



The SHEFFIELD CO-ORATOR



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BROTHERHOOD AND CITIZENSHIP.

BY THE RIGHT HON. A. V. ALEXANDER.

MR. ALEXANDER is this year's president of the National Brotherhood Movement—below are extracts from his presidential address—

Mr. Alexander commenced by stating the covenant of the societies affiliated to the Brotherhood Movement as follows—

- To win the people for Jesus Christ.
 - To give ourselves to the faith and service of Christian Brotherhood.
 - To promote the practical expression of religion.
 - To encourage the exercise of Christian citizenship.
 - To assist the spirit of co-operation and goodwill in industry.
 - To promote international peace and the fellowship of nations.
- We shall surely all be agreed that those six articles of our covenant were never more justified than by the circumstances and events of our time both at home and abroad. To win the people for Christ, of course, needs no justification. It is our failure to lift Him up before the people that needs forgiveness. Christian Brotherhood ought to need no justification to the Christian, for we love not our Brother whom we have seen, "how," says the Apostle, "can we love God whom we have not seen?"

PRACTICAL RELIGION.

"The practical expression of religion" is not to be so simply and shortly stated. "Practical" is capable of so many interpretations, especially in the minds of any seeking so that "they all with one accord may make excuses." But I think some old lines express what was in the minds of those who drew up our Charter—

Religion should be to every man

- (1) Not merely a creed but an experience.
- (2) Not a restraint, but an inspiration.
- (3) Not an insurance for the next world, but a programme for the present.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

This surely cannot be separated from the exercise of Christian citizenship, or from developing co-operation and goodwill in industry. These three articles definitely lay upon us the responsibility of publishing and emphasizing the social implications of the Gospel, but more, of carrying them into effect. The Brotherhood Movement in the past has done some great work in arousing the conscience of the nation, but looking round at affairs to-day we must admit there is need of greater work yet. No one can deny, and it would be childish to make the attempt, that in many directions substantial progress has been made, in educational opportunity, in housing accommodation, in social hygiene and public health services, in provision for the unemployed, and the care of the aged poor. A comparison of the year 1924 with the year of the foundation of our movement tells its own story, and in common with other religious, social, and beneficent organizations, we may feel we have had some part in creating these changes for the better. But these have not been the only changes. In the forty-odd years of our existence as a movement, revolution has occurred in our industrial and economic life.

POVERTY COULD BE ABOLISHED.

Knowledge has so stimulated man's inventive genius as to give him power over Nature as never before, to produce more easily and more plentifully all the needs. Logically, poverty should have been wiped away, fatigue should have been reduced to a minimum, hunger or any measure of privation should be unknown, and that awful fear of the worker of economic insecurity should have been a relic of the past.

Actually, if you reckon the unregistered unemployed, 2,500,000 of our people are diverted from the means of earning their own livelihood, the numbers in receipt of Poor-Law assistance have increased by over 400,000 in two-and-a-half years, and the stories told by the witnesses of the experiences of unemployed men and their wives have shocked the listeners. I could expand this aspect of the situation at length if I had more time, but it will suffice for my purpose to say that conditions are such that the Brotherhood more than ever needs to arouse the social conscience.

The fact is that knowledge has outstripped the moral sense and has created a situation that threatens all civilization. And the threat is man-made. The gift of providence to man of science meant the power to overcome poverty. The Brotherhood has been used to create millionaires on the one hand and paupers on the other. The Elder Brother was fearless in his denunciation of the Mammon of his equally fearless. His disciples must be equally fearless. He was accused before Pilate of stirring up the people. We need hardly be ashamed if we are subject to the same accusation. The Brotherhood Movement cannot, and must not, remain silent so long as social injustice and unnecessary human suffering remain in our midst. The valuable little pamphlet issued by the movement, entitled "The Brotherhood Movement: What it is, and What it Does," is right to claim that the unaccomplished mission of Christianity is to reconstruct Society on the basis of brotherhood.

PEACE.

I hope that during the coming year I may be spared to expound this more fully, but I also desire to direct the attention both to this conference and of the Brotherhood Movement as a whole to the urgent necessity of striving for peace and liberty. Let us look first at the question of peace. As our brethren who put their heads in the sand if we seek to close our eyes to the danger to peace and liberty in this country. The industrial and economic changes which I have already referred to, the dislocation of our social life caused by the last Great War, and the accentuation of unemployment and poverty have had their effect in weakening and strengthening the demand for the working classes for effective social changes, both in the great tribute to the common good and soundness of our nation, and the sense of our people that heart of their own aspirations was force to achieve their aspirations. There has been so far practically no change in a small section of the "class war," or what is termed the "class struggle," and which has advanced by force to end the class struggle. It is one of the most remarkable

features of post-war events that this has been completely rejected by the British democracy. In my view this has not only been politically sound, but it has been Christian. It is true that class divisions exist.

LIBERTY.

Our civil and religious liberty has been 400 years in the making, but if we are not careful this liberty may be imperilled, if not wiped out, during the next decade. I repeat what I have said elsewhere—I have no faith in any system under whatever name you call it and from whatever quarter it springs, which proposes to compel men to renounce their liberty. In fact, it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty. It has been said that systems which rest on the principle of absolutism must not be merely tyrannical, but in the long run feeble and ineffective.

THE APPEAL TO YOUTH.

There is a special danger in the masses in which the youth of our nation is being urged to support this policy of dictatorship, described as new but yet so old, and redolent of tyranny and historical failure. There is, of course, a superficial attraction to youth in the suggestion that it is ready to dress in uniform, to march and counter-march, and to give a swaggering impression of strength and force. The Brotherhood movement must surely lead the way in educating our youth to the fact that it is far more manly, and in the end far more progressive and far more constructive and permanent, to stand for the principles of brotherhood and liberty.

Is true freedom but to break

Peters for our own dear sake
And our leaders hearts forget
"That we owe mankind a debt"
No! True freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free.

After dealing with the manner in which the regrettable antipathy between nations had been developed during the past few years, Mr. Alexander said—

VERSAILLES TREATY.

The root of the whole trouble is the failure of the nations to adopt the true principles of Christian brotherhood. Many of those who were scorned for their opposition to the conditions imposed by the Allies upon the Central European powers after the War can sorrow that the fears then expressed have been justified by events. When I think of all that has happened in Europe since 1920, I feel that the great Roman, Cicero, was profoundly right when he taught the doctrine that—"The honourable man, like the honourable woman, will refuse to take advantage of a neighbour, especially in order to become either powerful or rich."

It has been inevitable from 1922 onwards, that there should be pressure for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, and that great people could not be kept for a long period in any position of inequality within or without the comity of nations. But we have taken far too long to learn, and with far too great economic disturbance and suffering, that you cannot lower to unequal

standards either your fellow citizens or foreign nations in this interdependent world without lowering your own standards and inviting retaliation.

THE GREATEST OBSTACLE.

As I pen this address, the World Disarmament Conference has resumed its sittings, and has done so obviously in an atmosphere in which fear is predominant.

Continuing, Mr. Alexander advocated the submission of international disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and went on to say—

On all these and similar questions no doubt our movement will be found on the right side, but in my view it is fundamental to concentrate on the alternative means of settling disputes, and I submit that the use of the Permanent Court of International Justice is the method to adopt and work for.

Since its establishment the court has done several useful pieces of work, and has made itself settled some cases which might conceivably otherwise have led to strife, but it is not being used to anything like the extent it ought to be used.

LAW INSTEAD OF WAR.

All the nations have not yet, for example, signed the optional clause, and many which have done so have hedged the signature about with reservations. It took this country nearly ten years to decide to sign, and then not without reservations.

Some countries in making bilateral treaties are making provision for arbitration through the court in the event of dispute on matters affected by the particular treaty, and this is all to the good, but questions affecting "national honour" are generally excluded.

I also desire to stress the use of the International Court because of the question of security so frequently raised by those who fear to disarm. Our experience up to date is that certain great powers do not regard the Pacts and Covenants already entered into as affording any additional margin of security as would warrant disarmament. That is largely because of the present machinery for dealing with disputes and the use very often of the council of the league for adjustment of conflict. There will never in my judgment be the same confidence in decisions by the council of the league composed of political representatives in actual dispute between nations as there would be in the completely non-political and unbiased findings of the permanent international court.

We want the use of law instead of war, and the only way to reach that goal is to begin to use the court effectively, try cases, amend the law upon experience, and then proceed to codify it. In short to follow the line of development in international law that every great power has had to take in building its own internal and national laws.

CREATING PUBLIC OPINION.

But we must make public opinion on these questions. It is appalling how little interest is taken in them until a crisis looms up. International peace is so prominent in our brotherhood pro-

(Continued on next page)

GAS AGAIN!

programme that I should like to see study groups inaugurated in as many centres as possible, where necessary in conjunction with the League of Nations Union. Get our men and women, too, to have a real knowledge of the covenant of the league, what it has accomplished, and where it needs amendment, what is the international court of justice, how it is constituted, and what it has accomplished. To the study also of such questions as sanctions and international police forces for implementing decisions of the court, and be ready to stand up in consequence at any time for the peaceful methods of settling disputes instead of for war. It is in refusing to accept our responsibilities now that we shall merit disgrace in the next generation.

NO TIME FOR DESPAIR.

This is no time for despair, but one for the raising of public opinion, and this brotherhood movement can, if it will, with the aid of the sisterhood, do that.

We've stood the test of war, we saw it through, in Flanders mud. As once at Waterloo, is peace less worth an effort to pursue?

Let us set our minds to the task. Let us remember our belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Let us witness for this in all our affairs, at home and abroad, and strive for the day when we shall—

Hear no more the yelp of the beast, And man is quiet at last, As he stands on the height of his life With a glimpse of the heights that are higher.

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This June Council meeting was a very rapid affair, the minutes being gone through with remarkable speed. Though this is the only public meeting where Council business is conducted, it is the least important one as a rule. Capitalists would say, that capital is not used to a very small degree. As the capitalists would say, that capital is not used to a very small degree. As the capitalists would say, that capital is not used to a very small degree.

THE REAL WORK.
The real work is done in the various committees, and even more in the sub-committees. It is not spectacular, but it is enormous and unending. Apart from the routine of going through committee minutes, the Council has from time to time to consider special proposals laid before it, which have been entrusted to some particular member to move. Such proposals again are sometimes mere devices to be "in the picture," sometimes for the purpose of embarrassing the other party, and occasionally with the desire of adding to the service that can be rendered.

Councillor Hunter is a great man on the "special" resolution; Councillor Lloyd, too, can do a little in that direction.

COUNCILLOR LLOYD.
A month ago the latter gentleman took an exceptional opportunity. Both parties had agreed to support the proposal to lift (or lower) Mr. Bancroft to the Aldermanic Bench. It should therefore have been merely a formal matter to nominate, second, and pass an appropriate resolution. But Councillor Lloyd must have a dig at this agreed procedure, and accordingly proposed that he himself should be alderman! He scored a laugh, but no second.

LIGHTING.
—This time he made an attack from another angle. He proposed that there should be a comparison of the effectiveness and cost of electric as compared with gas lighting for streets and roads. Now there is no need whatever to do this, as the most careful comparisons have already been made elsewhere in the kingdom, and there is no doubt whatever that electricity is the light of the future. Gas has its valuable uses—but lighting is not one of them, and it must, on the score of fitness, unevenness, and even cost, take a back seat. That will be even more pronounced in future than it is at the moment.

GAS v. ELECTRICITY.
Briefly, his proposal is that, say, a quarter of a mile of road shall be lighted by gas, and an adjoining quarter-of-a-mile by electricity, with the best available apparatus to get equal and efficient lighting. That having been secured, then the total costs per year that would be incurred by each method are to be shown. Well, even on that, electricity would be well away. At the

moment, the Electricity Department has laid many supply mains at a considerable cost in capital, and such mains are either not used at all or are used to a very small degree. As the capitalists would say, that capital is not used to a very small degree. As the capitalists would say, that capital is not used to a very small degree.

CLEANING UP SHEFFIELD.
By the progressive reduction of the use of coal and gas for all lighting and heating purposes (except in some few special instances of furnace work where gas is certainly not yet been superseded) we shall make Sheffield a smokeless and grimeless city in due time. The fouling of the air by the burning of gas will vanish also. Moreover, electricity for this purpose should time, electricity for this purpose should time, electricity for this purpose should time, electricity for this purpose should time.

COUNCILLOR HUNTER.
Councillor Hunter wanted to get an inquiry made into the question of tramway tenders for clothing. He had found a mare's nest, but when Alderman Bailey had finished with him, he must have been sorry he ever drew attention to it.

GENEROSITY.
There used to be a notice in a tradesman's window in Sheffield which evidenced the generosity of the tradesman: "Lads' Footballs Blown Up for Nowt." This is matched by the Corporation Water Department. Have you had your bil-pat re-lathered? If not, you are not one of the lucky ones. "The number of bil-pats and bil-taps re-lathered free of charge" in May was 5,976. When you come to think that if each of these taps had dripped only one drop to waste each second of time, the loss of water in twenty-four hours would be 206,740 gallons, you can see how important this work is.

Yet many taps that are in good order are allowed to drip at this speed, which is very small. If all the taps in Sheffield did so, the loss would be at least 4,500,000 gallons a day. Moral: Turn your taps off properly and save water from waste.

ADULTERANTS.
The City Analyst's report (pages 588-590 of Minutes) gives a long list of tests taken, many foods being adulterated. Perhaps it is not food, but whisky comes in for criticism, as two out of four samples contained an excess of water! We have heard people say that all post-war whisky suffered from this alleged defect.

There needs to be increasing vigilance in connection with the food of the people. "Wholesale markets and shops were inspected daily, and the fish condemned amounting to two tons, one quarter; forty-four tins of canned goods, ten cases of oranges, twenty-seven bags of walnuts, and fifteen couples of rabbits were also condemned."

Saving the rates on that service of inspection would certainly not be an economy, and one wonders how many imperfect foods do get sold, since it is impossible to keep an eye on everything—while profit can be made upon sales.

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Tea and Refreshments at moderate prices.
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The Housing Policy of the City of Leeds.

BY COUNCILLOR THE REV. C. JENKINSON, M.A., LL.B. (Chairman of the Leeds Housing Committee).

Reprinted by kind permission of Councillor Jenkinson.

could water laid on, and a set-put for boiling the clothes.

THINK WHAT THIS MEANS.

"There is no water closet in the house, and no accommodation for the storage of household refuse. Water is provided outside. Water in blocks of two, four or six, either often under bedrooms—two houses—or other end of the row. The entrance and dark, and the conveniences themselves are of the old type situated on an inside wall. Generally speaking, the ribs of conveniences to houses is one to three—often by modern standards, is totally inadequate. Domestic refuse is deposited in an asphalt adit which is obtained through a small door from the dark and narrow passage. In many cases the adit is situated under the pavement, in a trap-door fitted with a foot-stair. With the passage of time the walls, roof, and woodwork of the houses show unmistakable signs of decay. In some cases the walls are bulging, and have to be repaired. This is only by constant repair that the structure can be held together and kept water-tight. Owing to the deterioration of the structure, and the absence of damp-proof courses, evidence of dampness on the inside walls and bedroom ceilings is general. A house of this type, as will be readily appreciated, lends itself to competition, and in many parts of the city the number of these houses to the acre is as many as seventy or eighty."

STAGGERING FIGURES RE OVERCROWDING.

Overcrowding in many of these houses is, of course, rife, and the figures which are revealed on area after area is surprising and staggering. Here are the figures relating to areas now being dealt with.

In 1,874 houses with only two rooms (living-room and bedroom, i.e., which have not the upstairs room divided into two), the population is:

150 houses, 1 person each; 434 houses, two persons each; 375 houses, three persons each; 351 houses, four persons each; 216 houses, five persons each; 173 houses, seven persons each; 202 houses, seven persons each; twenty-two houses, eight persons each; nine houses, nine persons each; nine houses, ten persons each.

In 1,053 houses which technically have two bedrooms (i.e. in which the upstairs room is divided into two), the population is:

263 nine-persons, one person each; 212 nine-persons, two persons each; 219 houses, five persons each; 124 houses, six persons each; ninety-three houses, six persons each; seventy-four houses, eight persons each; fourteen houses, nine persons each; five houses, ten persons each; two houses, eleven persons each. The effect of overcrowding and overpopulation of houses and overpopulation in houses find their natural reflection in the vital statistics for these areas, and for the city as a whole. No comment for the city as a whole. The following table, ment is needed on the first five areas representative for clearance with (a) the city as a whole and (b) normal conditions of the built-up working class area. All figures are up portion of the city. All figures are the average over ten years.

Normal The City Healthy	Clearance Areas
Area 1000 1 2 3 4 5	Area 1000 1 2 3 4 5
94 117 121 121 121	94 117 121 121 121
93 93 93 93 93	93 93 93 93 93
Birth Rate per 1000 of population.....	Birth Rate per 1000 of population.....
11 11 11 11 11	11 11 11 11 11
Infant Mortality Rate per 1000 of children per 1000 of population.....	Infant Mortality Rate per 1000 of children per 1000 of population.....
23 23 23 23 23	23 23 23 23 23
2000 2000 2000 2000 2000	2000 2000 2000 2000 2000
2000 2000 2000 2000 2000	2000 2000 2000 2000 2000
Tuberculosis Deaths per 1000 of population.....	Tuberculosis Deaths per 1000 of population.....
21 21 21 21 21	21 21 21 21 21
21 21 21 21 21	21 21 21 21 21

MERE DEMOLITION NO SOLUTION.

In face of such facts the Labour majority has had no hesitation in forwarding to the Minister of Health a programme for the "representation" of the whole 30,000 houses for complete clearance within six years ending December 31st, 1939; and the Minister (who visited Leeds last autumn and saw things for himself) has accepted the programme.

But the mere demolition of unfit houses is by itself no solution of the slum problem attaching to them. New and better houses must be provided to replace the unfit ones, the population of the cleared areas must be given these houses, and must become so habituated to them that hereafter the life under the old conditions will be unthinkable. To secure this last is the supreme object of everything we are doing, and the explanation of some features of our policy which at first glance may seem puzzling.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT. REHOUSING.

The Leeds Labour housing policy is one of what we term 100 per cent. rehousing: i.e., for every house that is demolished, there is not only to erect a new house, but that new house is to be the kind of house that is actually required. Therefore our new estates are being planned:

Thirty per cent. one-bedroomed flats (in blocks of four) specially designed for ageing couples or single persons.

Ten per cent. two-bedroomed houses (for newly-married couples and those with small families).

Fifty per cent. three-bedroomed houses, for the average family.

Ten per cent. four-bedroomed houses, for families over the average, with a sprinkling of five-bedroomed houses for the largest families.

Further, 5 per cent. of all the dwellings, excepting the ageing-pairwork flats, are to have an "open-air" bedroom facing south—these are for families with a delicate member requiring all the sun and air that it is possible to obtain.

HOUSE AND ESTATE DESIGN REVOLUTIONISED.

Space does not permit of any detailed description of either our new houses or estates. House and estate design alike are being revolutionised, with the object of providing a better house in finer surroundings than has hitherto been the case. One of the first things we did was to establish a housing directorship, and in all this it being done the greatest credit is due to Mr. R. H. Livett, A.R.I.B.A., under whose untrusting supervision an admirably staffed department is being created, competent in every section to carry through the whole programme. Nor can we say anything about the block flats we shall be erecting in two or three quarters of the city. None of us has any doubt that the cottage is the best dwelling for the normal English family, and our policy is "a cottage, and a cottage of the right size, for every family that will take the cottage. But the fact must be faced, especially when a population of about 250 persons per acre is being frequently dealt with over considerable areas, that some families will not be able to move out to new estates, and that in some districts the number of such families will be so considerable that rehousing in flats on the cleared sites will be the only practicable policy.

When conducting our investigations on behalf of the Labour group, two of

us spent a fortnight on the Continent studying flat development in Vienna and elsewhere. The result of our recommendations will be seen below here in the commencement of two great blocks of flats, one occupying sixteen acres and the other five acres, the buildings occupying not more than twenty per cent. of the areas, which will combine the best features of Continental developments with the far superior internal arrangements of the English house.

The Leeds policy thus ensures that the new accommodation will be both sufficient and adequate. But we know quite well that our task is less than half accomplished when we have both demolished the unfit habitations and built the new ones. If we are to solve the problems at its acutest point we must make it possible for the poorest families to get into the new houses and to continue to live in them. For what help is it to the poorest to see their old home knocked down and a new one built in its place, if the new one is financially beyond their reach? The Leeds policy at this point is extremely simple. The first step is to secure of every person in a slum clearance area for whom (theoretical) rehousing provision is made a Government subsidy: the municipality is to pay the correct amount in respect of each new dwelling it provides. The whole of the value of these two subsidies must be used to subsidise the flats in the aggregate, the method of reduction being at the discretion of the local authority. The method adopted by most municipalities is to attach most, if not all, of the subsidy to the house, reducing the cost of all houses by an approximately equal sum. The method we have adopted is to attach no subsidy whatsoever to the houses. The subsidy is to be paid in respect of the subsidies to the tenants, dividing it amongst them in relief according to their needs.

WHERE LEEDS POLICY IS NOVEL.

There is, of course, nothing novel about the principle of anyone who is laid up or girl has won a scholarship will be familiar with the procedure whereby the maintenance grant is adapted to the needs of the family, if it need be changed from time to time to meet altered circumstances; and rent differentiation schemes are in operation in some twenty dozen English cities and towns. Where it differs in the Leeds policy is the basis of differentiation. It follows from the fact that no subsidy is attached to the house that the weekly rate of every house affected by the scheme (i.e. all houses under the 1923, 1924, and 1930 Housing Acts) is the municipal economic rent, the "cost" of the house to the municipality (loan charges plus maintenance). Every tenant who can reasonably pay that rent is required to do so; every tenant who cannot make it pay is entitled to apply to the housing committee for rent relief, and may be granted it, on the basis of a minimum needs scale. It is this scale which constitutes the unique feature of our differential rent policy. We have concluded (and there is ample evidence to support our conclusions), first, that a considerable number of tenants will be unable to meet existing municipal estates, can quite well afford to pay the municipal economic rent of the kind of house they require; and secondly, that the assistance required by those families who need assistance varies as between families and may vary at different times in the life history of the family; thirdly, that at all times the amount

of our policy I can only mention, and must leave readers to connect with our general objective—the provision of a new housing which every family affected will have the right of tenancy to share in, and which will reconvert the municipal furniture scheme, enabling families to re-turbish to their own liking, and to have the cost of the provision of specially-equipped small lodging houses.

(Continued on next page.)

LABOUR STARTLES BY RAPID ACTION.

The rapidity with which we have got to work since we obtained control of the City Council in November has no doubt startled many people; and possibly even many Labour folk (too often accustomed to platform froth unrelated to actual possibilities and practical plans) are thinking that Leeds is going much too fast. But the explanation of our rapid progress in the housing field is simple. Nearly three years ago, when but one-third of the City Council, the Leeds Labour Group, was wise enough to depaite three of its members to study exhaustively the Leeds housing problem and report upon it. Those members spent nearly two years on their task, as members of a sub-committee of the Council which the Conservative majority was persuaded to set up. The majority issued a report which speedily attained oblivion: the Labour minority issued a report which was generally recognised as the most important contribution ever made to the study of the question in the City. It is this Report* which forms the basis of everything that is now being done by the Leeds Labour Group through its office with thoroughly thought-out plans in its pocket: all that it has had to do is to put those plans into operation.

MEDICAL OFFICER'S DAMNING REPORT.

The complexity of problems which we call the slum problem varies considerably in its incidence and composition as between town and town. Its core in Leeds is indubitable; it lies in the existence within the city of approximately 10,000 insanitary, overcrowded houses of the oldest type of back-to-back house. This type of dwelling is unknown to many people, but a description of these 30,000 Leeds houses by our Medical Officer of Health will, I think, leave no one unconnected with their ownership in two minds as to what needs to be done with them:

"The oldest type of back-to-back house in Leeds, built before 1871, is built in long unbroken rows, and abuts on to streets of few which exceed twenty-two feet in width. They consist of a living-room opening directly upon the street, and abutting at the rear on to another living-room or two. There is under the living-room a cellar—usually unlighted—used for storing coal. Owing to the design, ventilation is bad in both living-room and bedroom, which are not infrequently lit by kerosene lamps. The only provision for the storage of food is a cupboard in the living-room, or, alternatively, shelves fixed on the stairs leading to the cellar. Personal and domestic washing must be done in the living-room, where as a rule there is an earthenware sink with

The Report referred to is still in print and may be obtained from the Leeds Labour Party, 5, Overgate, Leeds. The Report is for all (see top, left, post free).

of one unacquainted with the oldest type of back-to-back house, it must be said that those houses have not one inch of level ground attached to them, and the two sides of each house, and its back, face the walls of three adjoining back-to-backs. This only way which is not a part of another house is the front one, and that is built immediately on to the pavement.

YOUTH AND WAR.

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY NOTES.

of rent assistance to be given should be such as will leave to every family so far as it is within the housing committee's power to secure it sufficient for the necessities of life. These conclusions are embodied in housing committee resolutions which inaugurated the scheme:

HOW "DIFFERENTIAL" RENTS PRINCIPLE WORKS.

That as from April 2nd, 1934, the rent, exclusive of rates and water charges, to be paid by tenants . . . shall be the average economic rent of each type of house and flat . . . as estimated by the City Treasurer on April 1st in each year.

That public assistance in the way of rent relief be granted to all tenants applying for the same and adjudged to be in need, and that such assistance be reviewed at half-yearly intervals and on any change of circumstances of the tenants.

That in determining the amount of such relief the following amounts of weekly income be regarded as necessary before any charge is made:

Woman alone.....	11 0
Man alone.....	12 0
Persons over sixty-five years of age.....	9 0
Man and wife.....	19 0
Children under ten years of age.....	4 0
Persons ten and under fourteen years of age.....	5 6
Persons fourteen years of age and over.....	8 0

"In assessing the family income, 5s. in the case of each person over the age of sixteen at work shall not be taken into account, and the members appointed to assess the amount to be paid in rent shall take into account all the circumstances of each particular case."

I HAVE just read the "Testament of Youth," by Vera Brittain. The one criticism that might be levelled against it is that it is too long: 600 pages make a tremendous book. There is an epidemic of long books in these days, and an apparent belief among writers that the longer a book is, the better a production, and the more effective it is!

Nothing could be further from the truth. All works of art must be adequately proportioned to life and to human limitations. A cathedral that covered the whole West Riding, however exquisite in design and perfect in achievement, would be a monstrosity. A picture that had to be propped up against Snowdon, a Show piece that took five weeks instead of five nights, and a Hindu's "Creation" that took a month to perform, would all alike fall in one great condition of all creative work—it must, in its size, be proportioned to life and circumstance.

GLADSTONE'S SPEECHES.

Gladstone made some long speeches in introducing budgets, but he knew better than make them too long. Vera Brittain does not: she has some of the traits of the new record-breaker about her, and would have given us a better book with substantially the same matter in half the length. It is worth while to have a clear record of the evolution of a human soul—but not in unnecessarily slow motion. Our own souls have to evolve, too.

Having said that, however, there is otherwise nothing but high appreciation to be expressed of this fine piece of work. She has told us with extreme candour what the war meant to her, the child of a "bourgeois" family, with "bread buttered on both sides," so to speak, she had determined not to accept the futile life and intellectually inferior position that usually fell to the lot of females in her young days. Intellectual aspiration led to considerable effort, of the kind that was then often considered "unfadylike."

THE COMING OF THE WAR.

When the catastrophe happened, in the midst of her training, it changed the whole trend of things. Henceforward, for her it is a long battle between the intellect and the emotions in an environment where the man seems helpless. Her own brother, he

who became her lover, and two other men friends of whom she thought highly, were all engulfed in the whirlpool of war: all met their deaths on various battle fronts. Drawn by the desire to share in their early horrors for comfort in their early hours for comfort in war hospitals, in France and in Malta. Beaten down by a sense of utility, faced by utter helplessness, she found her salvation in effort: the effort of drudgery in the dirt and blood and obscurity of hospitals where casualties were nursed.

THE RETURN OF PEACE.

The cessation of war is not peace. Hence, when the cannon roared no longer, and Europe stopped its orgy of mass murder, Vera Brittain was released from her activities; but not from pain and struggle. The sense of her losses in friendship, and of the need to face the long weary years of life bereft of all she had loved, crowded in upon her. The need intellectually and forcibly to re-shape her life—which circumstances had shaped for so long—became imperative. The conquest of the feelings by the will, of the emotion by the intellect: that fine adjustment of personality where intellect is master and emotions the ever-present and useful servant, was attained. The change in her political outlook, the growth of her desire to serve the sinner purposes of humanity, are all told in her record of life.

A LIFE-STORY.

These pages from the biography of a human spirit are full of strong and simple things, and of opinions challenged and faith confounded, of the resolute endeavour to face the issue of life. Time is not so much the healer, but the soother. Yet once more in the history of humanity a solitary human soul has found its fulness in well-directed effort and in the bending of intellect and will against the stream of circumstance. Vera Brittain will hearten for many a day those who struggle and all but faint, those who feel the world is too strong for them, and those who lose all upon which they had set their hearts.

You will know more of humanity when you have read this book—and perhaps you will serve your generation the better also.

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- Gentlemen's High-class Bespoke Tailoring.
- Boys' Hats and Suits. Caps.

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LADIES', GIRLS' and BOYS' FOOTWEAR.

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MADE UNDER TRADE UNION CONDITIONS. STAMP No. 12.

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The Arcade SUMMER SALE

This year, which marks our Diamond Jubilee, we are endeavouring to beat all previous Sale Values!

The Sale you know is genuine!

* SALE LIST Free on request

To achieve our object we have introduced in this Sale BARGAINS BIGGER THAN EVER BEFORE! PAY A VISIT EARLY



ATTERCLIFFE.

The Attercliffe Divisional Council held a very successful meeting at the Berkeley-street guildroom on Friday, June 29th, when, under the presidency of Mr. Sims, A. Ballard (party organizer) gave an address on the "Place of the Co-operative Party in the Democratic Movement."

Councillor W. C. Robinson was also present. Mr. Sims gave a detailed report of Herr Segar's personal account of his escape from a German concentration camp.

The next meeting will be held at the Carth-road Institute, time and date to be announced later.

HILLSBOROUGH.

The Hillsborough Section of the party has continued weekly meetings during June, but with meetings then up for monthly meetings until the autumn programme, commencing in September, is prepared.

The Women's Section meetings have been held each Monday afternoon, and in spite of the improved weather conditions, a good attendance has been maintained.

In addition to the annual excursion to Pinzance excursion, has also been arranged to Manchester, Blackpool, and Skegness.

NEESDEN.

The Neesden Women's Section meetings are being continued, and the ward committee have arranged two meetings for July. July 4th, a business meeting will be held, and on the 12th, Councillor Mrs. Speight will give the City Council report.

SHEFFIELD AND ECCLESALL.

The Sheffield and Ecclesall Section held a meeting on June 18th, and Mr. A. Ballard (party organizer) addressed the members.

In the discussion on the relationship of the movement with the Labour Party and the modernisation of co-operative methods in trade and political propaganda was keen and interesting.

The members are looking forward to the opening of new premises at Napier-street, when it is hoped that weekly meetings will be possible, and a periodic amateur Parliament to discuss current political questions.

SOUTHEY AND NORWOOD.

The Southey and Norwood Section report that their meeting, held on June 13th was a complete success. The first annual flower show represented an exceptionally good display for the time of the year. Prize-winners were: 1. Mrs. Hall; 2. Mrs. Gardiner; 3. Mrs. Young. A further show will be held on July 12th. Each competitor to show their flowers grown out of doors in their own gardens.

Alderman Hawnt will give the next City Council report. Councillor Stokes' address on this occasion proved very interesting. The explanation of the rate re-assessment announced the Labour Council from responsibility.

For the Bover show on July 12th, all flowers must be staged not later than 7.30 p.m. Meeting and show at the Institute commencing at 7.45 p.m. All members and prospective members are cordially invited.

SHEFFIELD CO-OPERATORS' VISIT TO GORNISH "RIVIERA."

NEARLY 400 members of the Sheffield Co-operative Party visited Cornwall and Plymouth on Saturday, June 23rd.

The tour included Penzance, St. Michael's Mount, Helston, Painsault, Truro, and Plymouth.

Everybody expressed their satisfaction at the arrangements, and members are already asking for the venue for next year's excursion, which will be announced in these columns shortly.

UNSOLICITED ADVERTISEMENT.

A few months ago the Press controlled by Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere launched a series of unfair attacks on co-operative societies and their trade. The attack was a failure, because the publicity accorded to the co-operative movement turned the attention of thousands of people to the advantages and benefits of co-operative trading. Co-operative trading methods, can stand examination. They are fair and straightforward, and a central feature is the fact that all surplus realised on trading operations is returned in the form of dividend on purchases to the actual customer.

ATTACKS BRING CO-OPERATIVE BOOM.

The complete failure of the Press attempts to cripple co-operation can be judged from the following statistics compiled by the Co-operative Union, dealing with the cash turnover on co-operative societies during the months when the first Press attacks were made. These figures show a notable increase over the corresponding figures for 1933 :

- January, 1934 : 3.78 per cent. greater than January, 1933.
- February, 1934 : 3.35 per cent. greater than February, 1933.
- March, 1934 : 6.22 per cent. greater than March, 1933.

Little wonder, then, that Lord Beaverbrook's Press suspended its attacks. The private traders, in whose interest it was alleged to be run, must have warned their champion of the co-operative boom which has been inadvertently evoked!

ROTHERMERE'S BRIGHT IDEA.

In the spring Press campaign against co-operative societies, Lord Rothermere gave his personal support. This is Lord Rothermere's own account of what he would do to co-operation :-

The newspapers which I control have repeatedly denounced the co-operative danger. I associate myself most heartily with the efforts which Lord Beaverbrook is making in the same direction.

It is imperative that, any further extension of co-operative retail societies should be restricted by law ; I urge retail traders everywhere to press Members of Parliament for legislation forbidding the establishment of new retail co-operative stores except under licence from a central authority. Any that may be authorised should pay three times the ordinary local rates, so as to counterbalance their exemption from the private traders' liability to income tax.

The Treasury will enlighten him to the fact that co-operative societies pay full income tax like private traders.

MOSLEY'S "MICKY MICE."

The series of newspapers which Lord Rothermere controls have now returned to the attack on the co-operative movement and enthroned a new champion for the private traders to worship and follow - one other than Sir Oswald Mosley, the Blackshirt, leader of the British Fascists, for whose propaganda Lord Rothermere's Press has provided ample space and enthusiastic editorial praise. We cannot resist a pang of sympathy for the private traders embarrassed by such fantastic champions as Fleetstreet Millionaire and Mosley's Micky Mice.

Does Lord Rothermere really believe the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick-maker are going to clothe themselves in black shirts and greet customers with a Fascist salute and a "Heil, Mosley," as part of their boasted services?

MOSLEY CONTRADICTS ROTHERMERE PRESS.

The "Sunday Dispatch" (another of the Rothermere group of newspapers) publishes the co-operative movement in "The Menace" in a leader riddled with inaccuracies, and commends the protection of the private trader to Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascists. Here are some of the inaccuracies :-

1. "There is a good deal to be said for co-operation as such, and

FASCIST FRENZY.

in countries like Denmark, where it has been scientifically operated, there has been enough to foster envy in favour of co-operation as it has been exploited in this country. In the first place, it has been confined to a product, it has been co-operative production buying; co-operative production, it is market-protection, the things that have brought about the Danish exporter, have been severely alone.

The British co-operative movement is one of the greatest productive agencies in the country. Indeed, merchants attacking co-operative societies for preferring the movement's own productions, financial support and business encouragement to imperial markets, separate undertaking under the direction of its own members only.

The co-operative movement is at once a great producing and a great distributive organisation. Sir Oswald Mosley, writing in the "Co-operative Review" :-

2. "The co-ops, to day are an integral part of the Socialist scheme."

Co-operative societies are not only independent of any other that is independent, but by law established every society is a separate undertaking under the direction of its own members only.

3. "Co-operation has become Big Business."

Co-operation, in fact, is the only protection for the small wage-earner against big business and the millionaire Press.

4. "It (the co-operative movement) will buy cheap and sell dear."

The principal complaint of Lord Rothermere's newspapers and of the private traders is that co-operative dividend means that the purchaser can buy goods cheaper at the co-operative store than from the private trader.

5. "In employers will remain for ever slaves of the machine that denies them all prospects of setting up in businesses of their own."

Co-operative employees are eligible for the highest post in the movement. A former errand-boy amongst Britain's greatest co-operative society to-day.

"DAILY MAIL" ERRORS.

What are the counts upon which the "Daily Mail" attacks co-operative trade? Here are a few :-

1. "The Socialists are now in control of the co-operative movement."

This is a lie. Co-operative societies, unlike any other business concern, do not have the property of the consumers who trade with them, and the right to a share in the control is shared equally by every one of the seven million co-operators of Great Britain.

Lord Rothermere unblushingly speaks of the newspapers "which I control." "Nobody can say the co-operative movement "which I control," because the legal basis upon which co-operative societies are founded restricts the personal holding of capital to £200. Co-ops have no share in the profits, but an equal vote to all shareholders.

2. "The menace of these millionaire societies."

Co-operation has saved not less than millions for the millions of millionaires, but it has never saved a millionaire.

3. "Co-operative societies will tender for the supply of goods to municipal bodies."

Who has the greater right to so tender? Co-operative societies tender often the largest employers in towns and cities. Their members are generally young, and they aggregate, more really saying, than the private traders. All receive benefit by utilising the best available contract.

4. "The co-operative society undertakes the trader by returning to the consumer 1s. or 2s. in the pound on his purchases."

"Daily Mail." Guilty, my lord! The co-operative society returns to the purchaser the same which would in other instances be pocketed by the private trader in profits. Co-operation increases the purchasing power of the consumer and thus stimulates industry and employment.

5. "The small trader's sole chance of surviving the attack is to organise and combine."

The small trader is organised, as a rule, but the consumers who trade with him are not. Co-operative consumers are organised to safeguard their interests.

MOSLEY ON THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

The Rothermere Press has lately exposed the cause of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Fascists. The Blackshirts have now, through the mouth of their leader, proclaimed themselves foes of the private trader against the "Co-operative Menace." This attitude is explained in the fewest number of words by the headlines in the Fascists' own newspaper, "The Blackshirt" :- "Socialists and Co-operative Fascists." "Fascism Will Protect the Private Trader."

In 1931 Sir Oswald Mosley contributed an article, "with very great pleasure," to the "Co-operative Review," in which he spoke of the problems of twentieth century life. He wrote :-

"There is indeed only one final solution for these problems, and that is the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Speaking of commodity boards, he said they should be representative not only of the manufacturers of a given produce, but of the workpeople in the industry and also the consumer of the product. From the Co-operative point of view this last is vitally important, for the Co-operative Movement represents the largest organised body of consumers in the country."

SIR OSWALD'S OPINION.

Sir Oswald Mosley cannot be ignorant of the beneficent functions of the co-operative movement in operation to-day. It is the same movement of which he wrote in the "Co-operative Review" :-

"The co-operative movement is at once a great producing and a great distributive organisation. In both capacities it has a supreme interest in the establishment of a high standard of life in Great Britain. The establishment of that high standard of life will bridge the gap between the productive capacity of modern capitalism and the consuming power of the mass of the people, it is impossible while we permit ourselves to remain uncheckmated in the field of imports."

The system of laissez faire (free competition) is the system which private traders espouse!

WHICH IS YOUR CREED?

In this country the democratic system still functions and gives us the right as citizens to protest against the policy of the Government. It gives us the right, too, of propagating our methods and ideas and of seeking the support of the people for them. This freedom should be defended, for no nation can progress without a democratic society.

—Mr. Arthur Pickup, in his inaugural address as president of the Rhyl Co-operative Congress, May 21st, 1934.

"We are intolerant and proud of our intolerance. As our great struggle is a spiritual one against social democracy in all its manifestations, our purpose is to crush all compromise out of existence. . . . The gospel of hard,

ruthless, fierce intolerance will seem even brutal to those of our people who are not yet aroused from the narcotic torpor of democracy."

—William Joyce, the British Fascist leader, writing in "The Blackshirt," June 1st, 1934.

PRECIOUS PRESS LORDS.

"Our educational battle about the school-leaving age seemed lost until Lord Beaverbrook came to our aid. He helped us by attacking the co-operative movement in London, and the result of that attack was, as you know, that nearly everyone who was in any sort of relationship with Lord Beaverbrook was promptly and decisively rejected by the electorate. And now this miracle has happened, that the president of the W.E.A. is on the education committee of the London County Council. That is a miracle I think that could have been brought about by no power less great than that of Lord Beaverbrook. (Laughter.) It fills me with pleasure to think that he is still young. (Lord Beaverbrook laughs.) If we can only count on I think we can—upon his unswerving hostility; if we can assure ourselves—as I think we can—that in that hostility he will be combined, as in so many other bad causes, with Lord Rothermere, then we cannot doubt that, aided by that hostility, our cause will march to early triumph. (Lord Beaverbrook applauds.)"

—Mr. J. F. Mallon, speaking at the Co-operative Congress.

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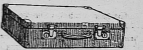
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ATTACHE CASES

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18 in.	-	3/3	-	6/11



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CEMETERY ROAD

S. & E. SOCIETY ELECTS NEW PRESIDENT.

SHEFFIELD'S LORD MAYOR JOINS THE BOARD.



THE recent election of officers of the Sheffield and Ecclesall Society, some record number of votes recorded, and resulted in Mr. William Buckley being appointed president in place of the late Councillor A. Laing, J.P.

Mr. Buckley has been a lifelong trade unionist, and was a member of the trades council in its early days. He joined the society over thirty-seven years ago, and became a member of the education committee in 1903. Within four months he was appointed committee secretary, which position he relinquished on being elected to the committee of management in 1920. A member of the board for twenty-eight years, he has been chairman and secretary of each of its sub-committees in turn.

The Lord Mayor of Sheffield (Alderman Fred Marshall, J.P.) was one of the five successful candidates for the committee of management. Alderman Marshall has for many years been a prominent figure in trade union circles, being president of the Attercliffe branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union for twelve years. Entering the City Council in 1910 he has twice been an alderman, and in January, 1930, successfully contested a Parliamentary election in the Brightside division, being defeated at the General Election in the following year. He was created a J.P. in 1923, and was re-elected alderman last year.

The other successful candidates were: Messrs. A. Bridson, G. Horn, and W. Moulton, re-elected, while Mr. S. Cobley, elected for the first time, takes the place of Mr. H. A. Fisher.

Established in 1874, the society is now celebrating its diamond jubilee, and it is a happy augury for the future, that the membership has just passed the 50,000 mark. Some splendid annual increases are recorded. Orders for twenty-one weeks ended Saturday, June 23rd, amounting to £475,389, an increase of £35,474 on the corresponding period of a year ago, while the dairy department shows an increase of 84,979 gallons as a result of twenty-one weeks' sales of pasteurized milk, totalling 3,780,445 pint bottles.

POVERTY ON MERSEYSIDE.

A SOCIAL SURVEY.

A TERRIBLE account of conditions under capitalism to-day is contained in the "Social Survey of Merseyside," the book which has just been published by the University of Liverpool. Like the "Social Survey of London," it leads to the conclusion that poverty and discomfort of such extent and acuteness can only be removed by a fundamental change in the social system.

The standard of poverty adopted by the "Survey" is a low one of bare physical subsistence, allowing less than 1rd. a day in food for a man, 81d. per day for a woman and less than 54d. per day for a child of five different ages.

Yet of the 6,780 families sampled, the income of 16 per cent. was below this poverty line. Counting Public Assistance as income, the percentage falls to 14. An annual income of £100 (or 30 per cent. in all) failed to reach the human needs standard designed by Rowntree which allows a little more than the bare subsistence standard. "It is an ironical reflection" (states the "Survey") "that although production has in recent years so enormously increased, yet in one of the most important areas of England, a country which boasts of a relatively high standard for its workers, in round numbers, some 3,000 families out of the random sample of 7,000 that were investigated failed to secure the bare essentials of a civilized life."

"The average working-class family on Merseyside still falls some distance short of the standard of house-room. Much of this extreme poverty is due to 'underwork.' Unemployment, which was 17 per cent. in 1924, was 28 per cent. in 1932. More than three out of every five families sampled in what the head of the survey termed 'the poverty line, and about half that proportion where the head was not employed."

TERRIBLE HOUSING CONDITIONS.

Some of the worst housing conditions in the country are to be found in Liverpool. On the standard adopted, the "Survey" finds that while 20.8 per cent. of the families sampled were overcrowded, the percentage was 39 in two Liverpool wards, and 20 in two others, and in two in Bootle. Only 28 per cent. of the working-class homes of Liverpool have a bath, and only 4 per cent. in the slum area of Exchange. In most of the other Liverpool districts the percentage is 9 to 10 per cent. Where there is a bath it is often shared between families. Only 19 per cent. of Liverpool's working-class homes possess gardens, and there are none in the Exchange Ward. In St. Anne's Ward, "the plague spot of Liverpool," 42 per cent. of all the families sampled were living at the rate of four or more families to a house.

Some 17 per cent. of all the persons sampled in Liverpool were over-crowded, but among children under fourteen, the proportion was much higher. Nearly one child in every four in these working-class families was living in a house with inadequate accommodation, and in the inner districts, nearly one in three.

"Poverty, like overcrowding, falls with special severity on young infants and school children. Again, nearly one child out of every four is found living in the family in insufficiently provided barest physical necessities. And the Minister of Health says that there is no substitution!

THE NEW "REYNOLD'S."

A REVOLUTION IN NEWSPAPER PRODUCTION AND POLICY ("DEMOS").

THE history of the co-operative movement is alive with examples of courageous ventures. Not less imaginative are the proposals now being considered by the movement for the provision of a live "Sunday" paper. Reynolds's is well known in hundreds of thousands of working-class homes in this country, and its policy through the many years of its existence in defence of freedom and truth is beyond doubt.

SUNDAY PAPER. NOW ANTI-CO-OPERATIVE.

The co-operative movement, from its great Congress down to the smallest society, realises to-day the imperative need to the movement of a Sunday newspaper, organised on co-operatives and non-co-operatives alike.

In this country it is calculated that every Sunday over ten million newspapers are circulated; the majority in working-class homes. When it is remembered that the influence of this widely-spread press is anti-co-operative, it will be readily understood why the movement is seriously tackling the improvement and wider circulation of "Reynolds's."

A DEMOCRATICALLY-OWNED PAPER—

The demand of the general public for news "appear to be ever-increasing. The newspaper proprietors and the newsagents glory in this increase. At a meeting of the Federation of Retail Newsagents held recently it was reported that the income from the sale of Sunday newspapers had increased from £1,700,000 in 1913 to £7,500,000 in 1933. It is a sad reflection on the co-operative and labor movements that up to the present it has failed to successfully run a Sunday newspaper. Even the old "Sunday Worker" gave so much pleasure and joy to thousands of co-operatives and socialists, has disappeared.

The proposals of the National Co-operative Publishing Society in respect to the extension of "Reynolds's" are such as to command the support of every co-operator. First and foremost, "Reynolds's" will be co-operatively owned and controlled. Secondly, it will be an enlarged and illustrated newspaper, and will contain news items up-to-date. In all respects the paper will be equal to any other Sunday newspaper.

—THAT WILL NOT EXPLOIT CRIME.

What "Reynolds's" will not do is that of exploiting crime and the usual sensational subjects that some of the present-day Sunday newspapers thrive on. It will rely on the good reading sense of newspaper readers to judge its value. It will not indulge in any fraudulent "gift schemes" to ensure circulation. No greater fraud has ever been perpetrated in the newspaper world than the gift schemes, apparently designed to make it appear that readers will obtain something for nothing. Even the "Daily Herald," with its present capitalist control, has been guilty of this. Mr. Elias, managing director of Odhams Ltd., on one occasion endeavoured to explain the proposal of the "Daily Herald" to supply a four-guinea set of Dickens works for 6s. He said that the offer "did not actually cost a gift of £3 13s. The four guineas, as he explained, "was just a figure of speech." It was stated that, actually, the "Daily Herald" would make a profit on each set issued.

AN ESSENTIAL MEANS OF DEFENCE.

"Reynolds's" will rely on the good sense of the reading public to sort out the news service that will give the greatest measure of satisfaction. "In these days a good newspaper will be more than a mere chronicle of events." It must have views about the affairs of the world, be bold and

vigorous in its criticisms, and sufficiently well informed to give a wise lead. This will be the "new Reynolds's."

Obviously, "Reynolds's" will stand for co-operatives with all its implications. It will use its columns to defend the movement against the ever-increasing attacks of the enemy. These attacks are likely to become more intensified in the future. "Private interests" have tasted blood, and with the greed that underlies every action taken it may be easily accepted that the battle against the further development of the co-operative movement will be fought with ever-increasing ferocity.

"Reynolds's" will be one of the lines of defence. It will impart the right kind of knowledge to its readers in the certainty that truth will stand. The Government has already taken unjustly from the movement over a million pounds, largely because co-operatives were unprepared in their plan of publicity and attack. In the absence of a Co-operative Press the public were led to believe in the equity of the "attack" on co-operative dividends. The new "Reynolds's" will remove this disability.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE.

To the general reader of the "Sheffield Co-operator," we would urge the need of supporting the only working-class Sunday paper. "The Co-operative Press," writes Mr. Dutch in a "Browall's" Memorial Essay, "is the vehicle and servant of a great idea; the idea that social salvation is to be found in the sinking of purely selfish interests such as the desire for personal gain and by the removal of fiercely competitive methods which such desires bring about. Co-operatives are convinced that humanity stands to gain most in culture and happiness by the merging of individual interests in ever-widening group interests; all co-operative effort expresses and illustrates this in some measure."

"Reynolds's" will stand for the people of this country in the demand for peace and concord in all human relationships. It will be the "people's voice." It should be worthy of your support.

THREE "WHO'S?"

Asked by the Australian "Co-operative News."

WHO SUCCESSFULLY FOUGHT the Lever Soap Fraud in England? The Co-operator. WHO BROKE THE ELECTRIC HUB RING? The Lums in Sweden. WHO BROKE the SRELLISH Co-op. Wholesale Society.

WHO BROKE THE FLOUR BOYCOTT on Broken Hill and Taree? OUR N.S.W. Co-operative Wholesale Society.

YOU WILL LIKE "MILYTA" UNDERWEAR

Produced in a variety of charming styles, at moderate prices

Manufactured by the Makers of the "ASHFIELD" BRAND Hosiery and Underwear

The Kirky-in-Ashfield Co-operative Manufacturers Limited, Byron Street, East Kirky, Notts.

You can't do without it!

Once you have got it, you must get it regularly.

Why?

Because it is the cheapest, the best guaranteed, the most informing, the most entertaining collection of stories, articles, and poems published.

What?

"THE MILGATE," which costs 6d., and bears the magazine at a similar price. Order it at any co-operative store, bookeller, or railway bookstall.

Style, Quality, Comfort, WEAR

SELF-HELP SHOES

Made by Co-operators for Co-operators.

ASK FOR THEM AT YOUR STORE.

Made by Leicester Self-Help Co-operative Shoe Manufacturers Ltd., North Road, Leicester.



"WHEN THERE IS Spring in Your Step THERE IS YOUTH IN YOUR FACE" Says DR. SCHOLL

"If you value your back, health and even feet, give proper care to the part of your body below the line," says DR. SCHOLL.

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THE EVASIVE MINISTER OF HEALTH STILL DODGING THE DROUGHT AND HOUSING PROBLEMS.

The debate on the Ministry of Health vote on June 20th showed that the Minister of Health is still evading the very real problem created by the drought, and that he is equally evasive on his attitude towards the housing problem.

So far as the latter problem is concerned, the *Tory "Morning Post,"* in a leading article on June 23rd, hit the nail on the head. Commenting on the Minister's statement that of the 150,000 new houses built during the six months ended last March, 77,000 were of a kind suitable for lower-paid workers, the *"Morning Post"* said:—

"But what requires to be known is how many of these were to let, and to let at rentals not exceeding 12s. a week, inclusive of rates, for these are the houses of which the need is most urgent. It is to be feared that only a small proportion fell into this category, and the Minister may reasonably be asked how soon he expects houses of this description to be built in adequate numbers."

That was precisely the question asked by Mr. Greenwood during the debate, and it was not answered. The 1933 Act has proved a complete failure. It was passed for the alleged purpose of allowing private enterprise to provide houses for the lower-paid workers with the aid of guarantees from the building societies. And at the end of last March guarantees had been given in respect of 1,627 houses. That is the result of the Government's policy in taking housing out of the hands of the Local Authorities.

UNMOVED BY THE DROUGHT MENACE.

Every responsible paper in the country is daily reporting the serious state of affairs created by the drought, especially in the rural areas. But the Minister of Health remains imperturbable. He has at last discovered that there is a shortage of water. That is something; for only a little while ago this Parliamentary secretary described the Press reports as mostly "rubbish."

But what is the Minister doing about it? He is going to send special officers of the Ministry to the areas where the situation is worst "in order to assist the authorities to deal with it." Not even a hint of a national plan to deal with this grave national menace to the health of the people.

The record of the "National" Government on this question is a scandal. It began with the deliberate closing down of the financial assistance granted to local authorities by the late Labour Government for the provision of adequate water supplies. Then for nearly two years nothing was done, in spite of the fact that the position was becoming more and more serious. Thus came the miserably inadequate Bill which allocated £1,000,000 to be spread over three years, for the assistance of local authorities in rural areas—a measure which a *Tory M.P.* rightly described as "like trying to irrigate the Yorkshire moors or the Wiltshire Downs with a watering-can."

THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Mr. Greenwood made a grave but justifiable charge against the Minister of Health. "If farmers are ruined this year, as many may be," he said, "if in the textile districts, which require water for the industrial processes, unemployment is increased; if the industry is swept by epidemics because of the use of contaminated water supplies—all that long trial of misery must lie at the door of the Minister of Health."

The *Tories* laughed. But it will be so laughing matter if Mr. Greenwood's forecast proves true. Even as things are to-day, the Government stands condemned for its complacency in the face of a national emergency which cries out for a bold national policy of water conservation and distribution. Nothing short of such a policy will save the country from the most serious drought menace within living memory.

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