamation with another society.

“ * The multi-millionaire, Pierpont Morgan, who died recently, himself showed the erroneousness of this idea a few years ago. Pierpont Morgan, liberal as he was, certainly had neither our ideals nor our aspirations, but such an enlightened and experienced financier as he should certainly understand commerce.

“ Before concluding, we should like to illustrate the validity of the arguments set forth in this paper by a few practical examples, and to show that in the different countries amalgamation has had the most encouraging results.

“ In this connection we are once again compelled to confine ourselves to those countries which have been good enough to furnish us with correct results. Since, however, these countries happen to be those in which efforts towards concentration were set on foot many years ago and yielded excellent and convincing results, we consider that these will amply suffice.

“ We will begin with Belgium. Amalgamation was effected in Brussels and Ghent by the absorption on the part of the ‘ Maison du Peuple ’ and the ‘ Vooruit ’ of several small societies, which would otherwise have shared the fate of a small society at Ghent, which did not think it expedient to be taken over by the ‘ Vooruit,’ viz., death without honour! The brilliant achievements of the ‘ Maison du Peuple ’ and the ‘ Vooruit ’ are so well known that it is unnecessary to point out that the societies acted wisely in becoming amalgamated with such powerful organisations.

“ Not only at Brussels and Ghent have amalgamations been effected, but also at Namur, Huy, and the plateau of Herve (Liège), where, according to Mr. Serwy, several independent societies have taken over other societies and transformed them into branches, as a result of which the societies have doubled and even trebled the amount of their sales. In the coalfields of Charleroi, the society ‘ Concorde,’ at Roux, having been taken over by the ‘ Union Coopérative ’ in that district, has done a very prosperous trade, its sales exceeding £18,000.

“ In confirmation of the satisfactory conditions of which we have spoken above, Switzerland can offer some examples of the fusion of societies which has proved both satisfactory and well advised. The societies at Vevey and Yverdon, both of which took over a smaller society in their district, were at once able to double the sales of the societies in question. Another example of a satisfactory fusion is that of the distributive society at Veltheim. Before the amalgamation of the societies the total number of members of the two societies was 2,288, whilst the sales amounted to £33,720; in 1911, after the amalgamation, they counted a membership of 3,244, the sales reaching a sum of £62,560. It would be a good thing if other societies were to amalgamate, especially the distributive society at Winterthur and the working-men’s distributive society at Töss, between which societies there is at present much dispute.

“ The most convincing proof of the benefits which accrue from concentration is to be found in the town of Zürich, where

some few years ago there were four distributive societies in existence, viz., the societies 'Helvetia,' 'Manegg,' 'Wipkingen,' and the 'Lebensmittelverein.' Of these societies, the first-named was compelled to liquidate in 1902, on account of the unsatisfactory conditions in which it was placed. The second society liquidated in 1904, and gave up business of its own accord; whilst in 1907 the 'Wipkingen' became amalgamated with the 'Lebensmittelverein,' and was soon able to record a considerable increase in membership, sales, and—what is better still, and more indicative of progress—trade done per member.* Figures, which always have a great persuasive power, will be particularly effective. The following are the returns of the 'Lebensmittelverein' from the time when it co-existed with three other societies until last year:—

Year.	Number of Members.	TRADE.	
		Total.	Per Member.
1902	12,590	£ 146,960	£ s. d. 11 13 6
1903	(Liquidation of the society "Helvetia.") 13,374	150,240	11 4 9
1904	14,125	158,240	11 5 2
1905	(Liquidation of the society "Manegg.") 14,863	165,280	11 2 6
1907	16,876	180,640	10 14 2
1908	(Amalgamation with the society "Wipkingen.") 18,590	230,320	12 8 0
1911	21,495	291,280	13 3 0

"These figures not only prove that it is advantageous to suppress the injurious overlapping of societies operating in the same locality, but also that it is well to suppress this overlapping by means of amalgamation. This, as we wish to prove, is of the greatest importance.

"We will now consider Austria. The society 'Vorwärts,' at Vienna, affords the most convincing proofs of the benefits to be derived from fusion. This society had scarcely been in existence for a year when it began its work of concentration. Nine years later its membership had increased fivefold, whilst its capital,

*There are nevertheless some exceptions to the rule, more especially in regard to the Canton of Neuchâtel, where there are distributive societies at Fleurier, Locle, Chaux-de-Fonds, and Couvet. These societies ought to amalgamate, but they have not yet decided to do so. The same state of affairs prevails in the district of Winterthur, to which we shall have occasion to refer later.

sales, and profits had increased tenfold. The returns given in Table I. (page 146) are irrefutable proof of the increase in trade, etc. The beneficial influence of concentration is none the less evident, if we examine the returns of the incorporated societies, which were published by the society 'Vorwärts' on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, and which we quote in the very instructive table on page 147.

"With regard to Germany, we will confine ourselves to referring to one case at Berlin, where the 'Berliner Konsumverein' and the 'Berliner Konsumgenossenschaft,' two large distributive societies owing to theoretical differences of opinion, formed separate organisations until 1908. and which were both on the way to inevitable ruin. These societies at last became amalgamated, and now have a splendid future before them.

"Here, again, the figures bear convincing testimony, provided that they are examined with the necessary discrimination. Let us now examine Table III. (page 148), which gives the comparative returns of the membership, sales, and profits of the two societies just before the fusion, in the year when the amalgamation was effected, and four years later, i.e., on June 30th, 1912. Thus we see that both the absolute and average figures show a marvellous increase. Although there is an apparent decrease in the net profits, this is simply due to a change in the method of dividing the profits. Whereas before the year 1909 all the profits were entered as 'net profits,' from that time onward a distinction was made between 'net profits' and 'rebate granted to members on purchases.' In 1911-12 this figure amounted to £21,930. It is evident that if the former method of dividing the profits were carried into effect the real profits would amount to £29,691, which is 5.62 per cent. of the sales.

"The case of the societies at Berlin is but a characteristic example of the efforts made in Germany towards concentration, which are achieving such striking results. In confirmation of this, it is sufficient to point out that during the period 1903 to 1911 the number of societies which had to record a turnover of more than £40,000 rose from 22 to 63; also, that of the 1,142 societies then affiliated to the Central Union in Hamburg, 108 or 9.4 per cent. were district distributive societies; of the 3,927 shops which the Union included, 1,701, or 43.3 per cent., were owned by district co-operative societies; and of the 1,313,518 members composing the Central Union, 683,593, or 52 per cent., belonged to these societies. Further, of the total trade done by the societies affiliated to the Union, which amounted to £17,776,498, 54.8 per cent., or £9,746,698, was done by the 108 distributive societies. But that is not all, for these district distributive societies also take the first place with respect to the average trade done per member. Whereas

the small societies did an average trade amounting to £13 4s., and the average figure for all the societies affiliated to the Central Union stood at £13 11s., the average for the 108 district distributive societies reached the sum of £14 5s.

“ We now come to Great Britain. By the courtesy of the secretary of the Co-operative Union, we are able to give some returns which have not hitherto been published.

“ Of the most recent and important amalgamations in England we will quote the case of the incorporation of the society at Bedminster with the society at Bristol, the returns of which (see Table IV., page 149) we consider remarkable, in so far as the consolidation of the amalgamated societies is concerned. The success which has been achieved by the amalgamation of the societies at Stoke Newington, Holloway, Wood Green, Clapton Park, and Burnet with the society at Edmonton is still more remarkable. Not only is the benefit derived by the incorporated societies as the result of amalgamation apparent (see table on page 150), but also the advantages which have accrued to the society which took over the lesser societies (see page 150). Taking into consideration the fact that Edmonton is situated in the area known as the co-operative desert of England, there is a special significance in the results achieved which justifies the remark made by the secretary of this society, ‘ the experiences made by the society at Edmonton have all the interest of a novel.’

“ With regard to Scotland, we cannot do better than quote the chief contents of a letter which was written by Mr. J. Deans to Mr. Whitehead on January 24th of the current year. In this letter the highly esteemed Scottish co-operator dwells upon the fusion of the societies at Leven (in the county of Fife), at Tillicoultry, in the villages near West Calder, at Galashiels, Duntocher, and Hardgate, all of which have proved most satisfactory and have added to the consolidation and prosperity of the movement. He then goes on to consider the case of the society at Edinburgh, and the societies at Annbank and Kilmarnock—two organisations which have taken their names from the localities in which they carry on their activity, the societies being within a distance of 15 to 16 miles of each other. Of the two societies, that at Annbank deteriorated to such an extent that its trade per quarter only amounted to £255. Only two years after the amalgamation with the Kilmarnock Equitable Society it had to record a trade reaching the sum of £5,100 per quarter.

“ If it is true that the amalgamation of the two societies has given a new life to the society at Annbank, the case of the society at Edinburgh is, according to Mr. Deans, the most convincing proof that can be cited of the value of the principle of amalgamation for the consolidation and development of Co-operation. In

this city there existed four societies which were veritable hotbeds of contention, competition, and friction. Some years ago all the societies amalgamated under the name of St. Cuthbert's Association. At present this society is the largest and probably the most advanced in the United Kingdom. At the end of 1911 the results achieved by this society aroused the astonishment of co-operators. The membership was 41,753; the share capital £658,381, or an average of £15 15s. per member; the reserves, £166,704, or an average of £4 per member; the net profits, £375,030, or 23.7 per cent. of the total sales, which amounted to £1,582,159, or £37 18s. per member.

“ In conclusion, Mr. Deans expresses himself as follows: ‘ I, who have assisted at nearly all these amalgamations, can certify that in every case the results have been satisfactory. One of the greatest advantages is that the members realise larger profits, since the amalgamated societies are able to keep a larger stock than it was possible for them to do before the fusion, and thus the members are able to draw a dividend on the sales.’ ”

“ Supported by the opinion given above, we conclude our modest paper, convinced that it could not be presented to Congress under better auspices.

For and by order of the Unione Cooperativa di Milano,

“ LUIGI BUFFOLI, President.

“ CAMILLO MELLINI, Secretary.”

SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT.

TABLE I.—THE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETY "VORWÄRTS," VIENNA, BEFORE AND AFTER THE
AMALGAMATION.

Society.	Year.	Membership	Society's own Capital and Reserve.	Average per Member.	Sales.	Average per Member.	Net Profits.	Per Cent.	Savings Deposits.	Average per Member.
Konsumv. Vorwärts.....	1902-08	7,916	Crowns. 76,853	Crowns. 9.71	Crowns. 1,702,908	Crowns. 215.12	Crowns. 47,786	2.80	Crowns. 27,956	Crowns. 3.53
"	1911-12	38,534	706,463	18.35	11,727,392	304.59	484,210	4.12	1,816,573	84.24

TABLE II.—THE SOCIETIES INCORPORATED WITH THE SOCIETY "VORWAERTS" BEFORE AND AFTER THE AMALGAMATION.

Society.	Date of amalgamation.	No. of Branches at time of amalgamation.	No. of Branches at present.	Sales during year preceding amalgamation.	Sales by society "Vorwärts" as now constituted.	Increase or decrease in sales.	Membership at time of amalgamation.	Presents membership of the society "Vorwärts."	Increase in membership.
Arbeiter-Konsum-und-Sparverein "Favoriten"	May 11, 1902	5	8	Crowns. 370,490	Crowns. 1,579,876	Crowns. 1,209,886	590	6,001	5,411
Konsumverein "Gleichheit," Ottakring	June 9, 1902	1	5	54,429	686,067	581,638	151	2,554	2,403
Erster allgemein. Arbeiter-Spar-und Konsumv. für Florisdorf und Umgebung	June 18, 1902	4	8	235,901	1,461,935	1,226,034	785	4,122	3,337
Arbeiter-Konsumverein "Landstrasse"	Feb. 18, 1903	4	9	293,567	2,155,444	1,861,877	980	6,495	5,515
Arbeiter-Konsum-und-Sparverein in Simmering	Mar. 1, 1903	4	5	535,289	1,018,105	482,816	1,207	2,566	1,359
Arbeiter-Konsumverein in Russdorf	Feb. 1, 1905	1	2	98,448	511,428	412,986	260	1,408	1,148
Arbeiter-Spar-und-Konsumv. "Einigkeit" in Stockerau	Sept. 1, 1907	2	2	196,857	318,809	121,952	348	844	496
Konsumv. zu Markt Fischamend	Nov. 26, 1907	1	1	46,926	133,001	86,015	244	371	127
Allg. Spar-und-Konsumv. in Korneuberg	Dec. 18, 1911	2	2	169,893	159,229	10,664	500	585	85
		24	42	2,001,809	7,953,894	5,972,094	5,065	24,946	19,881

TABLE III.—RESULTS OF THE AMALGAMATION OF THE DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES AT BERLIN.

Society.	Year.	Number of members.	Society's own capital and reserves.	Average per member.	Sales.	Average per member.	Net profits.	Per cent.	Savings deposits.	Average per member.
Berliner Konsumv. ...	1907	4,442	£ 2,569	s. d. 12 0	£ 38,680	£ s. d. 8 14 3	£ 88	0·22	£ 1,681	£ s. d. 0 7 10
Berliner Genossenschaft ...	1907	5,790	8,862	13 4	34,469	6 19 0	1,367	3·96	4,850	1 4 1
Berliner Konsumv. ...	1908	6,004	3,068	9 10	48,837	8 2·8	110	0·22	2,168	0 7 6
Berliner Genossenschaft ...	(year of fusion.)	11,321	4,999	8 2	55,073	4 18 0	3,122	5·66	5,995	0 10 8
Berliner Genossenschaft ...	1912	56,678	29,752	10 6	527,009	9 6 0	7,761	1·47	100,630	1 15 6

TABLE IV.—RETURNS WITH REGARD TO THE AMALGAMATION OF THE SOCIETIES AT BEDMINSTER AND BRISTOL.

Society.	Year.	Number of members.	Society's own capital and reserves.	Average per member.	Sales.	Average per member.	Net profits.	Per cent.
Bristol	1903	6,385	£ 33,800	£ s. d. 5 6 1	£ 93,213	£ s. d. 17 14 7	£ 11,666	10.30
Bedminster	1903	2,727	9,293	3 8 5	43,963	10 2 0	3,732	8.48
Bristol	1904	7,557	42,479	5 12 5	139,650	18 9 10	15,167	10.86
Bedminster	(year of fusion.)	2,854	9,473	3 6 5	45,793	10 1 0	3,773	8.23
Bristol	1911	16,134	125,181	11 15 0	217,901	13 10 1	24,794	11.38

TABLE V.—EFFECTS OF THE AMALGAMATION ON THE SOCIETIES INCORPORATED IN THE SOCIETY AT EDMONTON.

Name of Society	STOKE NEWINGTON. 1900.	HOLLOWAY. 26th Jan. 1907.	WOOD GREEN. April, 1908.	CLAPTON PARK May, 1908.	BARNET. Jan., 1912.
Sales per Week before the Amalgamation...	£ s. d.	£ s. d. 15 6 0	£ s. d. 353 0 0	£ s. d. 77 2 6	£ s. d. 25 10 0
Sales per Week at the beginning of 1913 ...	306 0 0	652 0 0	881 5 8	170 7 0	140 15 7

TABLE VI.—RETURNS OF THE SOCIETY AT EDMONTON BEFORE AND AFTER AMALGAMATION.

Year.	Members.	Society's own capital.	Average per member.	Reserves.	Average per member.	Sales.	Average per member.	Net profits.	Per cent.
1899	954	£ 1,994	£ s. d. 2 2 1	£ ...	£ s. d. ...	£ 12,821	£ s. d. 13 9 2	£ 806	6.28
1911	12,000	47,486	3 19 0	10,987	0 18 3	185,752	15 9 10	13,355	7.19
1912	13,500	?	?	?	?	220,320	16 6 8	?	?

Mr. HÉLIÈS (Paris): Mr. President and fellow co-operators, there is no question which is of more particular interest to France than that of the plurality of co-operative societies in one town. France has more than 3,300 co-operative societies, that is to say, the largest number of co-operative societies in any one country. This number of societies is too large for the small amount of trade done. For this reason we welcomed the question proposed by the Central Committee to be discussed at this Congress. If we study the power of the international co-operative movement, we find that it is most developed in those countries in which there has been concentration and amalgamation. In France we are rather like Mother Gigogne—we have many little children, but they are unable to grow up. We have no important societies such as those we have been able to visit in Germany and England and other countries. The largest co-operative societies in France do not do a trade of more than five million francs. Only 20 societies do a trade of more than one million. What is this in comparison to the societies at Leipzig, Breslau, and Edinburgh? We should like to see this Congress condemn the evils indicated in the paper, in which Mr. Buffoli points out that only one co-operative society should exist in one town, and that where there are several efforts should be made to bring about amalgamation. One of the inconveniences of a multiplicity of societies is the difficulty of obtaining administrators. In France, in view of the large number of societies, nearly 7,000 directors are required, whence arose the difficulty of finding competent men. In the Seine Department alone, the area of which is very small, we have 192 societies; in the Department of Charente and Deux-Sèvres we have 390. These figures are certainly too high, and the French co-operative movement cannot achieve its social ideal because it is too scattered. It is owing to the international congresses that we have to a certain extent improved the position of the movement in France. At the Manchester Congress we learnt of the concentration of purchasing power, and as a result of that congress we established a wholesale society. From the unity of co-operative forces in the different countries, we saw that it was only necessary to have one wholesale society. The Hamburg Congress resulted in the happy fact of our union into one single organisation. We think that the Glasgow Congress will have a considerable effect on the French co-operative movement, and it will be a direct incentive to us to bring about amalgamation among our French societies, the more so because the mission of the co-operative movement is to play a great social part. In view of the concentration of capital, the evolution of commerce, and of that power which reveals itself more and more each day, those co-operators

who do not understand the duty to unite will most certainly disappear. It is because our country more than any other suffers from the diffusion of the co-operative movement that we should like to receive from the Glasgow Congress an indication of the way in which these shop-keeping communities should be suppressed. What can these small societies do against the commercial power acquired to-day by such large Paris shops as the Louvre and the Bon Marché, which do a trade amounting to some hundreds of millions of francs? The power of the working classes can only make itself felt if it makes use of the same weapons as its adversaries. We desire to see one single society for the city of Paris, instead of the 50 or so societies that now divide the trade. These societies are situated in by-ways and alleys which lead nowhere, places where passers-by are few, whereas the large capitalistic enterprises spend millions of francs to draw customers, and are able, by having shops in suitable neighbourhoods, to keep their customers. In order that Co-operation may have maximum results co-operators must bring to the movement the full power of their consumption. Co-operative power will only achieve its full extent when the movement becomes amalgamated and united in societies composed of tens of thousands of members and doing trade to the value of tens of millions of francs. The example we have seen in the German and Belgian co-operative societies will be of service to the French movement. We should like to see the power of the working classes as organised consumers growing stronger each day, and this cannot be the case unless efforts are united in one single organisation. We think that Mr. Buffoli's paper is complete. We are quite satisfied with the resolution he proposes, and we ask you by your votes to convince those countries which are still so much divided that they must bring about the amalgamation of their scattered societies. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT said he wished to make a departure. Miss BOSCHETTI had requested to be allowed to address the Congress in Italian. It was a very beautiful language. They had facilities for translation, and at that stage of the proceedings it would not cause delay.

The Congress agreed.

Miss BOSCHETTI explained in English that she had difficulty in expressing herself except in her own language. She thanked the Congress first of all for allowing her to speak, and in the second place for allowing her to use her own language. She then proceeded to speak in Italian. Miss Boschetti said that the cause of Co-operation was the cause, not of the individual, but of the community. It was a cause undertaken to raise the masses, and not to promote

the interests of the classes. In Italy they were terribly divided. The old societies were proud of their antiquity, and refused to merge with the newer organisations. Further, a number of societies had been established in Italy for political purposes. For instance, they had Roman Catholic, Free Thought, Liberal, and Republican societies, and she asked the Congress if they had such a thing as Conservative pork, Liberal cheese, and Socialist wine. (Laughter.) The directors of these societies were proud of their positions, and knew that if there were an amalgamation of two societies there would only be one director required. (Laughter.) In Milan there were 30 different societies, some of them serving one class of the community, but often bearing the name of the street in which they were situated. What a keen rivalry existed between them! The chief argument put forward for this position was that individualism fostered a spirit of enterprise, which would be lost if an amalgamation took place. But this was absolutely contrary to the modern spirit and to the demonstration of experience. (Applause.) She asked the delegates to give their support to the motion, so that they should have concentration instead of diffusion, as at present. (Applause.)

Mr. BLAIR (Liverpool) supported the principle laid down in the paper. He also wished to point out some drawbacks which might be incidental to amalgamation. In Liverpool at the time of the Co-operative Congress of 1899 there were five societies, and the Co-operative Union took steps previous to the Congress to secure the amalgamation of four of these societies into two societies. This was done, and those two societies made great progress. In 1899 the two societies in the north end had 776 members, and a total trade of £10,737 a year. These two societies had members in one another's districts, as there was no boundary line. To-day the amalgamated society had 14,000 members and a yearly trade of £280,000. (Loud applause.) In the south end of the city the two societies together had 2,750 members, and a total trade of about £50,000. To-day they had between 9,000 and 10,000 members and a trade of about £200,000. Boundary lines had been fixed by the two societies which were respected by both, and, in addition, they paid a uniform dividend. If it was impossible for amalgamation to be secured, he thought it would at least be possible to secure boundary lines and an agreement to pay a uniform rate of dividend, which would do away with a great deal of the competition that had arisen. They had found one difficulty with regard to amalgamation, and that was that where operations were centralised the interest of the members was apt to diminish. Steps must be taken where amalgamation took place to secure the interest of the members

in the working of the society, in order that they might not only share in the benefits of Co-operation, but be educated in the methods and principles of Co-operation. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. BUCHAN (Scottish Women's Guild) supported the resolution. She pointed out that not 100 miles from where the Congress was meeting there were 13 or 14 distributive societies, and she suggested that these should consolidate, and so follow the example of the greatest municipality in the world—Glasgow. (Laughter.) At the present day everything tended towards consolidation, and if co-operators were to keep the position the movement had gained they must join their forces and go forward with the one aim and object of spreading the benefits of Co-operation. Women sometimes went to the societies that gave the largest dividend, or to the society that gave the longest credit. She urged a policy of amalgamation. (Applause.)

Miss BOSCHETTI expressed pleasure at having heard from the Congress that the views expressed in the papers had been so favourably received. She would report the discussion to her colleagues, especially what she had heard from Liverpool. She hoped that, if privileged to attend the next Congress, she would be able to give a joyful account of the progress of the movement in Italy.

The PRESIDENT: I hope you will carry the resolution unanimously, so that Miss Boschetti may go back to Italy encouraged by the Congress—(Applause)—which showed that it had no sympathy with the existence of 30 co-operative societies in the same town. (Laughter.)

The resolution, which was put to the vote and carried unanimously, was in the following terms:—

“ The Congress, recognising that the co-existence of different distributive societies having their sphere of activity in the same locality, or in adjacent localities, is fatal to the co-operative movement, since it leads to a dangerous dispersion of forces, to an irremediable decadence of the co-operative organism, and to the weakening of certain of its economic and social functions, proposes that each national and regional union or federation in the various countries should earnestly conduct an energetic and efficient campaign to impress upon the movement the desirability of the unity of aims and of power, using first persuasion, and, where necessary, direct measures—

- (a) To prevent two or more distributive societies being established in the same locality, or in adjacent localities, of the same district:

- (b) to bring about the amalgamation of distributive societies existing in the same locality, or in adjacent localities of the same district;
- (c) to prevent several distributive societies existing in localities adjacent to each other encroaching on each other's sphere of activity.

Date and Place of Next Congress.

Mr. E. ANGST (Basle): Ladies and gentlemen, it is my duty to-day to invite the I.C.A. to hold its next Congress at Basle, in Switzerland, in 1916. The Union of Swiss Distributive Societies celebrates the 25th anniversary of its establishment in 1916, and in the same year the distributive society at Basle celebrates its jubilee. This will be an important occasion in our co-operative movement, and we shall be very glad if you will honour these two anniversaries with your presence. It is true that we shall not be able to show you anything so beautiful, striking, or impressive as you have seen here in Scotland and in England. On the other hand, however, we can assure you that we shall try to make your visit to Switzerland as pleasant as possible. We have proposed Basle as the place for convening the Congress because the city of Basle is the seat of the union of Swiss Distributive Societies and of the Swiss Wholesale Society; further, the largest Swiss distributive society is situated there. Basle is a city which is almost entirely co-operatively organised. The number of inhabitants is 140,000, and our distributive society at Basle has no less than 35,000 families as members; this represents almost the whole population. Not only the working classes, but also the middle and upper classes of the city belong to the distributive society. We number amongst our members those holding the highest administrative positions, indeed, a great number of the municipal authorities have joined our society. I may therefore say that we have interesting co-operative enterprises, and for this reason we have invited the I.C.A. to hold its next Congress at Basle, and we earnestly hope that you will accept this invitation.

The PRESIDENT said there was no other invitation, and he asked the Congress to accept the cordial invitation that had been given. He assured the delegates that there was "no more beautiful country than Scotland," and was only made aware of the lapsus linguae he had made by the loud laughter and applause of the delegates. "Well," continued the President, "now that I have said it I will not withdraw, but Switzerland is a good second to Scotland." (Renewed laughter.) In conclusion, he advised the

delegates to accept the invitation, because of the co-operative spirit that Switzerland had shown.

The Congress heartily accepted the invitation, and the PRESIDENT formally intimated to Mr. Angst that the Congress would have pleasure in visiting Basle three years hence.

Votes of Thanks.

This concluded the business of the agenda for the Congress, and all that remained was of a complimentary character.

Mr. JAMES ALLAN (Chairman of the Reception Committee, and of the Scottish Section of the Co-operative Union) said they desired that those gentlemen who had read papers at the Congress should be presented with the reliable history of the co-operative movement in Scotland, written by Mr. Maxwell. He hoped the speeches they had heard would be put into practice, and he promised that the delegates would compare notes with regard to this at the next Congress. The Scottish Section, however, desired to tender thanks to the gentlemen who had prepared the Congress papers for the splendid work they had done, and he had pleasure in presenting copies of the "History" to Mr. Aneurin Williams and to Dr. Schär; Miss Boschetti was asked to convey a copy to Mr. Buffoli, and a copy would be forwarded to Mr. Kaufmann who had taken his departure previously.

Mr. D. H. GERRARD (President of the United Co-operative Baking Society) said he had been asked to present similar souvenirs to Mr. Maxwell (President of the Congress), to Mr. J. Allan (President of the Reception Committee), Mr. J. Deans (Secretary of the Reception Committee), and to Mr. Duncan McCulloch (Treasurer of the Reception Committee). Mr. Maxwell had done a great deal for Co-operation; Mr. Allan had also done much; Mr. Deans, who was well known to them all, could remember Co-operation when it was a tiny plant. It had now taken deep root; and he had done much to promote its growth. Mr. McCulloch was his predecessor in the Presidency of the Baking Society, and had done a great deal in the building up of the great federation. He did not know anything more gratifying to men who worked hard than for them to know that their work was appreciated, and he wished these gentlemen long life and prosperity, also health to continue their good work. (Loud applause.)

The following resolution was next submitted:—

"That the delegates attending the Ninth International Co-operative Congress hereby tender their heartiest thanks

for the generous hospitality with which they have been entertained, and the untiring efforts to achieve the success of the Congress in all its aspects, to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and City Council, the Reception Committee, the United Co-operative Bakery Society, the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Association, the Paisley Co-operative Manufacturing Society, the Clergy, the Chief Constable, the Press, and to all those who in so many ways have worked individually and collectively to assure the comfort of the delegates and the success of this Congress."

The resolution was supported by Dr. SCHÄR (Switzerland), Mr. SERWY (Belgium), Mr. VLADIMIR PERELECHIN (Russia), and Mr. H. WESTBURY (British Co-operative Union).

Dr. SCHÄR (Basle): Ladies and gentlemen, when three years ago at the Hamburg Congress the place of the next Congress was discussed various proposals were made. Although the great majority voted in favour of Glasgow, yet voices were heard expressing the opinion that owing to the position of Glasgow the attendance at Congress would not be great. Our Congress has been held here in Scotland, and I think that even Dr. Karpeles will admit that the Congress which has just been brought to a conclusion, under the leadership of our kind hosts, has excelled any of its predecessors. We can say this without in any way reproaching former hosts. We could not wish for a better reception than that accorded us in England and Scotland, and by the various material and intellectual entertainments organised they have won our lasting friendship. Some of our German, Austrian, and Belgian friends have for some time past been making a co-operative students' trip through England and Scotland. From the very moment we set foot on these shores we have been so kindly treated and so overwhelmed with entertainments and gifts that we said to ourselves that generosity could not go farther. Yet, on our arrival in Glasgow, all that had gone before was exceeded. We were received in such a manner that I can find no words in which to express my joy and gratitude. What has surprised us most is the great development of the British co-operative movement and the great harmony which exists between the various societies and the various kinds of society. When we see all this we feel that we shall not be able to achieve this in twenty years, but it will be a spur to us to imitate it and to seek to arrive at a similar stage of development.

I must say a word with regard to our reception by the Bakery Society; they have loaded us with gifts. I must also mention the

cordial welcome accorded us in the beautiful city of Edinburgh, our visit to the premises of the Wholesale Society at Shieldhall and to Paisley, and the entertainments given us on those occasions. Last, but not least, I must refer to the reception given by the municipal authorities of Glasgow. In fine, we heartily thank the British co-operators for all they have done for us. (Loud applause.)

Mr. SERWY (Antwerp): Mr. President and comrades, this Congress will leave very good impressions on our minds, not only on account of the numerous things we have learnt with regard to the co-operative movement in Great Britain and in other countries, but it will also leave pleasant memories of the splendid spirit of hospitality which we have met among our Scottish friends. We have often heard of Scottish hospitality, and we must say that it has not fallen below our expectations. Our reception has been most kind and cordial, and I think that I speak for all my comrades on the Continent and throughout the world when I sincerely thank our Scottish friends for the warm welcome they have accorded us in Glasgow. (Applause.)

We, therefore, ask Congress to pass a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost and the magistrates of the city of Glasgow. In our country no municipal authority would think it a duty nor would it be esteemed an honour to entertain co-operators. It is, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that we express our gratitude to the municipality of Glasgow for the reception given to the Congress. We also desire to thank local co-operators and the Wholesale Society, who have treated us so well and have shown us what is a very striking example for us Belgians, viz., what can be done for Co-operation in a small country by means of the concentration of societies of consumers. We have also admired the premises of the local societies, and we congratulate them on the progress they have made; we shall do our best to imitate them. In conclusion, we should like to record our fraternal feelings for all British co-operators, and to say to one and all "Thank you." (Applause.)

Mr. PERELICHIN (Russia), who spoke in English, said the oldest and the best friend was always the friend of our young days, and Sir Walter Scott had been such a friend for all the civilised world. The delegates had seen the national dancing, and they had heard the children singing their popular songs. Sir Walter Scott had opened up for the world the hearts of the Scottish people, and Scottish co-operators had illustrated splendidly what he had told them in his books. The delegates had also seen the harmony that existed between the co-operative consumers and the co-operative producers in Scotland. Scotland had shown how harmony could be found in co-operative work, and from an open heart he offered

the Scottish Co-operators a Russian "Spasibo." If Scottish co-operators would only visit Russia, he and his brethren there would be glad to show the harmony of their co-operative work and to illustrate to them some of the writings of Leo Tolstoi. (Loud applause.)

Mr. WESTBURY, in supporting the resolution, said they all regretted the absence of the Lord Provost. They all knew that his lordship had the kindest sympathies for the co-operative movement, and they would have been glad to welcome him on that platform. With regard to the Reception Committee, he felt they would have to take the resolution as an official recognition of their work. He was bound to say that the Committee had laid itself out to study the comfort of the delegates, and it had succeeded to a very high degree. The hospitalities had been of the most generous character, and the visits had been so graded that each day had been better than the other. (Applause.) The item which he would carry away with him, and which he would never forget, was the wonderful concert they had all enjoyed on the previous evening. (Loud applause.) The memory of all their kindness would assuage the pain they felt at leaving. (Laughter.) Their hearts would be for a very long time to come in the Highlands, and if ever the Congress should be held again in Scotland, he hoped that all present that day would be there. (Applause.) As to the clergy, he hoped they recognised that the Alliance was working for peace, and was actually like then in that respect. (Applause.) He had not met the Chief Constable, but he had met many of his force in the evenings, and they had all been very kind to him. (Laughter.) He was always very careful when he mentioned "the Press." Most of the delegates to the Congress who had spoken had to thank these gentlemen, not so much for what they had reported, but for what they had not reported. (Laughter and applause.) He was glad, however, to know that the Glasgow papers had treated the Congress in a very fair manner, and had given particularly full reports. (Applause.) On behalf of the British Section, he cordially supported the vote of thanks. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was then carried with acclamation.

Thanks to the President.

Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS at this stage relieved Mr. Maxwell of the duties of the chair, as there was to be put to the Congress a resolution expressing the thanks of the Congress to the President for the manner in which he had conducted the proceedings. Mr. Maxwell had, said Mr. Williams, among other good qualities, the good quality of modesty, and consequently he could not take that

resolution in hand. Dr. Renner (Austria), Mr. Héliès (France), and Mr. Golightly (Great Britain) would speak to the resolution.

Dr. RENNER (Vienna): Mr. Chairman, in the name of the representatives of the German-speaking nations, it is my pleasant duty to express our gratitude to the President of the International Co-operative Alliance for the extraordinary ability he has shown in conducting the proceedings. It is no easy task to preside over an International Congress of such dimensions, on account of the many varied Parliamentary customs and habits, and the task is doubled by the many bad Parliamentary habits which each brings from his own country. Our President, Mr. Maxwell, has cleverly overcome these difficulties. His great tact and his amiability, allied with the firmness which is so necessary in dealing with such an agenda as ours has been, have been of great assistance to him. It is our earnest wish that Mr. Maxwell may in the future preside at many of our International Congresses. We desire this not only on account of those qualities which have helped to make his career, but on account of his modest personality. We see in Mr. Maxwell an example of the rise of the working classes. From being a simple workman he has achieved a position in which he can further the development of the working classes and the community, either for good or for ill. This example should help you all to be capable co-operators, useful to our co-operative movement. For these reasons I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that you will all heartily agree with the resolution, which records the gratitude of the Congress to our honoured President.

Mr. HÉLIÈS (Paris): Mr. Chairman and comrades, I know of no more agreeable duty than that of expressing the thanks of all the French-speaking delegates to our venerable President, Mr. Maxwell. There is no one more worthy to represent and direct the International Co-operative Alliance. (Applause.) His wisdom and his amiability claim the respect and veneration of all. The services he has rendered to the cause of International Co-operation extend over the whole world. His advice has had effect in Canada, and especially in France. We are especially grateful for the goodwill which he has always shown us, and in spite of the difficulties of language we have always understood Mr. Maxwell. His is the language of the heart and of the eyes. (Applause.) Further, he is not merely a co-operator, but a social worker worthy to be ranked among the greatest thinkers and sociologists. It may not be generally known that Mr. Maxwell was formerly a coachbuilder—a working man. By the position he now holds in the co-operative movement he is an example of what Co-operation can do to raise the intellectual and moral standard of the working man co-operator. (Applause.) Co-operation has accomplished a noble task in raising the coachbuilder to

the position of having to fulfil the highest co-operative duties in the world, and it is clear that this example should be followed by all the workers on the Continent and in Great Britain. We earnestly hope that Mr. Maxwell will in the future preside at many Congresses. (Applause.) We are sure that, guided by his influence, kindness, and wisdom, the co-operative movement must progress and must bring about a state of society based on justice and goodwill. (Applause.) We ask you to show your approbation of the resolution, which exactly expresses the feelings of all our French, Belgian, and Italian comrades—of all the French-speaking co-operators present—who are proud of the kind reception accorded them by our honoured President. (Applause.)

Mr. GOLIGHTLY said that, representing the British section particularly, and, he hoped, the Congress generally, he had to voice the thanks of the whole assembly to Mr. Maxwell, not only for his conduct in the chair, but for a good many other things which he (Mr. Golightly) would try to enumerate. He had had the good fortune through the whole of his active life to come often into contact with Mr. Maxwell, and he could say that the longer he knew him he loved him the more. (Applause.) First of all, they had to thank their President for his service to the collective cause in Scotland. At one time Scotsmen used to invade England, and brought many things back with them, such as cattle and sheep, but there was no record of any good thing they had taken which they had ever paid for. (Loud laughter.) In fact, the Scotsman at one time did not come even decently dressed to England. He came in kilts. (Laughter.) But that was many years ago, and Mr. Maxwell came on a different errand and in a different fashion. He came on a propaganda of collectivism. He had done his best to improve the national life of these islands by the promotion of collective ownership of the means on which they depended for life. They had also to thank Mr. Maxwell for the courage he displayed in undertaking the championship of the International Alliance. If one could only travel more frequently and learn more of the ways and manners and customs of our Continental friends, one would realise that there are other places besides Great Britain working for the cause of Co-operation. In conclusion, Mr. Golightly said Mr. Maxwell had throughout shown a respect for their varied views, together with good humour and appreciation of the sentiments of the different sections of the Congress. They wished him God-speed in the work he was doing to spread the spirit of industrial peace, and he hoped his efforts would lead to a realisation of all their hopes and desires. (Loud applause.)

Mr. WILLIAMS said there were many nationalities whose representatives would like to speak, but they could not all be heard

for lack of time. He would, therefore, put the resolution, which was as follows:—

“ That this Congress tenders its warmest thanks to its President, Mr. William Maxwell, for the excellent manner in which he has presided over its deliberations, and its high appreciation of the tact and courtesy with which he has dealt with the many points of procedure which are incidental to an international Congress.”

The resolution was then put to the Congress and was carried with enthusiasm, the delegates rising and cheering.

The PRESIDENT was greeted with renewed cheers when he rose to reply in a concluding address. He said: I have to thank you, ladies and gentlemen from the various nations, for your kind words, but my service to the movement has been exaggerated. I have only done my duty. I came here on Monday morning almost a sick man, but I am going away recovered. (Loud applause.) The presence of the delegates and the beautiful spirit that has animated the Congress has cured me. (Renewed applause.) It is pleasure and not work to come among you, for I know most of you individually, especially the leaders of the movement on the Continent. I used to boast that I had a home with the co-operators in every town in Scotland, but I think I can almost say that I have a home with the co-operators in every town in Europe. (Loud applause.) This is both a pleasure and a reward. Now we have to part, to part for another three years, and it is difficult to say who will be at the next International Congress. These Congresses are times of hospitality and seasons for visiting many interesting places; they are happy times in a man's life, and I can look back upon many Congresses with many happy reminiscences. But I want to ask the question before we part: Have we by our attendance at the Glasgow Congress advanced along the road of Co-operation? I would like to feel that the Congress has done us some good as co-operators, that the “ pounds, shillings, and pence ” aspect of Co-operation will take a second place, and that ideas of self-employment, when we shall be able to dictate the conditions of Labour for ourselves, will ultimately be the end of Co-operation—(loud applause)—when the natives will not only possess the industries but the means of communication with co-operative ships passing like a shuttle weaving a web of concord between the nations of the world. (Loud and prolonged applause.) A man at my age feels that further work is almost impossible—(“ No!”)—but it is a reward to everyone who is engaged in public work to know that those who elected him when young respect him when he is in old age. (Applause.) I would like to say that my visit to Canada, to which

reference has been made, is producing good. You will all be pleased, I have no doubt, to know that a wholesale society was started in Nova Scotia fully a month ago, and I hope we will be able to stamp out a little of the selfishness and individualism which at present characterises America and Canada, where every man is working for himself and putting his heel almost on the neck of his neighbour. I hope that these two countries will soon be with us, not only in sentiment, but in advocating the cause of Co-operation at our Congress. (Applause.) I have to bid you good-bye, but there are one or two things I would like to say to you and which I wish you to take to heart. I want you to follow out the education of the young people, so that they may speak the various languages or one common language. The efforts of those past middle age are not very successful in this direction, but youth is the fruitful season. By attending to this we will hasten the brotherhood of mankind all over the world. (Applause.) I would also urge you if you have differences with a fellow man to weigh his arguments carefully before condemning him. (Applause.) I have no more to say to you. I have to bid you God-speed. I have had a very pleasant time in the chair. I hope you will go away with many happy reminiscences, and I hope that when you think of the delightful Scottish scenery and the beautiful Scottish music you will remember that you have also in Scotland a warm-hearted President.

Long and prolonged applause followed the President's speech, and cheers were heard in "Hurrahs" and "Hochs" and "Bravos" from the standing delegates. The Scottish delegates led the singing of the parting song, "Auld Lang Syne." The words were taken up by all the British delegates; the Continentals hummed the tune as they joined hands with their British brethren. The song was followed by a final cheer, the delegates parted, and silence fell upon the meeting-place of the Ninth International Co-operative Congress.