

The SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATOR

No. 13.

JUNE, 1923.

GUARANTEED CIRCULATION, 30,000.

HOUSING THE CHAFFINCH'S NEST.

There is no finer sight to me than the meadows in springtime, when the buttercups and daisies are like stars in the firmament—as thickly strewn, as beautiful, and of almost silent and fit-of-mystery. The obstacles invented by civilisation; the notices-boards warning against trespass; the forbidding fences and trenches barbed wire can no longer keep me on the roads, for it is May, the fever is in my blood, and I must look upon the face of Spring in the meadows. Accordingly I take off across the fields and beside the hedgerows with defiance in my heart against all who would keep me off the greenward—the defiance being an imperishable tradition of blood and bone. And although the law says I am temporarily possessed of a devil, 'tis then I feel kindest God.

The other Sunday morning the passion came upon me, and away I went where the bluebells flanked the Hawthorn hedges, fall to the morning sun, and I found myself listening to the warble of a chaffinch. I must see a bird's nest. I shall be short of hope the whole year through.

Now a chaffinch's nest is a sight to witness, more so than the robes of kings of the mansions of millionaire. A search in the Hawthorn hedge soon revealed me the little nest with its pale blue eggs streaked with brown and crimson. It was easy of access, yet I felt it sacrilege to touch it: as for robbing it, I would as soon have robbed a child. Hair and litter were cunningly fashioned into a house, and five frail and fluffy babies were to be born and nursed into independence within it. Here was holy ground indeed: conditions had been moulded by the Life present for the Life that was yet-to-be. And then I thought of man and sighed. Well I might, for here was ideal housing, which man with all his ingenuity and skill has seldom succeeded in achieving. Scarcely does the best of us know what ideal housing is: the most of us are willing to put up with makeshifts because we can get no other.

My fellow men and women, which do you have the scent of the liberal as a smokeless atmosphere round your homes? How many of you have the shade of leaves upon your casements? How many of you have even the fireplaces and the doors and the windows where they ought to be? Which among you could choose your house with an eye to the number and the kind of people you will inhabit it? No, for our ideal housing does not exist.

There was no other bird-house in that same bush: none for many paces on either side. But when I thought of the tree which man builds—the branching streets of squallid towns—I remembered that all the leaves that were gone, and the bought trunks crammed with nests. If birds built as thickly as that, their civilisation would be a failure; that the nests would all be dead and unhealthy, as eyecore and a nuisance, which is precisely what men's nests have become. Birds have nerves with all their mental deficiencies, come to believe that civilisation means pleasing a community's houses together. They work like bees, indeed, but with out building and spinning we do not house ourselves like one of these. Never yet did a bird of overcrowding (except accidentally); for that matter, not even

a single tomtit might truthfully have upon it, sometimes: "Died through jerry-building."

I admit the sanitary arrangements are crude, but they are the best the birds are capable of, which is more than we can say of ours. But their building is excellent: the foundation is firm, and every plank is true. This scrap of moss, this hair, is well used and laid.

He that hates man to hear, let him hear. A big bird with gilded feathers does not come round and take a quarter for rent and live in his hedge and refuse to continue the tenancy if his income runs short. There are no distainets for rent and no brokers' men. Talents and shobbers there are, I know, but not of the licensed variety.

If we may leave the country side for a moment and turn to political events, we can look up a one-size publication called "The Future" which was "sent out broadcast with the Government's blessing." In that issue, some three years ago, Mr. Lloyd George referred to the world as being "scurved with slums," and said: "If we renew the lease of that old world of slums we shall be guilty of the basest perfidy that ever blackened a people's fame." Yet in his farswell speech at Manchester Reform Club, on October 14th of last year, the only reference he made to the housing problem was that he would be a "watcher of the way in which houses would be produced without an economic rent being 'lettoesim.'" Houses cannot be built because the rents re-

quired to pay a profit on them will be much too high for people to pay! Why, if birds had any sort of arrangement like that, we should think they were mad—and rightly.

Yet that is still the reason we are getting so few houses built. Sir Alfred Mond, in the Coalition Government, worked in the interests of investors' money, and not for the well-being of homeless folk. Now we have Mr. Neville Chamberlain, promising owners \$6 per year for twenty years on each new house built—originally stipulating it should be a "non-parlor" house. This allowance, of course, will make houses "pay." And hardly has he got the words out of his mouth before we find that the prices of raw materials for house-building are going up, and the \$6 absorbed in extra costs! What with the investors on one hand, and the profiteers on the other, there is no wonder that we can find in the newspaper of a man and his wife add five children living in a cart because they can get no other accommodation!

One has no right to be unduly critical of a man like Mr. Chamberlain in what is, to a man of his training and ideas, a particularly difficult problem. But certain anybody who, in the enlightened twentieth century, talks of building "non-parlor" houses, ought to be compelled to live in one. As a matter of fact, such people have, and have at least one whole house for their families. Meantime, little Tommy Jones, aged perhaps three, is compelled to sleep with his father and mother, and with maybe three or four brothers and sisters in the same room in the name of Political Economy.

It isn't really Political Economy, it is crime—social wrong-doing. Supposing to-morrow morning you were to awake in a house that is built where and how and furnished as you like it; rent is merely a technical term in an interesting but obsolete Political Economy, and you can wamble without angering your neighbour—who lives too far away to be disturbed; and that fragrance of spring blossoms steals in at your windows. Ah, what a life! If the world were thus, and if the renter's damp doesn't come in under the frost room window, and the sunset cannot be observed in a golden streak through the cracks in the kitchen panes! That would be paradise. Yes, but the birds are in paradise—they have never fallen out over plans, and never spent good ideas in the working of them out, lest private building interests should go to the dogs. Even the most concerted jackdaw doesn't want three nests at once, so most foolishly they don't want a house ten times too big for her. She would rather rear her children in a nest of reasonable size than live in large and uncomfortable ostentation.

Wherefore, then, ye jays whose houses are four stories high with frontages like barracks, and ye crows who live in houses so roomy and convenient and comfortable as scabby-boxes, do ye not go into the country and consider the houses of the chaffinch?

O, for a severe man's blast of the trumpet that brought down the walls of Jericho to shatter the crumpled walls of today. As for a man's money, let us to read and scatter the impelling idea in modern building, with its profits and profiteering!

"THE SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATOR'S" WHO'S WHO SERIES.

No. 3.—MR. JOHN PENNY.

Mr. JOHN PENNY, the subject of this month's illustration, has served the democratic movement with honesty, integrity, and enthusiasm for over thirty years. Trained for a teacher, he followed this profession for nine years, and is even to this day a member of the I.T.P. He joined the Preston Co-operative Society thirty years ago, after having helped to form the Preston Fabian Society during the previous year. It was at this period that he started his real organising work in both the Labour and co-operative movements.



His first public agency was for a town council election in November, 1893; since that time he has acted as election agent dozens of times, and has some remarkable victories to his credit. He was election agent for Keir Hardie, Joe Pointer, and a number of other early and well-known I.L.P. candidates. For some time he was connected with "The Sheffield Guardian," and during this period did some really fine work, both as an organiser in fixing up splendid distributive machinery, and as a propagandist speaking in the open air in most of the villages round Sheffield, as well as at the Monthly and at the street corners in Sheffield itself.

MR. JOHN PENNY.

For two years he acted as assistant general secretary to the N.W. I.L.P., and was elected to the N.W. I.L.P. secretary of the N.W. I.L.P. During the difficult period of the South African War, Mr. Penny was general secretary of the N.W. I.L.P. He held this post for a great deal of time. Always he has been in great demand as a lecturer and speaker at both open air and indoor meetings, for every section of the progressive movement.

It was whilst Mr. Penny was working in the I.L.P. that the Trades and Labour

Council at Metherly Tydell was formed. Mr. Penny went to Metherly Tydell for this specific purpose. There he had a very important influence upon the future of the Labour Party in helping as he did to secure the election to Parliament of the founder of the I.L.P., Keir Hardie.

For a number of years he was one of the best known contributors to Socialist and co-operative journals, and no co-operative society's lecture, 2511 has seemed complete without the inclusion of his name. Along with a few others he founded the Planet Insurance Society; subsequently he became the superintendent of the Sheffield district of this society, and later the district manager. Ultimately the Planet became the Co-operative Insurance Society, with Mr. Penny as a member of the directorate.

He was elected to the first hon. of the Sheffield and Ecclesall Society fourteen years ago, and was honoured in January, 1921, by being appointed a member of the great English Co-operative Wholesale Society—one of the highest positions in the co-operative movement.

Mr. Penny has been thinking, writing, and speaking Socialism and co-operation practically all his life. A sound, clear, an extremely thoughtful writer, a fluent and convincing speaker, with a record of service worthy of the best men and women who have given their all in the interests of democracy and progress. Sheffield co-operators ought to be proud of their splendid representative and fellow citizen—Mr. John Penny.

The Labour Party has a notable each week during the summer months. The numbers attending are on the increase.

Fish Alive-O!

ASK THE STORE
MANAGER to get
you a

BASS OF FISH

2s., 3s., or 5s.

These are used daily
from the C.W.S. Fish
Centre.

Members are invited to give definite
orders for a weekly supply—say for
a month, on trial—and the manager
will be pleased to pass the order
on to the C.W.S. Fish Section.

ARE YOU INSURED
IN THE

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD. ?

IT'S BEST,
SAFE, and SOUND.

Apply to Local Agency, 37, Surrey
Street, Sheffield, or send a postcard
to Co-operative Insurance Society
Limited, 109, Corporation Street,
Manchester.

MUNICIPAL TOPICS.

By COUNSELLOR T. H. WATKINS.

MUNICIPAL BANKING.

On behalf of the Labour group a resolution was moved pressing that a special committee be appointed with instructions to consider and report to the Council upon the advisability or otherwise of the Council establishing a municipal bank.

In the minutes of the Council meeting of November 9th, 1922, the Parliamentary and General Purposes Committee reported as follows:—"The Town Clerk presented a report on the proceedings at a meeting of the Council of Municipal Corporations on October 26th, 1922, which the Lord Mayor and himself attended, and at which among other matters a resolution was passed, i.e., appointing a special committee (of which the Lord Mayor is a member) to consider and report on the question of the larger local authorities having power to establish and carry on savings banks for the encouragement of thrift."

CONSIDERATION DEFERRED.

As the special committee referred to had not completed their inquiries but were hoping to present their report shortly, the Council decided to defer consideration of the question of establishing a municipal bank in Sheffield.

PARLIAMENTARY SANCTION.

At present Parliamentary sanction must be obtained by local authorities before they can establish a municipal bank. It is therefore desirable that general power be obtained to permit local authorities to establish a bank should they desire to do so.

BIRMINGHAM MUNICIPAL BANK.

It is of interest to know that the Birmingham Corporation have secured sanction to establish a bank, which was opened on September 1st, 1919, and has continued during the general industrial depression.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the bank are:—
(a) To receive deposits and to guarantee the payment of interest on, and the repayment of, each deposit.
(b) To advance money to any depositors desiring to purchase or acquire a dwelling house, or dwelling houses in the City of Birmingham, or any interest therein.
(c) To utilise and invest the funds of the bank in accordance with the Act, and the regulations made thereunder, or

such other regulations as may be therein provided.

INTEREST.

The interest paid to depositors is 3½ per cent.

BRANCHES.

There is a central office, and twenty-five smaller offices throughout the city.

NUMBER OF DEPOSITORS.

The number of accounts open at February 28th, 1923, was 97,757.

AMOUNT TO CREDIT OF DEPOSITORS.

The amount standing to the credit of depositors at February 28th, 1923, was £2,679,880.

HOUSE PURCHASE DEPARTMENT.

For one penny in the pound per month, or 5 per cent. loans are advanced up to four-fifths (80%) of the value of a house. Repayments may be spread over a maximum period of twenty years. Interest is only charged on the outstanding balance at the end of each month.

There are at present 1,549 mortgages outstanding.

The amount so far borrowed by citizens for building purposes is £442,000, of which £147,000 has been repaid.

Applications for loans average forty-three per month.

Low costs on mortgages, so far as examining the title deeds, &c., are concerned, are free.

There is only one for valuation of property, plus stamp duty, to be paid by the borrowers.

MINISTER OF HEALTH.

It is interesting to learn that Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., now Minister of Health, took an active and energetic part in promoting the establishment of the municipal bank in Birmingham, and tribute is paid in Birmingham to his high civic spirit.

THRIFT.

It is felt that the establishment of municipal banks will develop the habit of thrift among a section of the working class, and will provide other facilities to do so, but to whose municipal bank offers a unique appeal by the special facilities afforded.

N.U.R. ORPHAN FUND—FLOWER DAY.

Owing to the financial difficulties in meeting the demands upon this fund, owing to the number of railway workers killed, a special appeal was made to the City Council to grant a day for street collections in the city.

Although the need was admitted the application was defeated on the ground that there are too many street collections already.

Yet Parliament has recently declined to recognize any obligation to support the widows and orphans. Surely the greatest memorial that can be established to men who are killed whilst performing their duty is that their widows and orphans should be fully provided for, without the risk of being neglected, or of having to resort to Poor-Law relief. The application will be repeated.

In referring to advertisements mention the "Sheffield Co-operative."

CO-OPERATIVE LAUNDRY, SHIREGREEN SHEFFIELD.

GREAT REDUCTIONS IN PRICES

Gents' Collars, 9d. per half-dozen,
1s. 6d. per dozen.

A Family Wash for 2s. 9d.

12 articles Washed, Ironed, and Aired
for 2s. 9d.

EVERY CO-OPERATIVE STORE IS A RECEIVING OFFICE.



MADE BY THE Wigston Hosiers Ltd.

(Co-operative Productive Society).

And Sold Only by Co-operative Societies.



Co-operative Men's Ladies' and Gents'

Hosiery & Underwear

Ask at the local Co-operative Society for this
Brand in the Drapery and Outfitting Dept.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED.

BRIGHTSIDE AND CARBROOK CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LIMITED

4 REAL GOOD LINES in HOSIERY.

Ladies' Silken Hosiery.

Flax Net
Mature Shades.

3/6
PER PAIR.

Ladies' Cashmere Hosiery.

BLACK, NAVY, ALL WOOL,
NIGEL, GREY, PUTTY.

2/11
PER PAIR.

Artificial Silk Hosiery.

In Black
and all
Colours.

2/11
PER PAIR.

Super Botany Cashmere
Hosiery.

Plain & Ribbed.

4/6
PER PAIR.

MAY BE OBTAINED AT ALL OUR DRAPERY BRANCHES

CO-OPERATION AGAIN CHALLENGED.

POLITICAL GRANTS.

CAPTAIN THORPE'S ATTACK IN PARLIAMENT.

A. V. ALEXANDER'S STINGING REPLY.

On May 16th, Captain Thorpe introduced a Bill into Parliament for the purpose of making co-operative political grants illegal.

He then gave an extract from Captain Thorpe's speech, and a full reply of Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., reply in moving the rejection of the Bill. We make no comment.

Captain Thorpe: I will conclude by reading a quotation from the hon. Member for East Ham (Mr. Alfred Barnes), to whom I should have referred in more appropriate terms. I hope his supporters will cheer what I am going to say, as they cheered the mention of his name. In a book called "The Political Aspect of Co-operation," referring to the union between the Socialist Party and the Co-operative Party he says: "Both of them are tributaries of democracy, watering the soil through which they flow, and destined eventually to unite in one great stream of working-class blood, flowing out to the sea of mass endeavours." (Hon. Members: "Hear, hear.") It is in order to protect people who object to that particular form of water from having to contribute, because they may be in a minority or they have not the opportunity to say that I ask leave to introduce the Bill.

LIBERATION FROM TYRANNY.

Mr. A. V. Alexander: I rise to oppose the application for leave to introduce the Bill. I agree that it is not quite the best course to oppose the first reading of Measures, except where they deliberately attempt to take up the time of the House, as with a Measure of this kind, simply for propaganda. I am sure that hon. Members in all parts of the House will agree that the hon. Member opposite has made simply a propaganda speech and has not advanced one iota of exposition of the Bill. We have not had a single reference to any clause of the Bill, and in view of the lack of any explanation of the powers sought in the Bill, I hope the House will oppose it. It is interesting to hear from hon. Members opposite the consistent statements that they stand for liberation. The co-operators are in Parliament to-day, and in political action to-day, because they seek the only means of getting liberation from the tyranny vested trade interests in this House.

For decades after decade working-class consumers, organising their own trade organisations, have had to submit to injustice after injustice perpetrated upon them by the trade representatives in this House, and yet these are the people who come along and talk about "liberation," co-operators with regard to political action. Let me remind hon. Members of one or two reasons which led to the election of Swansea Congress of 1917 that the movement should go in for political action. When food control was placed upon consumers of this country, who was it who suffered most in distribution? It was the great trading co-operative institutions of working-class consumers. Why? It was because the Government of the day, Liberal and Tory alike, had placed the charge of the distribution vested in merchants. When the profiteers, who still have representatives in this House, had to be tackled by the Government through the Excess Profits Duty, they had the inquiry to place the Excess Profits Duty upon the discounts returned to working-class consumers upon current prices.

THE ONLY WAY.

Let me remind the House of something else. On military tribunal after military tribunal private trading organisations, with representatives in this House, got preferential treatment with regard to military service. (Hon. Members: "No!") Apparently, that is denied, but at a deputation to the late Prime Minister the Right. Hon.

Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George), the facts were quoted, and he said that such things ought never to have happened. Case after case made it perfectly clear that the only possibility of co-operators getting justice in this country was themselves to get among the enemy in this House, for we know that there is only one way to defeat the enemy and that is to get as the hon. Member for Fylmouth (Viscountess Astor) reminds me, that we have friends in all parts of the House, who do not make the facts any less true that they were not been able to prevent injustices being done, and that we can never hope to get redress of grievances unless we get direct representation.

QUESTIONS FOR TODAY OPONENTS.

With regard to the principle of trading organisations' funds being used for political purposes (proceeded Mr. Alexander) I may I ask hon. Members opposite if they propose to introduce a similar Bill to prevent the funds of the National Farmers' Union being used for political purposes? May I ask the hon. and gallant gentleman whether he proposes to introduce a Bill to prevent the National Federation of Meat Traders from sending a further representative to this House? May I ask him whether he proposes to introduce a Bill to prevent any Member on his own side of the House, or any side of the House, from having a retaining fund for trading interests? He must be talking with his tongue in his cheek. An hon. Member who sits for a Scottish division, speaking on the Railway Bill in 1921, said: "We in this House all represent large trading interests, and we must protect them. Have not co-operators the right to protect themselves?"

CAPITAL AND CAPITALISM.

The hon. and gallant Member has just said that they are one of the greatest capitalist organisations in the country. He sits with his abolitionist. But there is this fundamental difference. Trade capital and their organisation are used for the general welfare of the community. We on this side of the House have no quarrel with capital, but we have a quarrel with capitalism, and in the co-operative movement—and this is the real thing behind the hon. and gallant Member's attitude—we have shown, by practical experience, by business capacity and acumen, by building up a tremendous business on fundamentally common-sense lines, by the people belonging to the movement, that the old system is not worth keeping, and that we in that voluntary co-operative movement have a social and economic gospel that we are not ashamed to prescribe in any other part of the country. Let me point out that the real, true, and keen co-operator, who is a democrat, desires no Government interference with the management of his society. If he really objects to being maltreated in a sum of £ or 20 per annum, say is about the average in the case of his societies who affiliate, he has already a means of getting out of his quag, and, if he still further objects, may get out of it himself. It is his Liberalism or Conservatism is of more value to him than the co-operative movement, he ought to be in the management of his society and defeat political representation.

THE SHEFFIELD POSITION.

I might also point out (proceeded Mr. Alexander) that it is not true, as was said by the hon. and gallant gentleman, that it has been defeated in Sheffield. It was defeated for a very short time, but only a few weeks ago a Sheffield Society decided to amend its rules by a two-thirds majority. (Hon. Members: "How many were present?") Members: "There were about 900 in the [continued at foot of next column.]

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GROCERY DEPARTMENT.

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HOME FED BACON, IRISH AND DANISH ROLL
BACON, AMERICAN BILLES AND SIDES, HAMS,
SHOULDERS, &c. HOME RENDERED LARD,
AMERICAN LARD.

DANISH BUTTER.

FRESH SUPPLIES WEEKLY.

C.W.S. TEAS, COCOA, COFFEE, and CHOCOLATES cannot be beaten.
C.W.S. SOAPS. Great Reductions in Price. The Quality is Excellent.
GIVE THEM A TRIAL.

CORN, WHEAT, BARLEY, OATS, a Choice Variety of FOWL
AND PIGEON MIXTURE for ordinary purposes, as well as
CHICK FEED, PULLIT FEED, MAPLE PEAS, TARES,
BEANS, GRIT, and POULTRY MEAL.

SHEFFIELD & ECCLESALL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.
TAILORING DEPARTMENT THE ARCADE, ECCLESALL ROAD.

There's Comfort in the "Ideal" Cut.

LINEs TO MEET YOUR URGENT NEEDS:

Suits (to Measure) - - 49/6
Costumes (to Measure) 55/-

Nothing we can say about the preference of men and women for these Suits and Costumes is half so convincing as the simple fact that the makers have been LEADERS in the trade ever since we first introduced them, and this year they have bettered their own best record.

Get YOUR CLOTHING from Your Store.

(Continued from second column.)

largest hall you could get in the city. Every member of the society was free to go, and, if he did not, it was his own fault. I suggest that this Bill is evidence, not only of a desire for cheap propaganda in this House, but of the fact that hon. Members on the other side of the House have got the wind up with regard to the growing intelligence, growing knowledge, and increasing evidence of the organising and business capacity of those who up till now have been the bottom dog; and it is because, out of their business experience and organisation, they are showing that they can be successful that hon. Members are afraid that we shall get too strong for some of the vested interests in this House.

Question put, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to render illegal the application of funds and levels of co-operative societies for political purposes."

The House divided: Ayes, 200; Noes, 159.

"OUR CIRCLE"

Monthly, 1d.

A Clear and Popular Magazine for Young Folk,
Full of Stories, Pictures, and Compositions.

Published by the National Co-operative Publishing Society, Limited,
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FOR GENTS AND BOYS.

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: Brand :

IS THE MOST RELIABLE.

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SUPPLIED FROM OUR OWN
BOATS AT SCARBOROUGH.

LIVE COD. LING.
CONGER. PLAICE.
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CHOICE JENNEY FILLETS,
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ENGLISH TRAPPED RABBITS.
FRESH COUNTRY EGGS.

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(as licensed and available)

GREEN FRUIT
DEPARTMENT.

EAT MORE FRUIT.

Asparagus
Cauliflower
Lettuce and
Onion
Peas
Potatoes

Tomatoes,
Plum, and
Apples.

Vegetable
Fruit and Veg.

Floral Designs
Made to Order.

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Orders may be placed at any branch.
No Order too small! Write to us.

Prices Right.
Quality Right. A Trial
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LADIES, GIRLS, AND
BOYS FOOTWEAR.Sperope
Brand :MADE UNDER TRADE
UNION CONDITIONS.
STAMP No. 12.STOCKED BY ALL CO-OPERATIVE
BOOT DEPARTMENTS IN SHEFFIELD.In replying to advertisements mention
the "Sheffield Co-operator."

Sheffield Co-operator.

JUNE, 1933.

DEFENSIVE POLITICS.

THE Fifty-fifth Annual Co-operative Congress met at Edinburgh on Whitman's day. The Congress, comprising 1,800 delegates from all parts of Great Britain, and representative of every section of the movement, once more declared its faith in collective ownership as a means of life. Once again it reiterated the obvious truth that political action is essential as a defensive measure against the organised opposition of those who favour the system of "Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost."

Sir Thos. Allen's speech on the Russian question, the Co-operative Party's proposals on unemployment, housing, and the Ruhr situation, the president's remarks on taxation, and a number of other political subjects were discussed, and it was obvious throughout the discussions that political action was absolutely essential to the future success of the movement.

It is asserted by certain opponents that if we leave politics alone politicians will leave us alone. That was not the case in Ireland, where co-operative groceries were destroyed by Government agents at a time when the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society was entirely non-political. Capitalist politicians will leave us alone so long as their economic interests are secure and no longer; and as capitalism stands for an entirely different economic system, it is inevitable that sooner or later we should have to meet the politicians on their own ground. Witness the activities of the Fascist Government in Italy towards the co-operatives. In Molinella (Italy) there was a fine agricultural co-operative society, which had perfect machinery, which was far too successful for the Fascist Government, who handed over the movement to a Government Commission. He made it his business to dissipate amongst the landowners the property which is the fruit of years of sacrifice and lofty idealism. On April 30th everything that had not been burned or stolen was sold by public auction in the name of the Government.

The goods of the society were handed over to the retail trader, textile wares to the drapers, the cattle, the horses, and the land to the landowners, the hatteries to the priests, the workers' clubs to the publicans, the brick-kilns to the industrialists, the machinery to engineering firms, and the co-operators themselves had their houses burned and were thrown out of work as a consequence of this Government action.

Political neutrality for a movement comprising 4,500,000 people, and, in the words of Miss Leworthy (an ex-president of the Congress), "working for no patchwork modifications, for no accumulation of capital and labor, for no infusion of a better spirit into the industrial form," but "laying the foundations of a new industrial civilisation." Political neutrality with such a gospel is an utter impossibility. Are the adherents of the old system going to allow us to spread and grow to establish a system which is opposed to their system? Of course not!

Defensive action is necessary in this country to-day because of the great co-operative developments that have already taken place. At last the objects of the co-operative movement are seen to threaten the old order and are being attacked from all sides. The Trade, the Federation of British Industries, and other allied organisations are moving heaven and earth to keep us out of the political arena. But Congress continues to assert and re-assert its right to insist and re-insist on principles not only for themselves but for practical application in every sphere of our social life.

At last the workers have something worth defending. Let us make all our speeches and write in defence of the achievement in history—the co-operative movement.

HOME NOTES.

By "PATRICIA."

There are sweet peas on top for a slight: With wings of gentle blue and delicate white. And taper fingers extending at all things. To braid them all about with tiny wrists.

How gracefully has the poet drawn a picture of the everyday flower.

June, the month of roses and flowers, is one of the months to bring beauty to the longer and warmer evenings give plenty of opportunity for work out of doors, and the bright sunshine brings on early fruits, so acceptable on the tea table.

The C.W.S. are specialising in seeds, young trees, bulbs, and everything for the garden, and their large test-ground bears witness to the hardiness of their plants. When thinking of seeds, &c., think also of your own movement.

Speaking of the longer evenings, I have heard people say they do not like them, because the children will not go to bed. But children will soon realize that "time for bed" must be obeyed if no argument about going to bed is allowed, and they easily get used to going to bed in the daylight, and sleep well, because the warm summer days are very bright.

The coming of summer makes one think of picnics, and these must turn out flask tin cups, rucksacks, and all the impedimenta for out of doors; and innumerable are revived of last year's picnics, and stories are told of getting caught in storms, and hilarious plans are made for getting out of the town this year.

The old motto to "keep your eye on the ball" is irresistibly for "keep your eye on the ball, and if you cannot get out in time to see the moon, the even will do nearly as well! In setting off each week-end for the day or afternoon with their rambling chairs, people leave more of the beauty spots round their native town, and it does no harm to make plans about living out there some day. Ideas get fleshed up, and a little flesh air does everybody good.

Are we going to allow the summer days to be clouded with threats of war with Russia? Ominous notes and ultimatums have passed backwards and forwards between our Foreign Minister and Russia—ultimatums which Parliament was not allowed to discuss until too late. This in face of a direct promise that nothing should be called upon to fight had a chance to discuss it first.

Foreign Secretaries may have a beautiful style of drafting these dictatorial notes, but it is the workers of this country who will be called upon to fight if the issue comes to war.

The imperialists of this country are still seeking to crush the Republic of Russia—the democracy of Russia which has been striving against ignorance of its people, animosity and hostility among renegades like Demin and others, and blockade and warfare from other nations. Any pretext is enough for the imperialists of this country to cut off trade with Russia, and that means famine, sickness, and death to the peasants of Russia, any pretext is good enough for the capitalists of this country, allied with France and Fascistic Italy, to declare war on the democracy of Russia.

It is up to the workers, and the women who have to stay at home no less, to resist imperialism in every time and all the time.

And while such serious things as threatened breaking with Russia faces people of this country, thousands outside Buckingham Palace, in order to which we can see every day in the images papers, on hoardings, on the boxes, and day-day news of the war, and hundreds of men and women and children must And what a good thing it did, too!

Have you tried adding cold raw potatoes to the green salad? Besides the cucumber, radishes, spring onions, tomato, and egg, hard-boiled the piquant touch, and the C.W.S. make an excellent salad dressing.

Why Patronise Private Enterprise

Then do

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Institution Road is the

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SUMMER PROGRAMME OF DANCES,
MONDAYS AND THURSDAYS,
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Is and Is. 9d. per bottle, for assistance
Trade Test, look at quality, form of wrapper,
or our own name.

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5d. per box, very superior for the ordinary
colic, biliousness or indigestion, and
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Is. 2d. per bottle. An excellent remedy
for bile, pain, and blood and skin
trouble generally.

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PASTILS.

9d. each, one certain to give relief in the
most distressing cases, and to remove
them if used persistently, either once or
twice a day.

OXYGEN BATHTRATES.

In our shops, in the fact book will be
found very beneficial in all cases of
coughs, colds, and sore throats, and
cathartic, adding or merely hot, and in the
best for the relief of rheumatism, joint
headache, also eruptions, it is a most
effective remedy.

Book Reviews.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

"The Economics of Unemployment," by J. A. Hobson. Published by Allen and Unwin, 4s. 6d.

John Atkinson Hobson, M.A., was formerly a University Extension lecturer in English Literature and Economics, and has published a large number of books on the latter subject.

His best-known work by far is "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," but a small volume of his in the Home University Library "Science of Wealth" has gained considerable popularity, and has been widely used for study circles.

Mr. Hobson's work is inclined to be a little heavy reading, so that it requires close attention, but once his style is mastered, any thoughtful reader will find him very useful indeed. One wonders if the Oxford and Cambridge Towns in Parliament ever read it; it is difficult to account for their views, without casting unpleasant reflections either on their minds or on their characters! A strong sense of Thorold Rogers, Professor Marshall, and J. A. Hobson would do them the world of good!

This particular book will render great service to the various committees put forward by the "Sheffield Co-operative," and by the large and growing movement of which we are a part. "Do you read reviews?" It is always worth the trouble to read the preface of a book before reading the book itself. He expresses in the preface his deep obligation to Sidney Webb and R. H. Tawney for reading the book in manuscript and making many valuable suggestions and corrections. Somehow or other, the name of Sidney Webb seems to find its way in a similar manner into most prefaces; he must spend half his time helping other people to "do good work."

Mr. Hobson is not dealing with the special phase of unemployment which is prevalent at the moment, but rather with those cycles of good and bad trade which are so familiar to us all. A period of depression was about to set in in 1914, says he, but the war disturbed the trend of industrial events, and resulted in one of the biggest booms we have ever known. Sooner or later, however, we expected to strike a bad patch, even if the peace had been successful and Europe were settled. Now, why is that? He explains that in his opinion (and he substantiates his argument abundantly) it is due to the inequality of income. There is a real, constant, and measurable need for goods and services, for food, houses, clothing, coal, &c., and there is a real capacity to make things and to distribute them. The raw materials are there, so are the labour, the machines, and railways, and yet we should have of us now and again got very short indeed and become unemployed, unless that neither our needs nor our abilities are any less! The reason is that those money get into too few hands; some people save too much, which they need to use as industrial capital, whereas consumption ought to be, and might be, increased by a better distribution of wealth. At present we learn to produce more quickly than we learn to consume. The result is that we over-invest, and do not spend enough on the products of industry. The end of this is a spell of bad trade and unemployment, which we correct in the course of time by "doles," but without being fully aware of what has happened.

Of course, there are people who argue that the heavy taxation of high incomes hampers trade. How can that be a time like the present, when the factories already built and the machinery in readiness are idle for a large part of the time? The same critic might ask the fact that low wages also hamper trade by preventing people from buying the goods they sorely need.

Modern industry has very strong notions of a "limited market," and it is supposed to be a surplus of goods produced as soon as the sale for them dies down, and both financiers and "princes of industry" have an exceedingly narrow

notion of what is meant by a "limited market." According to them, there is no demand for boots, for example, when the boot trade is slack; but what they really ought to say is that people have very little money to buy boots with, which is a very different thing. The only way to put things out, says Mr. Hobson, is to spread out money more evenly; in other words, to pay out considerably more wages.

The whole case cannot, of course, be put in this brief review—or there would be no need to write a whole book on the subject—but those who are opposed to the notion had better read the book itself. Liberalism. Mr. Keynes, author of "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," comes in for a drubbing. It is that work Mr. Keynes says: "It was precisely the inequality of distribution of wealth which made possible those vast accumulations of fixed capital which distinguished the nineteenth century from all others. . . . They could never have come about in a society where wealth was distributed equitably."

Mr. Keynes' case is, in fact, a "policy." "Our Liberal readers ought to spend a little time on this book for their salvation's sake." The Douglas Theory. One chapter is devoted to this subject. Most readers of Douglas's works have felt they were being enveloped in a mass of mental cotton-wool, and the excellent criticisms of Hobson is desirable at the present time. There is a mystic type of mind amongst us which can only find satisfaction in a dazzling mass of words, and

the economic phase of this type of mind is commonly found in the Douglas circle. On page 120 Hobson gives what he calls "the least intelligible summary of the doctrine in Major Douglas' own writings," and in our opinion he has summarized admirably. Much that Major wrote was, of course, common knowledge (although the Major does not seem to think so), but as to the remedy that he suggests, that is another matter. Certain of his essential premises are here examined, and will therefore make the book of interest to our friends in the Douglas movement.

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We have never been so busy as we are to-day.
We are working for our end, and that is the confidence of our customers.
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WHITE for outside and inside decoration is more fashionable than ever.
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One coat of "FLAT WHITE" and one coat of our FAMOUS ENAMEL, the best and cheapest on the market, makes a job that will last for years.

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Raines and Sponge Cloths, Plain and Woven Effects,
1/1s to 4/11s per yard.
Self-Coloured and Printed Voiles, Foulards and
Orpeans - 1/1s to 2/11s per yard.
Plain and Fancy Poplins, Repps, and Twardines,
1/11s to 2/11s per yard.
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VERY SPECIAL—

ALL SILK Ratine, 38 in. wide, 12 Leading Colours,
only 1/11s per yard.

SEE WINDOWS.

SEE WINDOWS.



THE CUPBOARD FAIRY.

It is very nice to have a fairy living in your house, but sometimes it is rather awkward.

You see, grown-ups don't believe in fairies. They say they do, but if you show them a fairy they are quite sure to say it is a fly or a moth, and want to kill it. They want to kill everything that has wings. So you have to be very careful if you have a fairy.

Em, our fairy, who was only four inches high, was very sweet, and did almost everything we told her, but once or twice she did do as she liked.

Em was inquisitive. She used to go round the kitchen examining everything, and she would fly up on to the dresser and come out her best hair, admiring herself in her reflection in a spoon. She used to do that about dragging the spoon out of the basket and put them in with the forks.

"You mustn't do that," I said to her, but she only laughed and pushed a tea-spoon on to the floor. Bobby and I were always afraid mother would come.

Then one day she escaped from the kitchen into the parlour. You know the parlour is very very small places, where you put chairs that are not strong, and where the company cups and saucers are, and mother's best hat, and a lot of picture frames, and where you sit a little on Sundays, and mustn't touch anything.

Our parlour is just like that. Bobby and I were quite frightened when we could not find Em anywhere, until we decided that she must be in there.

The door was ajar, and in we went. Oh! Em had found a wand for herself among the dolls, and there she stood with one of mother's best tea-cups all broken in bits, drawing a circle round it on the green carpet.

"Oh, Em!" cried Bobby. "Look, mother will be cross."

"It is the nearest thing I could find to a teacup," she said; and then we said that she had drawn many other white rings on the carpet, and that mother's best hat-box was open.

"What funny grass," Em exclaimed, pointing from dancing. "The teacup's been got, and that china thing is no use."

"Mother's hat," I whispered, and I'm had been dancing there, too.

"I said severely, "you are a wicked girl."
"But that was the only bit of forest I could find," she said with a sob. "And even there the birds were dead."

Then we were sorry for her because it must be dreadful hard to be so far away from the things you love.

"What strange things you live in," she said presently, "and how hard everything is—much harder than the grass. The grass isn't much to this earth, do be?"

"Oh, yes, but only in here in the morning," I explained.

"The great wall keeps him out," she said. "And how small it must be for you big people."

"It is," said Bobby, feeling he was a man who knew everything about the fairy question or whatever it is. Father often discusses it, but we have only moved once.

"Are there any more houses like this?" asked Em.

"Oh, heaps," I said.
Em dropped her wand and sat down on the floor, beginning to weep.

"I would only have a house," she said quietly, "that the sun came in at all sides, and the roof was all white."
Father began to laugh, when suddenly he ejaculated "Moths!" Hastily he put the lid on the hat-box and hid the broken cup in the china cupboard, while I grabbed hold of Em and ran to the kitchen.

I never could make out how it was that mother never missed that cup or noticed the damage to her hat and did rings on the carpet, but she never did. We never told her, because she would not believe in Em if we did.

(Continued next month.)

AN EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT.

A REPLY TO J. J. DALE.

We have purposely refrained from answering J. J. Dale earlier in the paper to which he so frequently writes because we anticipated an organised campaign against the retiring directors of the Sheffield and Ecclesall Board. Subsequent correspondence and the result of the election has proved that our suspicions were well founded. We do not hesitate to reply through the Sheffield press now, although we remember at least two occasions when our letters were suppressed, and one occasion when a letter in the Tory journal was altered. We know where the press stands on the matter; However, Mr. Dale questions the truth of the statement in our last month's leader about the non-political having no care. In the first place, he changes us "with the distribution of a little hand-bill whose authors recognised no bounds to propriety." This from a little party who distributed about 10,000 handbills at the last moment in the March election of the Brightside and Carlisle's directors at the polling-booths of the society; this at a time when thousands of poor people, and had been long appointed in the smallness of the dividend, due primarily to depression in the coal market, were feeling the pinch of poverty, and their members were disappointed to secure the election of a number of persons whom most of the members did not know and had never seen. The distributors of these handbills themselves were almost unscrupulous in their methods, persuading members verbally at the polling-booth that the society was in such a precarious condition that only the heaven-sent "non-politicals" could save it from collapsing. The constant undermining of members' confidence in their own organisation by this kind of propaganda is as dangerous as it is disgusting. Scores of members thought they were voting for a 2s. 6d. dividend when they voted for the "non-politicals" furthermore, it says little for the case of the "non-politicals" that majority of votes could be obtained by the distribution of a small handbill at the Victoria Hall meeting.

Mr. Dale's charge against the chairman is not only untrue, but mostroously unfair. Mr. Dimberline's service to the co-operative movement warrants better treatment than this. He has presided over the society's meetings for a number of years, and he has served on the board for still more years, helping the society through very difficult periods. Those who know Mr. Dimberline best respect him most, and a charge of this description is almost beneath contempt. We are pleased that Mr. Dimberline has not thought it worth while to reply to such a wicked calumny.

Mr. Dale says further that hundreds of people left the meeting. Are these the people who are anxious to rid the society of the "politicals"? Was it too much trouble for them to stay and register a vote—a ballot vote—in favour of the non-politicals? As a matter of fact, the statement itself is untrue. We were at the meeting, and whilst some may have left, it was a very small proportion indeed, not running into the tens, let alone hundreds.

A further reason for the carrying of the vote, says Mr. Dale, was the presence and a speech from that great proflig of political co-operation, the Member for Hillsborough, Mr. Alexander. A speech lasted two minutes. But we have no need to defend Hillsborough's presence against Mr. Dale. The term proflig would be more fitting to the latter gentleman, having regard to the various oscillations in his own political career.

He says further that the majority for the new rule was about thirty. As a matter of fact, the majority for the new rule was more than two to one. What Mr. Dale says if his new-found leader, Mr. Neal, had secured a two to one majority?

Mr. Dale wishes to remind the paid political organiser of a debate. The term "paid" is one of Mr. Dale's pet terms in connection with this matter. Anyone would imagine that he was not

DIRECTORY OF LOCAL PROGRESSIVE BODIES.

CO-OPERATIVE MEN'S GUILD.
 Darnley.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 7.40 p.m., in the Educational Institute, 49, Clarendon-road. Secretary: Mr. J. Conway.
 Hillsborough.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., in the Hillsborough Co-operative Society, 1, Claxby, 25, Birkbeck-road, Vauxhall.
 Sheffield and Ecclesall (General).—Meetings held on Wednesdays, 8 p.m. (Summer only), Ecclesall-road, in the Arcade Store; Mr. J. Ross, 40, Ulverston-road, Millhouses.
 Fifth Park.—Meetings held every Friday, 7.30 p.m., in the Fifth Park Pavilion. Secretary: E. Hogan, 6, Roby-street.

General.—Meetings held every Thursday 8.15 p.m., in room over banked shop, Frankston, Attercliffe. Secretary: R. Allan, 7, Frankston-road.
 Hillsborough.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 8 p.m. in room over Gladstone Buildings, 112, Cartmel-road, Woodside.
 Tinsley.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., in Guild Room over Hartwood Road, Tinsley. Secretary: J. H. Pearce, 122, Grosvenor-road, Tinsley.

CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.
 Glossop-road.—Meetings held every Monday, 8.30 p.m., in the Guild Room (over Gladstone Buildings), 112, Cartmel-road, Woodside. Secretary: Mrs. A. G. Linton, 56, Baxendale-road, Moorhall.
 Hillsborough.—Meetings held every Tuesday, 7 p.m., in the Guild Room, Roby-street. Secretary: Mrs. Agar, 40, Heeley-terrace.

Sheffield.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in the Co-operative Institute, Bellhouse. Secretary: Mrs. Hill, 125, Exporter-road.
 Hillsborough.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in the Hillsborough Co-operative Institute, 112, Cartmel-road. Secretary: Mrs. Breslin, 37, Beoley Wood-road, Vauxhall.

Grayside.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 7.40 p.m., in the Grayside Co-operative School, Hillsborough-road. Summer holidays alternate Tuesdays. Secretary: Mrs. Long, 28, Hill Attercliffe.

Widley.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 7 p.m., in the Vestry, Wesleyan Chapel, Howard-road. Secretary: Mrs. Eakin, 362, Widley-road.

ATTERcliffe LABOUR PARTY.
 Parliamentary Representative: Mr. C. H. Wilson, M.P. Secretary: Mr. W. Harecock, 757, Attercliffe-road.

TRADE UNIONS, &c.
 National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (N.U.D.A.W.).—Meetings held first Wednesday in each month at St. Paul's Church, Chadwell-street, at 5.30 (P.M.). Secretary: Mr. J. D. Dripps, 2, Digby, 72, Crago-lane, Sheffield.

GUILDS FEDERATION.
 Sheffield and Ecclesall Guilds Federation.—Meetings held last Wednesday in each month, 8 p.m., in the Co-operative Cafe, The Arcade, Ecclesall-road. Secretary: Mrs. Lawton, 30, Baxendale-road.

[Continued from previous column.]

paid for the organising work he did for the Tariff Reform League and the non-political section of the Brightside and Carlisle Co-operative Society. They would imagine, further, that the "non-politicals," when they had obtained seats on the board, refused to accept their office. We have not yet heard of such a case. The use of the term "paid," in Mr. Dale's case, is to play down to the lowest instincts of the people, to set up a sort of idea that somebody is robbing them. This kind of thing makes public service very difficult to some of us. We confess it is difficult to reply to persons like this, who are doing this kind of thing. To give an adequate reply to all one would have to sink to their level. Let us, therefore, say that we have no answer to that particular part of Mr. Dale's letter except that we were created in such a way that we need food, drink, clothing, shelter, education, and recreation like the rest of humankind. We maintain that we earn every farthing that is paid to us. Further, that we do not do it with honesty or purity of motive. We do it because of the righteousness of our cause. Then as to the challenge. We offered to debate the merits and demerits of the political action now being taken. They throw Mr. Dale in as a makeweight. We will meet the two of them on any platform.

[Continued from top of next column.]

HOLIDAY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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For particulars apply: Miss G. DAVIES, Managers, Culcheth Hill, Newchurch, or Warrington, or Secretary, Co-operative Society, LEIGH, Lancashire. Telephone, 323 Leigh.

Picnic Parties, Excursions, and Open-air Fetes

Can be GRATIFIED and SATISFIED when applied with

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And the may other Articles, such as Dairy Preparations of the C.W.S. sold in Sheffield Co-operative Stores. ASK FOR THEM.

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at the Lakeside and Torquay, Devon, 2 (Inland, in holiday use).

Douglas Y.M.C.A. Holiday Centre

FOR CENTRAL

Grand Sea View. Full Board, 55/- Weekly.

Pamphlet from R. SMITH, Manager.

BLACKPOOL.—Comfortable Apartments; near Sea, Station, and amusements. Terms—Mrs. J. Warron, 27, York-shire-street, Central.

[Continued from previous column.]

form in Sheffield, providing that they will pay for the ball and fix a date mutually convenient to ourselves and ourselves. The provision that the "non-politicals" should pay for the bill is due to two facts:—

1. We have no authority to spend any money except that decided upon by the fully representative executive committee of the Sheffield Co-operative Party. We don't spend money at the dictation of any individual, either political or non-political.

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is Stock and ready for immediate delivery. After you have decided upon the date and destination of your holiday, call and see our stock of Travelling Goods in the Biscuit Showroom.

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22-inch SUIT CASE,

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Loose tray, BRASS LEVER LOCKS.

Grand Value, £1 15s. 6d.

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LEEDS (HOLIDAYS).—Mrs. DRYAS, 4, Leaden House, Market-Place. Comfortable Apartments. Two minutes from sea.

2. As the "non-politicals" are themselves receiving salaries from the co-operative movement, and as there is supposed to be such enthusiasm against politics, there should be no difficulty in raising the money for the hire of the hall and the necessary advertisement.

We propose to attend such a meeting and debate the question with the two gentlemen whose names we have mentioned. The sincerity or otherwise of these two will best be tested by their attitude to the challenge.

A. BALLARD.

[Continued from top of next column.]

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FINEST YARNS

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AIREDALE Serges
AIREDALE Gabardines
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PERFORMING IN THE THEATRE, at 7.30 p.m.
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36,000 OF THESE LITTLE FELLOWS
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OUR BREAD IS GUARANTEED

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THE First Assurance of Safety in the "Safety First" Idea
is to secure perfectly PURE, RICH MILK for YOUR BABIES!
We are now prepared to supply ..

Milk in Sealed Bottles at
4d. per bottle.

1. In 1907 the Board of Directors decided to supply
members with milk. Milk is the life-blood of the community
-infants and growing-up alike. It is a difficult problem to supply
them with pure, clean milk. To accomplish it, it was decided
that supplies should come from the Derbyshire Dales, and to
build a plant which would safeguard members

2. Firstly comes checking for quality and prevention. Planned to the receiving tank
and then to the warmer at 94 degrees, and so on to the centrifugal creamer, and
then to the separator. Next the creamer heats it to 145 degrees, and so on to the
milk cooler at 40 degrees. The milk cold firm is chilled by an exact Refrigerating
Plant, the air being kept dry during the night, an essential point in churning
Milk is tested for bacteria, and supplies which fall below the average are dropped.

3. Weekly output, 14,000 gallons, delivered by 24 vans and 6
barrows. Members can secure a supply of pure milk by purchasing tickets from
2s. 6d. Return experience has succeeded in extracting two pounds of cream
and 1 1/2 lbs. from milk through a dairy centrifuge after one day's supply of milk had
passed through.

4. Do not drink such fatty milk; get pure milk from the Brightside
and Carbrook Co-operative Society.

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A HOUSE OF
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For a GOOD SOUND SCHEME
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