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THE

HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION

IN ENGLAND:

ITS LITERATURE AND ITS ADVOCATES.

BY

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse
We can create.—MILTON

VOLUME II.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD.—1845. TO 1878.

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THIS HISTORY OF THE

CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD OF INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

IS INSCRIBED TO THE

RT. HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.,

WHOSE TOWNSMEN OF ROCHDALE FIRST MADE CO-OPERATION

A SOCIAL FORCE,

AND WHO HIMSELF,

THE FRIEND OF JUSTICE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

AND EQUITY IN INDUSTRY,

WAS FOREMOST TO MAINTAIN, IN HOSTILE DAYS,

THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL FREEDOM,

WITHOUT WHICH SELF-TRUST AND SELF-HELP

ARE ALIKE IMPOSSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE.

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PREFACE.

In inscribing this volume to Mr. Bright, representative of my own town of Birmingham, I do it, as an acknowledgment—by one of the working class—of how much we all owe to him. There will be in the book what may appear to his greater experience and discernment, errors not merely of argument but of principle. In prefixing his name to these pages, I do not imply his concurrence in all that appears in them, I only assume his generous tolerance which I well know, for all sincere effort for the industrial improvement of the working-class, and his pride in the honourable distinction so large a portion of his poorer townsmen have won.

Evil days befel me during the progress of the first volume. Though I could see my way through my subject, I could not see my subject when I was through it. Fortunately one accustomed to trace the meaning of Parliamentary Bills—a pursuit which tries the understanding beyond any other known—kindly undertook to look over my proofs, which I am afraid had more than legislaturial confusion in

them, and thus preserved the reader from many disasters which would have happened to him in my hands. Save for such assistance by Mr. Walter Morrison I should have been almost afraid to recover my sight lest I should come to read my own book. No such aid has been possible to me in this volume. Now it is too late, I see myself things I should be glad to change, which I hope the reader will have the prudence not to observe. Once I had a printer—not deficient in care and intelligence—who would insert an enraging misconception of some doubtful word I had written. Questioning him concerning an unusually absurd mistake he had printed, I said, "How came you to think I meant that? It is neither common sense, nor theological sense, nor legal sense (the most uncertain sense known) nor any other sense." "Well, sir," was the answer, "I thought so too, but I supposed it one of your quaintnesses of expression." So I counselled the Co-operative Printers when sending them my MS. to stop surely at any "quaintness" at which they stumbled in "setting it up." In some places I am afraid they have betrayed me. The previous volume met with more favour from critics, both in Great Britain and America, than I had any right to expect. If this volume fares as well, I, having very moderate expectations, shall be more than content: for those who said the first volume "was not interesting" said it was "useful," and those who said it "was not useful" thought it was "interesting."

Travelling to distant seats of new co-operative enterprise, seeing for myself the conditions under which recent experiments have been made, editing reports of annual proceedings of Co-operative Congresses, listening to the speeches and daily conversation of the new race of co-operators, in order to be sure what order of men they were, and to judge from what they knew, what mastery they had of its principles, and what they will do; writing controversial pamphlets in order to elicit the views of adversaries and learn their quality and reach of discernment; taking part in discussions at Store meetings to discover what thoughts were uppermost and what passions lay below, have taken more time than the perusal of all the books collected and all the journeys made to obtain them. Whatever I have thus learnt confirms the impression I set out with, that that history of this movement will be the best which explains with the most explicitness, the conception and aims by which the men who made the movement were animated. Their methods of procedure, which are now of the most practical moment, sprang out of these. Besides, it would be an abuse of the attention of the reader, to beguile him with the mere picturesque incidents of a movement, and conceal from him the motives which inspired it. The only useful history of a movement is a history of its ideas. The animating idea which never slept or slumbered, which moved the most diverse and distant co-operators of modern times, which oft defeated, but never extinguished, covered with ridicule but never

made ashamed, which returned again and again to generous-minded, equity-loving men; stimulating workers without means, encouraging those who had no hope, and sustaining those who knew no success—was not distrust of succeeding themselves by competition, but dislike of it as the sole method of progress. Co-operation was born of the feeling that at best unmitigated competition was but organised war, and though war had its great conquests, its bards, its proud associations and heroic memories, there was murder in its march; and humanity and genius were things to blush for, if progress could not be accomplished by some nobler means. What an enduring truce is to war, co-operation is to the never-ceasing conflict between Labour and Capital. It is the Peace of industry.

G. J. H.

Newcastle Chambers,
22, Essex Street, Temple Bar. London,
December 1st, 1878.

CHAPTER I.

THE STORY OF A DEAD MOVEMENT.

A new mind is first infused into society;—it takes root, it expands silently, almost imperceptibly—for the surface of things remains the same; the same laws, the same form of government, the same acknowledged practices and customs still prevail. In the meanwhile, the spirit that is abroad is breathed from individual to individual, from family to family—it traverses districts—and new men, men with new hearts and feelings, unknown to each other, arise in different parts—a new people is dwelling with the old people—but their power is little, for they have no ties of association. At last a word is spoken which appeals to the hearts of all—each answers simultaneously to the call—a compact body is collected under one standard, a watchword is given, and every man knows his friend.—*The First Lord Lytton.*

OUR story of constructive Co-operation carries us amid very different scenes from those with which the adventurous reader, who has pursued the subject through the previous volume, has been made acquainted. He will encounter now a very different class of persons from those he met with in the "Pioneer Period." Movements, like men, die—some a natural, some a violent, death. Some movements perish early of deficient strength, or of intellectual rickets, from lack of vitality, or of appropriate nutriment; or, falling into blind hands, never see their opportunities, and are lost by incapacity. It is true of movements as of men—those who act and do not think, and those who think and do not act—alike perish. In days of social storm, insurrection, revolution, or invasion by an enemy, every word of counsellors entitled to be heard has significance. Yet words of counsel, well given, have weight at any time, if wise men give heed thereto. Storm is but sudden change; and

change is but a silent storm, ever beating, ever warning men to preparation, and they who stand still are swept away. But movements do not often die in their beds—they are assassinated in the streets. Error, fed upon ignorance, and inspired by spite, is commonly strong and unscrupulous. Truth must fight to live. There is no marching on without going forward and confronting the enemy. Those who know the country and are resolute, may occupy more of it than they foresee. It is a delusion to think that pioneers have all the ground to clear. Men's heads are mostly vacant, and not a few are entirely empty. Interest and stupidity guard the portals of the brain, but there is hollowness within, and, in more cases than are imagined, hunger for ideas. Interest being always sensitive, and truth being a disturbing element, desperate resistance arises; in which truth, if it happen to be feeble, afraid and unskilled in attack and defence, gets the worst. The war of truth and error goes on like the war of races, and the survival of the fittest means the victory of the most dexterous and most persistent. When capacity and determination are on the side of truth, it makes way by its inherent vitality, and when we discern it, we call it progress. In the course of conflict the infantine forces of truth are oft defeated by the full-grown powers of interest and error. No bravery can win —no enthusiasm can sustain the unequal contest, until time and experience bring reinforcements. Thus it befel Co-operation, which, after 30 years of valorous vicissitude, died, or seemed to die, in 1844-5. The first Lord Lytton, in one of those fine passages which oft came from his fertile pen, has told us (the reader has seen at the head of this chapter) how neglected, derided, and apparently extinguished opinion, suddenly breaks like summer on the winter of the world.

In 1845 the busy, aspiring, and hopeful movement of Co-operation, so long chequered by ardour and despondency, hope and disappointment, was rapidly subsiding

into silence and decay. The little armies on the once militant plain of social progress had been one after another defeated and disbanded. The standards, which had been carried defiantly over the agitated field with some daring and loud acclaim, had fallen one by one; and in many cases the standard bearers had fallen by their side. For a few years to come no movement is anywhere observable. Hardly a solitary insurgent is discernible in any part of the once animated horizon. The sun of industrial hope, which kept so many towns aglow, has now gone down. The very air is cold and thick over the blank and desolate scene. The star of the north—the "Star in the East," * strong, lurid, and glaring (which arose in Leeds, intended to guide the Political Pioneers of Lancashire and Yorkshire)—is becoming rapidly obscured. The "Star in the East," promising to indicate that among the mangers of Wisbeach a new deliverer † has come (with a greater capacity of contention than deliverer had ever shown before), has dropped out of the firmament. The hum of the "Working Bee" is no more heard in the fens of Cambridgeshire. The small "Morning Stars"—that appeared year by year from Ham Common to Whitechapel, shining upon a dietary of vegetables and milk—have fallen, one by one, out of sight. ‡ "Journals" are kept no more—"Calendars" no longer have dates filled in—"Co-operative Miscellanies" have ceased—"Mirrors" fail to reflect the faces of the Pioneers—"The Radical" has torn up its roots—"The Commonweal" has no one to

* Of Mr. Feargus O'Connor.

† Edited by Mr. James Hill, related by marriage to Dr. Southwood Smith.

‡ This was many years before the appearance of the London "Morning Star" newspaper, which was never so much appreciated as when it was missed; the best daily paper, in its main care for the interests and opinions of the nation, which dwells in lodgings and cottages, the people have had.

care for it—believers in the "New Age" are extinct—"The Shepherd" is gathering his eccentric flocks into a new fold—readers of the "Associate" have discontinued to assemble together—"Monthly Magazines" forget to come out—"Gazettes" are empty—"Heralds" no more go forth—"Beacons" find that the day of warning is over—the "Pioneer" has fallen in the last expedition of the forlorn hope which he led—there is nothing further to "Register," and the "New Moral World" is about to be sold by auction, and will be lost by its purchasers wrangling on their way home about the proprietary rights which go with their rival biddings—Samuel Bower has eaten all his peas—Mr. Etzler has carried his wondrous machines of Paradise to Venezuela—Joseph Smith has replaced his wig—Mr. Baume has sold his monkey—and the Frenchman's Island, where infants were to be suckled by machinery, has not inappropriately become the site of the Pentonville Penitentiary. The "Association of all Classes of all Nations" has not a member left upon its books. Of the seventy thousand Chartist land-dreamers, who had been actually enrolled, nothing is to remain in the public mind save the memory of Snigg's End! Labour Exchanges have become bywords—the Indiana Community is as silent as the waters of the Wabash by its side—Orbiston is buried in the grave of Abram Combe—Ralahine has been gambled away—the Concordia is a strawberry garden—Manea Fen has sunk out of sight—the President of Queenwood is encamping in the lanes—the blasts of the "Heralds of Community" have died in the air—the notes of the "Trumpet Calls" have long been still, and the trumpeters themselves are dead. It may be said, as the Lord of the Manor of Rochdale * wrote of a more historic desolation :—

> The tents are all silent, the banners alone,
> The lances unlifted, the trumpets unblown.

* Lord Byron.

Time, defamation, failures, losses, derision, distrust, disappointment, dismay, appeared surely to have done their work of utter destruction. Never human movement seemed so very dead as this of Co-operation. Its lands were all sold, its scrip had no more value, its orators no more hearers. Not a pulse could be felt throughout its whole frame, not a breath could be discerned on any enthusiastic mirror held to its mouth. The most scientific punctures in its body failed to elicit any sign of vitality. Even Dr. Richardson would have pronounced it a case of pectoral death.* I felt its cold and rigid hand in Glasgow—the last "Social Missionary" station which existed. Though not inexperienced in the pathology of dead movements, the case seemed to me suspicious of decease. All seemed over with the poor prostrate thing. Wise Americans came over to look at it, and declared with a shrug that it was a "gone coon." Political and social physicians pronounced life quite extinct. Political economists avowed the creature had never lived. The newspapers, more observant of it, thought it would never recover, which implied that, in their opinion, it had been alive. The clergy, unenquiring as they were then apt to be, never troubled themselves on the point; but, content that "Socialism" was reported to be gone, furnished with delighted alacrity uncomfortable epitaphs for its tombstone.

Yet all the while the vital spark was there. Extreme exhaustion, efforts beyond its strength, exaggerations, experience had not taught it to control, had brought upon it suspended animation. The first signs of latent life were discovered in Rochdale sometime subsequent. In the meantime the great comatose movement lay stretched, out of the world's view, but neither abandoned nor disregarded by a few devoted Utopianists, who had

* Dr. W. B. Richardson maintains that men may recover from glacial death, from pectoral death never.

crept from under the slain, and other more experienced adherents. Old friends administered to it, familiar faces bent over it. For long unnoted years it found voice in the "Reasoner," which said of it one thing always—"If it be right it can be revived by devotion. Truth never dies except it be deserted." Then a great consultation arose among the social medicine men. The regular physicians of the party, who held official or missionary diplomas, were called in. The licentiates of the platform also attended. The subscribing members of the Community Society, the pharmaceutists of Co-operation, were at hand. They were the chemists and druggists of the movement, who compounded the recipes of the social doctors, when new prescriptions were given out. Opinions were not given in the order of the rank of the learned advisers, but as the symptoms of the patient seemed to warrant them, or as the contrariety of recommendations given inspired rival doctors. As in graver consultations, some of the prescriptions were retaliatory, and made rather with a view of differing from a learned brother than of saving the patient. The only thing in which the faculty present in this case agreed was, that nobody proposed to bleed the invalid. There was clearly no blood to be got out of him. Many readers may be familiar with the names of the physicians. To them and to others unacquainted with them, it will confirm the reality of the story to give them: besides it may be of service to the sociological profession, as some of the doctors are still in practice. The first opinion pronounced, caught up by the timid from the clamour outside, was that mischief had arisen through want of orthodoxy in Co-operation. It was thought that if it was vaccinated, by a clergyman of some standing, with the Thirty-nine Articles, it might get about again; and Mr. Minter Morgan produced a new design of a parallelogram with a church in it—wisely desiring to show that while the rejection of theological tenets was no

impediment to co-operative association, neither was the sincere profession of any form of religion a disqualification. The worship of service and the worship of faith were alike free in a social organisation, where all conviction was equal. Some Scotch doctors advised the Assembly's "Shorter Catechisms." A missionary, who had been a Methodist, thought that an infusion of Wesleyan fervour and faith might help it. A Swedenborgian said he knew the remedy, when "Shepherd" Smith * persisted that the doctrine of Analogies would set the thing right. Then the regular faculty took courage and gave their opinions. Mr. Ironside attested with metallic voice that recovery was possible. Its condition was so weak, that Pater Oldham †—with a beard as white and long as Merlin's—prescribed for it celibacy and a vegetarian diet. Charles Lane raised the question, Should it be "stimulated with milk?" which did not seem likely to induce in it any premature or violent action. James Pierrepont Greaves suggested that its "inner life" should be nurtured on a preparation of mysticism, of which he was sole proprietor. Mr. Galpin, with patriarchal stateliness, administered to it grave counsel. Thomas Whittaker presented a registry of its provincial pulsations, which he said had never ceased. Mr. Craig suggested fresh air, and if he meant commercial air, there was need of it. George Simpson, its best financial secretary, advised it neither to give credit nor take it, if it hoped to hold its own. Dr. John Watts prescribed it a business dietary, flavoured with political economy, which was afterwards found to strengthen it. John Colier Farn, who had the Chartist

* The Rev. J. E. Smith, who edited the "Shepherd" before he edited the "Family Herald," which he made popular.

† The attenuated and picturesque Principal of the Ham Common Concordium.

nature, said it wanted robust agitation. Alexander Campbell, with Scotch pertinacity, persisted that it would get round with a little more lecturing. Dr. Travis thought its recovery certain, as soon as it comprehended the self-determining power of the will. Charles Southwell, in his fearless way, chafed at the timorous speech and retractations of some of his colleagues, avowed that the imprisonment of some of them would do the movement good. William Chilton believed that persecution alone would reanimate it, and bravely volunteered to stand by the cause in case it occurred. Maltus Questell Ryall, generously indignant at the imprisonment of certain of its friends for orthodox incapacity, spoke as Gibbon was said to have written—"as though Christianity had done him a personal injury"—predicted that Socialism would be itself again if it took courage and looked its clerical enemies square in the face. Mr. Allsop, always for boldness, counselled it to adopt Strafford's motto of "Thorough." George Alexander Fleming surmised that its proper remedy was better obedience to the Central Board. James Rigby tried to awaken its attention by spreading before its eyes romantic pictures of Communistic life. Lloyd Jones admonished it, in sonorous tones, to have more faith in associative duty. Henry Hetherington, whose honest voice sounded like a principle, advocated a stout publicity of its views. James Watson, who shook hands, like a Lancashire man, from the shoulder, with a fervour which you would have cause to remember all the day after, grasped the sinking cause * by the hand, and imparted some feeling to it, which appeared to startle it a little. Mr. Owen, who never doubted its vitality, regarded the moribund movement with complacency, as being in a mere millennial trance. Harriet Martineau brought it gracious news

* I am not sure whether a "cause" has a "hand;" perhaps it has, as it certainly has a heart.

from America of the success of votaries out there, which revived it considerably. John Stuart Mill inspired it with hope, by declaring that there was no reason in political economy why any self-helping movement of the people should die. Mr. Ashurst looked on with his wise and kindly eyes, to see that recovery was not made impossible by new administrative error. But none of the physicians had restored it, if the solid-headed and sagacious men of Rochdale had not discovered the method of *feeding it on profits*—the most nutritious diet known to social philosophy—which, administered in successive and ever increasing quantities, gradually restored the circulation, opened its eyes, and set it up alive again, with a vigour of action and capacity of growth which the world never expected to see it display, and it forthwith began to look over society with thousand of eyes, and operate upon it with a million hands.

In the narrative of the Lost Communities, which benevolence projected, devotion attempted, and prematurity and incapacity destroyed, the reader has seen that the last of them, that of Queenwood—the grandest hope of Co-operation—vanished like a dream, which leaves a pain behind it. One day the higher conception will revive as the lower form of it has, and men of more experience, commanding larger means, and sustained instead of frustrated by popular forces, will renew the comprehensive attempt. Its failure, however, in 1844-5 was complete. A community was regarded in social mechanics then as a sort of flying machine, and it fulfilled the expectation of the day by falling down like one.

The fall of Queenwood, alike when it became evident and when it come to pass, intensified the discouragement of Co-operation. Disappointed adherents kill propagandism in all but the men of conviction, and the efforts the undiscouraged made were discredited by the despondency of those who had failed; and it was not until

a new generation arose that co-operative enthusiasm was seen again.

It returned again through moral discontent with commerce. The Socialists were not cowards in commerce. They could all take care of themselves in competition as well as their neighbours, and that their neighbours well knew. The police in every town knew them as the best disposed of the artizan class. Employers knew them as the best workmen. Tradesmen knew them as men of business, of disquieting ability. These societarian improvers disliked the conspiracy against their neighbours which competition compelled them to engage in, and they were daily anxious to find some means of mitigating it.

By what motive were the new Co-operators stirred into action? What impelled them to recommence that dreary march towards success, when they had encountered so many failures by the way? With no one to favour or cheer them; with no triumphs to point to, to mitigate incredulity—what constrained them to move forward? Was it the improvement of their condition? If this was their motive, why should they alone be actuated by it, when their artizan comrades, in equally low circumstances, were inactive and hopeless? Their main desire was not merely to improve the chances, but to improve the morality of industry. They disliked competition more than poverty, and they imagined Co-operation would terminate or mitigate both. Save for this belief, they had been no more bold, or adventurous, or persistent, than their compeers in labour.

It is of no consequence enquiring now how it comes about, whether by fraud or fate—the effect is the same—that the great total of wealth, which capital and labour, thought and industry, have produced; are found in possession of a few, and the many run about anxious and precarious, strongly advised to emigrate without

delay—to some other land where they find the same or a worse condition of things prevails. Of two parties to one undertaking, the smaller number, the capitalists, are able to retain profits sufficient for affluence, while the larger number, the workers, receive a share hardly sufficient to pay taxes; and by no parsimony or self-denial can they secure for themselves competence. No insurrection can remedy the evil. No sooner shall the bloody field be still, than the same principle of competitive struggling will reproduce the same inequalities, and the victors of to-day be plundered to-morrow by those to whom they have taught this murderous mode of redress. A very different remedy has found favour among industrial thinkers. By producers giving security and interest for their own capital, and dividing the profits earned among themselves alone, a new distribution of wealth is obtained which accords capital equitable compensation, and secures labour enduring provision. Thus the advocates of the new form of industry by concert tried to induce society to combat competition by Co-operation, which promises to protect society from the further insurgency of individualism; by creating a field for its energy and security for its reward. Instead of two men fighting which shall steal a field, which neither can honestly hold, co-operators agree to buy it, to till it and divide the produce. This is the species of constructive Co-operation whose origin and procedure is the new social feature of our time.

Though the precarious Co-operation of the Pioneer Period went down, there were distinguished advocates in various parts of Great Britain who continued to speak on behalf of concerted efforts for industrial improvement, and writers were not wanting in the land, who maintained that new life in society was to be looked for in that direction. Thus everywhere a small inspiration was diffused, which inclined men in many towns to try Co-operation again. Rochdale was one of these, and its distinction was, that it manifested so much vitality and

persistence in its methods, and achieved success so striking, that its Equitable Pioneer Society became the Pioneer Store upon which a thousand others have been modelled.

To the reader who has not the previous volume in his mind some details of the various journals, mentioned in this chapter, which must be unknown to this generation of readers, may be useful. The "Northern Star" is still remembered. It was the organ of Feargus O'Connor, sometime Member of Parliament for Nottingham. It was edited by William Hill, a dissenting minister and writer on grammar. It was printed by Joshua Hobson, then of Leeds, who was also printer of the "New Moral World." The "Northern Star" is best known as representing physical force Chartism; and its most dangerous advocates had underground relations with the Tories, not of venality but of passionate antagonism. The "Star in the East" was edited by James Hill—no relation to the other Hill—but ten times more disputative than the first Hill, who had great attainments in that way. The "Star in the East" was the largest newspaper the Communists ever had. It represented a wise scheme of Educational Home Colonies. The "Working Bee" was the organ of the Manea Fen Community in Cambridgeshire. The paper was a small four-leaved penny quarto; edited by Mr. James Thompson, who sometimes carried pistols in his pocket—but seldom fired them off in the "Bee," which was the organ of Hodgsonianism, after the name of the wild projector of that scheme. The "Morning Star," of Whitechapel, was an organ of Ham Commonism, and represented the vegetarian community at that place and the poetry of the editor—Mr. James Elmslie Duncan. The most remarkable specimen I remember, was his epigram on a draped statue of Venus—

> Judge, ye gods, of my surprise,
> A lady naked in her chemise!

We had poets in those days unknown to Mr. Swinburne or Mr. Rosetti.

There were several "Journals of Co-operation," small, provincial and temporary, which made the mistake of using the term "Co-operation" as part of their title, a thing which few cared for and most persons distrusted. The "Calendar" was actually called the "Newgate Calendar," which the public took to be a registry of rascals, ending their career at the Old Bailey. The "Co-operative Miscellany"—there were several monthlies of this name, from 1830 to 1833—had the merit of tempering Co-operation with general literature. The "Mirror" was a better kind of small journal, in which other subjects were to be seen besides Co-operation. The "Radical" was political as well as Co-operative. It meant business, but did not do much. One monthly bore the sub-title of "Co-operative Register," recording particulars of new productive societies—a sort of predecessor of Mr. Greening's "Partnership Record," which appeared some thirty years later. The "Commonweal," of 1845, was the last journal, edited by James Hill, of contentious fame. The "New Age," of the 1842 period, was a mystic paper, well written and eccentric, the accredited organ of the Ham Common Concordium, and represented Mr. Pierrepont Greaves, celebacy, cabbages, cold toes, and long beards. One night, I and Maltus Questell Ryall walked from London to visit it. We found it by observing the patriarch's feet projecting through the window. It was a device of the Concordium to ensure ventilation and early rising. By a bastinado of the soles of the prophet with pebbles, we obtained admission in the early morning. Salt, sugar, and tea, were alike prohibited; and one lady who wished salt with the raw cabbage supplied at breakfast, was allowed to have it, on the motion of Mr. Stolzmeyer, the agent of Etzler's "Paradise within the reach of all Men." Salt for the lady was the only bit of the "Paradise" that I ever saw.

When the salt was conceded it was concealed in paper under the plate, lest the sight of it should deprave the weaker brethren. The "Shepherd" was the journal of the Rev. J. E. Smith. It undertook to govern the world by analogies. It succeeded R. D. Owen's "Crisis" of 1833. The "Associate" was a small Manchester paper of the 1830 period, the prettiest named and best printed, and most varied in its contents of any paper of that species. The "Pioneer" was a Trade Union paper, friendly to co-operation. Mrs. Morrison, the widow of the editor, was mistress of the tea-parties at the Salford Institute, when I first visited it in 1839. The "Pioneers," "Monthly Magazines," "Gazettes," and "Beacon's," the last a favourite title warning people who had nothing to fear and nothing to hope—were names of store journals, known in the provinces between 1830 and 1840. Of "Heralds" there were many. The last was the "Herald of Progress," to which I contributed. It was started in 1846 in London, when all progress was over. These journals were short-lived, chiefly because the projectors never distinguished between confirming journals and propagandist journals. A confirming journal is a class journal intended for confirming adherents, and interesting those of the same way of thinking. It is a mere class journal bearing a class name, and seldom read by others. A propagandist journal bears a neutral name or one of general interest. It has several attractive features, of which its propagandism is one—and but one.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTIVE CO-OPERATION.

None from his fellow starts,
But playing manly parts,
And like true English hearts,
Stuck close together.
Drayton.

THOSE who sleep on the banks of the Thames, near Temple Bar, hear in the silence of the night a slow, intermittent, pertinacious contest of clocks. Bow Bells come pealing up the river; St. Dunstan, St. Clement, St. Martin return the answering clangour of the hour. Between the chiming and the striking, some earlier, some later, sending out their challenging peals on the still air—there suddenly bursts out amid them, the sonorous booming of Big Ben from the Parliament House tower, easily commanding attention in the small Babel of riverside tinklings, spreading its great waves of sound over them all, and the wakeful hearer can count with certainty the hour from him. While lying listening to his welcome, distinctive, and comprehensive roar, it has ofttimes occurred to me that Rochdale was in some sense the Big Ben of Co-operation, whose sound will long be heard in history over that of many other stores. Before this century was born Co-operation was audible on the banks of the Humber, the Thames, and the Tyne. It made a

courageous stir in Bradford twelve years before Rochdale began in a determined way; but when the great pale finally arose from the banks of the Roche, Lancashire and Yorkshire heard it. Scotland lent it a curious and suspicious ear. Its reverberations travelled to France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and America, and even at the Antipodes settlers in Australia caught its far-travelling peal, and were inspired by it. The men of Rochdale had the very work of Sysiphus before them. The stone of Co-operation had often been rolled up the hill elsewhere, and as often rolled down again. In one place the strength applied would be too small, and the thing found its way to the bottom. In another of these efforts the pushers got tired, and the obstinate stone soon had its own way back. In another town it was being dragged up by credit, when that rope breaking, the reluctant mass slipped into a bog of debt, not far from the foot of the hill. Another time it seemed getting well up, when the quality of its provisions being found to be poor, its supporters fell off, and the thing tumbled downward once more. At length some enthusiasts gave it another turn, when some watchful rascal made away with its profits, which had acted as a wedge, steadying the weight on the hill, and the law, which was on the side of the thieves, refusing to give a hand, let the whole thing go again. Another set of devotees took a turn at the great boulder, but, having neglected to put theological questions outside their movement, they fell into discussion by the way, as to whether Adam was or was not the first man; when those who said he was refused to push with those who said he was not, and the result was that unfortunate Adam was the cause of another fall in the new Eden, and the promising Co-operative boulder found its way once more to the bottom of the hill in consequence. Then the tireless Sysipheans took stout heart once more, and got it to a higher point than ever, when they suddenly found out that they did not know what to do with it, and left it to

roll back how it could. At length the Rochdale men took the great stone in hand, and pushed away with their patient and far-seeing purpose. They invented an interest for everybody in pushing the thing well up. They stopped up the debt bogs. They established a Wholesale Supply Society, and made the provisions better. They got the law amended, and cleared out the knaves who hung about the till. They planned employment of their profits in productive manufactures, so that the store might grow ever more with its gains. They proclaimed toleration to all opinions—religious and heretical alike—and recognised none. They provided for the education of their members, so that every man knew what to push for and where to place his shoulder, and they pushed steadily and pushed always, pushed on for years, and were the first men who rolled the great stone to the top.

In those days when Co-operation recommenced there, Rochdale had no hall which co-operators could afford to hire, indeed I do not recollect whether the Public Hall was then built, which was never a very large or grand place at the best. And those who had places of meeting were not benevolently disposed towards the co-operators, who were deemed a suspicious and rather ineligible party. There was, however, a small square-looking room, standing in the upper part of Yorkshire Street, opposite to St. James's Church, and looking from the back windows over a low, damp, marshy field. It belonged to Mr. Zach Mellor, the Town Clerk, whose geniality and public spirit have always been one of the pleasant attributes of official Rochdale. He was, happily, of opinion that any townsmen, however humble, desirous of improving their condition by honest means, had as much right as anybody else to do so, if they could. He treated—as town clerks should, but seldom did in those days—with civic impartiality all honest townsmen, without regard to their social condition or the opinions held by them. Through the intervention, I believe, of

A Lecture Room in Rochdale.

Mr. Alderman Livesey, always the advocate of the unfriended, this place was let to the adventurous party of half Chartists and half Socialists who cared for Co-operation. It was in this small Dutch-looking meeting-house that I first spoke on Co-operation, in 1843. I well remember the murky evening when this occurred. It was one of those damp, drizzling days, as I have elsewhere said, when a manufacturing town looks like a penal settlement. I sat watching the drizzling rain and hurried mists in the fields as the audience assembled—which was a small one. They came in one by one from the mills, looking as damp and disconsolate as their prospects. I see their dull hopeless-looking faces now. There were a few with a bustling sort of confidence, as if it would dissolve if they sat still—who moved from bench to bench to say something which did not seem very inspiring to those who heard it. When I came to the desk to speak I felt that neither my subject nor my audience was a very hopeful one. In those days my notes were far beyond the requirements of the occasion; and I generally left my hearers with the impression that I tried to say too much in the time, and that I spoke of many things without leaving certainty in their minds which was the most important. The purport of what I said, so far as it had a purport, was to this effect:—

I.

Some of you have had experience of Chartist Associations, and you have not done much in that way yet. That platform is a little ricketty, and the planks rather awry. Some of you have taken trouble to create what you call Teetotalers, but temperance depends more upon social condition than exhortation. The hungry will feel low, and the despairing will drink. You have tried to establish a Co-operative Store here of late years and have failed, and are not very hopeful of succeeding now.

The flour has got out of the bag, and the treacle has trickled away without profits. Now that sort of thing ought to be tried again, and will not interfere with Chartism; it will give it more means. It will not interfere with Temperance; it will furnish more motives to sobriety. True, it has failed pretty conspicuously; but you ought not to think too much of that. Many of you believe the thing to be right in principle, and if a thing is right you ought to go on with it. Cobbett tells you the only way to do a difficult thing is to begin and stick at it. Anybody can begin; but it requires men of a good purpose and good heart to stick at it. You have got to collect a little money, and that, from people who to all appearance have none, is not a hopeful undertaking. Somebody must make up his mind to collect small subscriptions, and get others to help him; and put it into the hands of some one who has honesty, until you have a few pounds. You must make a few rules to act upon for the security of subscribers. You must get a small room to serve as a sort of shop, and buy some small articles such as you are most likely to sell. Get them as good as you can, weigh them out fairly as you ought. You have to be your own shopkeeper at first, and you must buy what you want for your families at your own store, when you have set it up; persuade your neighbours to become members and buy there also. You will have some trouble at home, because, perhaps, your wives will prefer going to the old shops, not knowing that credit is catching and debt is the disease they get. Sometimes your goods will be no better, perhaps not so good, as the shopkeeper's, and some of your articles may be a little dearer. Besides, a wife will not always have money to buy things at the store, and will want to go where she can get them without, but unless you have the sense to see clearly, and see always that buying at the store is the only way to make it grow, you will not keep it going; but if you do go on with it you will get profit, and

what you save will be your own, and your stock will grow, and you will get things as good as your neighbours, and as cheap as your neighbours. Besides, when you have a shop as large as that of ten shops, you will save the shopkeeping expenses of ten shops, and that will make profit which will be shared by all members. If you want to help the Community in Hampshire, you will then be able to do it. You may be able to build a hall where you can meet. You may be able to set apart some portions of your profit for a news-room and little library where members may spend their evenings, instead of going to the public-house, and save money that way, as well as get information. This is the way stores have been begun. This you know very well, and some of them have succeeded, and might have succeeded much more, if those beginning them had known the art of holding well together. This requires not only good will, but patience, and depends upon a man seeing that nearly all people would do better if they knew how. Chartists do not understand this. They do not see that a knave is mostly a fool, and, through ignorance, they think him a scoundrel by design, and denounce him instead of giving him information. Temperance people do not understand it, for, instead of regarding moderation as a virtue, they treat it as an offence, which makes unity very difficult with them, because they make improvement impossible except with fanatics, who live in extremes. But you Co-operators have been instructed that all men are different by nature, and come into the world with the passions and tendencies of their parents, and ignorance and adversity make the bad worse and the good indifferent. In any society you know, that variety of opinion and impulse, passion and meanness, generosity and devotion, noble self-denial, pettiness and selfishness will mingle together, and the most opposite qualities will exist at the same time in the same person. Anger at what yon do not like, or what you do not expect, can

only proceed from ignorance taken by surprise. Great tolerance and steadfast good-will are the chief virtues of association. You will want economy, a little business sense, but the rhyme which tells the young speaker to speak slowly, and emphasis and variety of tone will come of themselves, has meaning for you. "Learn to speak slow, and other graces will follow in their proper places." There is instruction in this couplet for you if we change a word or two to express it—

> Learn to *unite*—all other graces
> Will follow in their wished-for places.

You will have more advantages than others in uniting. If you do not regard all creeds as being equally true and equally useful, you regard them as equally to be respected. Whether or not you can attain to industrial equality, you have at least cleared the way to it by establishing religious and conscientious equality. In Co-operative associations success is always in the power of those who can agree. There the members have no enemies who can harm them but themselves; and when a man has no enemy but himself, he is a fool if he cannot have a friend. Your reputation is not very high I am afraid at this time—in the pulpits; but preachers ought to see that you are free from one great trouble. Pope, who had great discrimination in men and manners, tells you that—

> The devil is wiser now than in the days of yore;
> Now he tempts by making rich, and not by making poor.

There is certain consolation in that. He has not been with you on that business. He is not likely to pay you any of his pecuniary attentions. Your difficulties will lie, not in negotiating with *him*, but in so stating your case to your neighbours and those able to influence public opinion against you, that they shall see the good sense and moderation of your aims. The main thing you

have to avoid is what the Yankees call "tall statements." Making them is not an unpleasant thing to do. It requires no care; it always produces an effect, and the speaker is not required to ascertain whether there is any possibility of realising what he promises. But though the believer, in his enthusiasm, does not notice his deficiency, unsympathetic critics do. We are all agreed here that competition has a disagreeable edge. But if we should be betrayed into saying that we intend to abolish it, we must remember that it exists everywhere; and to abolish competition all over the world is a big undertaking. It took centuries to supersede the feudal system, and it may take longer to supersede competition. It is enough for us to say, we mean to mitigate competition, and so far as we are concerned, abolish the necessity of benevolence; as the industrious should be in a position above needing any man's charity. Those who cannot regulate their speech, and others who imagine that because one extreme is wrong the opposite extreme must be right, will bring us trouble. If you describe your object as that of superseding competition, you will be called upon to explain how you will conduct the world without it, which will require a larger answer than you are able to give; and by laying yourselves open to the question, you are at the mercy of all the foolish adversaries, who fasten upon what you say and never recognise what you mean. It has been the prudent custom of co-operators, when they open a store, to sell their provisions at market prices. If you profess you are going to make Co-operation universal, opponents will ask you how you will find out the market price, when there are no markets left. There are people who would ask the Apostles how they intended to apply the doctrine of atonement for sin, when the millennium arrives, and all people are perfect. Beware of enquirers who are born before their time, and who spend their lives in putting

questions which will not need answering for centuries to come. Whether competition can be dispensed with in all things is a question nobody need raise this century. In some respects, competition is certainly an evil, so much most persons will admit. In some things it can manifestly be superseded. This most persons see. And this is enough to contend for. It is an error in propagandism to affirm more than can be readily proved. All beyond is theory, and has no place in practical movements. It is certain that no co-operator was ever more mad than the absolute defenders of competition. But those who mean improvement should never go mad. It delays progress. Like war, competition is not a bad thing for the victors; but it is no longer a weapon for the poor. Competition fights with capital, and the poor have none. Your outlook down here just now is not very lively. If you increase in numbers the tradesman does not like it. It means more poor rates for him to pay. The gentry do not like it. It means that they will have to cut you down, if riot should follow famine. The only persons whom over-population profits are those who hire labour, because numbers make it cheap. Your condition is so bad that fever is your only friend, which kills off your neighbours without exciting ill feeling, thins the labour market, and makes wages rise. The children of the poor are less comely than they would be were they better fed, and their minds, for want of instruction, are leaner than their bodies. The little instruction they get is the bastard knowledge given by the precarious, grudging, intermitting, humiliating hand of charity.* Take notice of the changed condition of things since the days of our forefathers.

* There were no School Boards in those days, and the Dissenters prevented there being any, and offered us instead good-natured but shabby, limping, inefficient voluntary education, which never could, and never did educate a quarter of the people.

The stout pole-axe and the lusty arm availeth not now to the brave. The battle of life is fought now with the tongue and the pen, and the rascal who has learning is more than a match for a hundred honest men without it. Anybody, save yourselves, can see that the little money you get is half wasted, because you cannot spend it to advantage. The worst food comes to the poor, which their poverty makes them buy, and their necessity makes them eat. Their stomachs are the waste baskets of the market. It is their lot to swallow all the adulterations in the State. Besides, what you buy, coming to you through the hands of a hundred tradesmen, is taxed to keep a hundred little households before it reaches your tables. The necessity of the shopkeeper is not his fault. The evil is the fault of the system. Too many dealers are the fungus growth of a rank competition; and so long as you accept in their shops a convenience you do not provide for yourselves, it would be shabby to begrudge them payment. He who asks for credit is owned by him who gives it. In these days you all set up in a little way as politicians. You go in for the Charter. You allow agitators to address you as the "sovereign people." You want to be electors, and counted as persons of political consequence in the State; and be treated as only gentlemen are now. Now, being a gentleman does not merely mean having money. There are plenty of scoundrels who have that. That which makes the name of gentleman sweet is being a man of good faith and good honour. A gentleman is one who is considerate of others; who never lies, nor fears, nor goes into debt, nor takes advantage of his neighbours; and the poorest man in his humble way can be all this. If you take credit of a shopkeeper you cannot, while you owe him money, buy of another. In most cases you keep him poor by not paying him. The flesh and bones of your children are his property. The very plumpness of your wife, if she has it, belongs to

your butcher and your baker. The pulsation of your own heart beats by charity. The clothes on your backs, such as they are, are owned by some tailor. He who lives in debt walks the streets a mere mendicant machine. Thus all debt is self-imposed degradation, and he who incurs it lives in bondage and shabbiness all his days. It is worth while trying Co-operation again to get out of this.

III.

[Knowing that men often think they will do a thing and then—don't; because they imagine they can see an easier way of doing it—I asked:—] Is there any avenue of competition through which you could creep? If there is, get up it. You cannot begin manufacturing—you have no money for that. Though this store-movement began as a sort of jury for trying shopkeepers, and has generally brought them in guilty, no doubt here and there a juror would try a little shopkeeping himself, if he thought it would answer in a new neighbourhood. But if a few of those precarious spots were found, the poorest could do no good in them. Competition can only be used now by those who have capital. Fraud itself only pays now on a large scale. Neither by fighting nor fraud can you better yourselves. You have neither money enough to buy arms, nor capital enough for business in which, when well and unscrupulously planned, an extensive plunder can be gathered. In another country you might have a chance; in England you have none. Every bird in the air, every fish in the stream, every animal in the woods, every blade of grass in the fields, every inch of ground has an owner, and there is no help except that of self-help for any one, and that lies in the path of Co-operation. If, however, you begin business on the principle of equity, you must look well to it; for if you fail, it will be said you are not "men of business," and you

will not soon get over that. If you say you failed through trying to be honest, nobody will excuse you or believe you; so few people are known ever to run that risk. It is not considered "business-like." Society is far more respectful to those who succeed without honesty than to those who fail through it. Be sure of this—honour in any path has to fight its ways through the world. Honesty, like good faith, has its liabilities. There are those who tell you of the advantages of truth, but never tell you of its dangers. Truth is a great dignity, but it is also a great peril; and unless a man knows both sides of it, he will turn into the easy road of prevarication, lying, or silence, the moment he meets with the danger he has not foreseen, and which had not been foretold to him. Co-operation will have its difficulties. When you have saved a little money, and got a little store, and have reached the point of getting pure provisions, which will not be reached very soon, you will find your purchasers will not like them, nor know them when they taste them. Their taste will be required to be educated. They have never eaten the pure food of gentlemen, and will not know the taste of it when you bring it to their lips. The London mechanic does not know the taste of pure coffee. What he takes to be coffee is a decoction of burnt corn and chicory.* A friend† of mine, knowing this, thought it a pity workmen should not have pure coffee, and opened a coffee-house in the Blackfriars Road, where numerous mechanics and engineers passed in the early morning to their work at the engine shops over the bridge. They were glad to see an early house open so near their work. They tried the coffee a morning or two and went away without showing any marks of satisfaction. They talked about

* This was more than thirty years ago, and Metropolitan coffee has improved. I rather exaggerated its quality at that period.

† Mr. Huggett, secretary of the Middlesex Reform Association, well known in Liberal and Co-operative movements from 1830 to 1850.

it in their workshops. The opinion arrived at was, "they had never tasted such stuff as that sold at the new place." But before taking decisive measures they took some shopmates with them to taste the suspicious beverage. The unanimous conclusion they came to was that the new coffee-house proprietor intended to poison them, and if he had not adulterated his coffee a morning or two later they would have broken his windows or his head. As it was, the evil repute he had acquired ruined his project; and a notice "To let," which shortly after appeared on the shutters, gave consolation to his indignant customers.*

IV.

[As men half resolved, apprehensive, or still unconvinced, loaf about the edge of action, misleading those who think they are going to move, it seemed desirable to call attention to the responsibility of indecisive profession of opinion.]

What of ambition or interest has industry in this grim, despairing, sloppy, † hole of a town, where the parish doctor and the sexton (who understand each other) are the only friends the workman has. Are there not some here who have lost mother or father, or wife, or child, whose presence made the sunshine of the household which now knows them no more? Does not the very world seem deserted now that voice has gone

* It ought to be explained that imbecility of taste is not confined to workmen. Some years later a West End brewer, well known as a Member of Parliament and as a scrupulous man of business, tried the experiment of producing the purest beverages chemistry could prescribe. Soon, however, such notices of dissatisfaction came in from his respectable customers of all classes that he was fain to desist. Many wine merchants make fortunes out of the ignorant palates of their customers.

† Rochdale has improved since those days. It has now a Town Hall worth a day's journey to see. The Pioneers' Central Store is a Doge's palace compared with any town building which existed, and it does not seem to rain so much in Rochdale as in pre-co-operative times.

out of it? What would one not give, how far would one not go, to hear it as usual? Death will not speak, however earnestly we pray to it; but we might get out of living industry some voice of joy that might gladden thousands of hearts to hear. In all England now industry has no tone that makes any human creature glad. Listen with the mind's ear to the cry of every manufacturing town. What is there pleasant in it? * Co-operation might infuse a tone in it a Statesman might be willing to hear.

If you really think that the principle of the thing is wrong, give it up—clear your minds of it—announce to your neighbours, or to any one whom you have endeavoured to convince of the truth of it, that you have come to a different opinion. This you ought to do as candid men of right spirit, so that any adopting the opinion you have abandoned may understand they must hold it for reasons of their own, and cannot any longer plead such sanction or authority as your belief might lend to their proceedings. If, however, you have convictions that this is a thing to be put through, put it through—and if you take due precaution, and persevere in your intent, you will surely carry your point. No blundering of speech, no folly in enthusiastic intention will be remembered against you when you are successful. Progress has its witches, as Macbeth had, but the bottom of their old cauldron is pretty well burnt out now. There will always be persons who will tell you that others have failed, again and again, and that you pretend to be the wise person, whom the world was waiting for to show it

* Co-operative speakers at that day seldom spoke of hired labour being superseded by self-employment. Few conceived it, and, if any had, there were no hearers who would believe it. Increase of wages, or prospect of competence, there was none in the minds of workmen. Had some said there would be no more reduction of wages, they would have thought the millennium had come. I know it, for I lived long in workshops and never knew a man who had hope of the kind. I never knew the news of self-help was in the world, until I found that the Co-operators had it.

how the thing could be done. * But every discoverer who found out what the world was looking for, and never met with; every scientific inventor who has persisted in improving the contrivance, which all who went before him failed to perfect, has been in the same case, and everybody has admitted at last that he was the one wise man the world was waiting for, and that he really knew what nobody else knew, and really saw what none who went before him had seen so well. You have this assurance to strengthen you, that Co-operation has often succeeded far enough to show that something can be made of it. But no set of men have persisted in it long enough to show the capacity of the thing for the purpose of industrial advantages. The only thing wanting to make it a new power, evident to working-class eyes—is perseverance in it. If it wanted much money to begin it, or needed extraordinary powers of mind to manage it, you might reasonably despair of succeeding where others have failed. Perseverance is in the power of the humblest. It only requires the courage of continuing what the obscurest man is able to begin. If you were to take one of those microscopes which are now coming into use, and gather the stem of a rosebud and examine it, you would see a number of small insects, called aphis, travelling along it, in pursuit of some object interesting to its tiny mind. The thing is so small that you can scarcely discern it with the naked eye, but in a microscope you see it stretch forth its little arms and legs, carefully feeling its way, now stretching out a foot,

* In a review of Dr. H. Travis's book on "Effectual Reform," a short time ago, I was surprised to find the dilapidated old argument turn up in an unexpected quarter, like an eccentric beggar at a ball. "But there is (the reviewer said) just one little drawback in all these charming pictures; the model village is not built yet, and nobody has ever set about it quite the right way, says our projector, but only let 'me' set about it, and this time you shall really see!"—*Saturday Review*, Oct. 16, 1875.

moving slowly along the side, touching carefully the little projections, moving the limb in the outer air, feeling for a resting-place, never leaving its position till it finds firm ground to stand upon, showing more prudence and patience before it has been alive an hour than the mass of grown men and women show when they are fifty years of age. The aphis begins to move when it is a minute old, and goes a long way before it dies. It does not appear to wait for the applause of surrounding insects. So far as I have observed, it does not ask what its neighbours think, nor to pay much attention to what they say after it has once set out. Its wise little mind seems devoted to seeing that in every step forward its foothold is secure. If you have half the prudence and sagacity of these little creatures, who are so young that their lives have to be counted by minutes, and are so small you might carry a million of them in your waistcoat pocket,* you might make Co-operation a thing to be talked about in Rochdale. Of course it is no easy task for you to seek colleagues among dismayed comrades, and convince them that re-attempting a Co-operative Store was the only chance of extrication for men who had failed by strikes—their only chance to raise their wages—they who have small means, few friends, and are distracted, divided, and discouraged. Still it is worth noting that only commonplace natures let bad things have their way. Difficulties which are dumb to the coward betray themselves by speech to the brave. Clear your minds of hesitations—acquire the dignity of those who have a purpose beyond themselves—take your measures with your eyes open—combine your means—keep terms with the wrong-headed, but keep no terms with inactivity—and confront the difficulties of your enterprise boldly—do not, like crabs,

* These prompt little people, born in the morning, marry before breakfast, are grandfathers by the afternoon, and rank as city fathers before the sun goes down.

walk sideways to your graves, but do some direct, resolute thing before you die. Of course I expressed, as I had done elsewhere, my conviction that the right men could do the right thing. My final words were as positive as those used by a great master in the art of expressing wilfulness*, whose words I use now instead of my own :—

> This I cannot tell,
> Whence I do know it ; but that I know it I know,
> And by no casual or conjectural proof
> Nor yet by test of reason ; but I know it
> Even as I know I breathe, see, hear, feel, speak,
> And am not dead and senseless of the sun
> That yet I look on : so assuredly
> I know I shall not die—

until I see Co-operation succeed here or elsewhere.

I know I said something quite as wild or pertinacious as this, for when the applause came which generally followed this kind of lecture, chiefly, no doubt, because the audience were glad it was over, something was said which implied the impression that a real fanatic had come to Rochdale at last. Other advocates oft visited the town, and spoke to the same effect. This address recited above is but a sample of the arguments of that propagandist time. If we did not inspire, we at least confirmed the inspiration the hearers had taken from their own courage and good sense.† It was no use speaking at all in those days, unless to try to promote useful action. And for twenty years after that time, whenever I arrived in Rochdale, some store leaders met me at the railway station, and when I asked "Where I was to go to?" the answer was, "Thou must come and see Store." My portmanteau was taken there, my letters were addressed there, my corres-

* Bothwell. By A. C. Swinburne.

† I might add, and traditions of their own town, for some knew what I did not know then, of struggles and stores and old endeavours which had purpose in them.

pondence was written there, and my host was commonly James Smithies, or Abram Greenwood. My earliest recollection is of having chops and wool at Smithies', for he was a waste dealer, and the busy odour was all over the house.

The ascendency of a movement demanding boldness and intelligence was to be looked for in some larger town than Rochdale. But the larger the town and the greater the need of stores, the less is the probability of success. In a large town there is greater diversity of life and occupation, greater facilities for diversion, less intimacy of social life, greater difficulties of business publicity, greater allurements for making purchases of speculative goods, greater obstacles in the way of concentrating the energies of a sufficient number of persons upon one object, greater mobility of employment among workmen, and less likelihood of a dozen or two of men remaining long enough together, pursuing with self-denying zeal one object year after year, acquiring the mutual instruction and mutual interest necessary to build up a Co-operative store and make it grow. Glasgow is the first town where any prophet, having regard to his reputation, by basing his prediction on probabilities, would say Co-operation would answer. The thrift, patience, sagacity, and clanship of the Scottish race seem to supply all the natural conditions of gain in a scheme of economy and concert. But though the Scotch are the last people to turn back when they once set out, their prudence is stronger than their courage at the outset, and they wait to see who will go first. They prefer joining a project when they see it succeeding. There are men in Scotland as ready to go out on forlorn hopes which promise usefulness as in any part of the world, but these are exceptions. As a rule, the people there are not given to alacrity in taking risks of a speculative nature.

It came to pass that the men of Rochdale took the field

like the men of Harlech, and Co-operation recommenced with them. And amid them the reader must look for the birth of constructive Co-operation. The new field now begins to be covered with a new class of advocates. Alderman Livesey aided the new movement by his stout-hearted influence. William Smithies, whose laugh was like a festival, kept it merry in its struggling years. William Cooper, with his Danish face, stood up for it. He had what Canon Kingsley called the "Viking blood" in his veins, and pursued every adversary who appeared in public, with letters in the newspapers, confronted them on platforms, and left them no peace until he had confuted them to his own satisfaction, and that of his colleagues. Abram Greenwood came to its aid with his quiet purposing face, which the "Spectator" * said some time ago, "ought to be painted by Rembrandt," possibly because that artist, distinguished for his strong contrasts, would present the white light of Co-operation emerging from the dark shades of Competition. And others, whose names we have elsewhere recorded,† contributed in that town to the great revival.

* London "Spectator."

† History of Co-operation in Rochdale. Parts I. and II.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISCOVERY WHICH CREATED CO-OPERATION.

They gave me advice and counsel in store,
Praised me and honoured me more and more;
Said that I only should "wait awhile;"
Offered their patronage, too, with a smile.

But, with all their honour and approbation,
I should, long ago, have died of starvation;
Had there not come an excellent man,
Who bravely to help me along began.

Good fellow! he got me the food I ate,
His kindness and care I shall never forget;
Yet I cannot embrace him—though other folks can:
For I *myself* am this excellent man!

Heine—translated by Leland.

THE men of Rochdale were they who first took the name of Equitable Pioneers. Their object was to establish equity in industry—the idea which best explains the spirit of modern Co-operation. It would have been an advantage if other societies had been attracted by this excellent term—equity. Industrial Equity is a better term than Co-operation. Equity is as pretty a name as utility. Equitarian is not a longer name than Utilitarian; and even Equitablism would at least mean more than Co-operation, since it would imply an equitable share of work, and also an equitable share of profit, which the word Co-operation does not connote. Among them was an original, clear-headed, shrewd, plodding thinker,

if that junction of terms be intelligible—one Charles Howarth, who set himself to devise a plan by which capital could be obtained, and the permanent interest of the members secured. It was that the profits made by sales should (instead of being taken by the few who were shareholders) be divided among all members who made purchases at the stores, in proportion to the amount they spent there, and that the shares of profits coming due to them should remain in the hands of the directors until it amounted to £5, and they should be registered as shareholders of that amount. This sum they would not have to pay in out of their pockets, for the good reason that they had not, and were never likely to have, the money. The store would thus save their shares for them, and they would thus become shareholders without it costing them anything; so that if all went wrong they lost nothing; and if they stuck like sensible men to the store, they might save in the same way other £5, which they could draw out as they pleased. Thus by this obvious scheme —obvious when once devised — the store ultimately obtained £100 of capital from each twenty members. For this capital they paid an interest of five per cent. as an encouragement to members to adhere to the store and save. Of course, before any store could commence by which members could make profits in this way, some of the more enterprising promoters must subscribe some capital in small sums or otherwise with which to obtain the first stock. This capital in Rochdale was mostly raised by weekly subscriptions of twopence. For every pound so subscribed an interest of five per cent. also was payable, if the day of profit ever came. In order that there might be as much profit as possible to divide among purchasers, as a means of attracting more members, interest was always kept down at five per cent.; and hence five per cent. has become to be regarded as the Co-operative standard rate of interest. The merit of this scheme was that it tended to create capital among men.

who had none, and allured purchasers to the store by the prospect of a quarterly dividend of profits upon their outlay. Of course those who had the largest families had the largest dealings, and it appeared as though the more they ate the more they saved—a fortunate illusion for the hungry little ones who abounded in Rochdale in those days.

The device of dividing profits with purchasers, had occurred to others before it did to Mr. Howarth, though it was original with him. It had been seventeen years in operation at no very great distance from Rochdale. It might occur to the reader that Mr. Howarth might have heard of it. It is singular that it was not until twenty-six years after Mr. Howarth had devised his plan of 1844, that any one was aware that it was in operation in 1827. Mr. William Nuttall, in compiling a statistical table for me for insertion in the "Reasoner" in 1870, discovered that an unknown society, at Meltham Mills, near Huddersfield, had existed for forty-three years, having been commenced in 1827, and had divided profits on purchases from the beginning. But it found neither imitators nor propagandists in England.

Mr. Alexander Campbell also claimed to have recommended the same principle in an address which he drew up for the Co-operative bakers of Glasgow, in 1822: that he fully explained it to the Co-operators of Cambuslang, who adopted it in 1831; and that a pamphlet was widely circulated at the time containing what he said upon the subject. Mr. Campbell further declared that in 1840 he lectured several times in Rochdale, and in 1843-4, when they were organising their society of Equitable Pioneers, they consulted him, and he advised them by letter to adopt the principle of dividing profits on purchases, after paying interest on capital; and, at the same time, assisted in forming the London Co-operative Society on the same principle. No one has ever produced the pamphlet referred to, or any copy of

the rules of any Scotch society, in which the said plan was described. I recollect nothing of the kind at that date in London. Yet it is not unlikely that Mr. Campbell had the idea before the days of Mr. Howarth. It might be that some copies of the Cambuslang rules may have found their way to Meltham Mills, as co-operative publications from the Sussex coast found their way in 1829 to Halifax and Bradford. It is more likely that the idea of dividing profits with the customer was separately originated. Though no one can produce any copy of the Cambuslang rules of 1829, nor of the recommendation to the first Glasgow Co-operative Baking Society: this is not an argument against Mr. Campbell's claim. Few persons preserve records of suggestions or rules which attracted small attention in their day. Mr. Campbell was very likely to have been consulted by the Rochdale Pioneers in 1843-4, more likely than by any other "Social Missionary," seeing that he alone, of all of them, was at the Orbiston community of Abram Combe, in 1826; and he, doubtless, gave the advice he states; which being given then, would be confirmatory of Mr. Howarth's plan, which all the Pioneers contemporary with him believed to be original with him. The records of the patent offices of all countries show that the most important inventions have been made over and over again, by persons who have been painfully startled to find that the idea which had cost them the best years of their lives to work out, had been perfected before they were born. Coincidence of discovery in mechanics, in literature, and in every department of human knowledge, is an axiom of criticism among men of experience. Original ideas often occur to busy or cogitative minds. It is only when they occur to men of strong understandings who seize upon them, discern their applications and advantages, and work out the mode of realizing them, to whom the merit belongs of really discovering them. From 1822 to 1844 stores limped

along and failed to attract growing custom, while dividends were paid only on capital. During this time many minds must have been occupied in devising some method of increasing the interest of customers. To workmen unaccustomed to accounts, difficulties must have been felt in making out how books could be kept recording purchases, and dividing fractions of profit on small amounts. The solution proved simple enough eventually, and the process when devised, of giving metal checks—introduced at Rochdale—representing the amount of purchases, which the buyer kept made it simpler still. Then, while the purchases were small, the trouble would appear greater than it was worth, and so long as dividends were trifling, the interest in the operation would be small. To explain the plan, to insist upon it, to devise its details, and carry them out during hopeless years of slow progress, was an affair of good sense, of strong sense, and human faith. And these were the merits of Mr. Howarth and the Rochdale Pioneers.

It was thus by taking the public into partnership that the revival of Co-operation came about. How slowly the first steps were taken on this new line of advance—what patience, sagacity, and enthusiasm it required to increase the travellers upon it—what prejudice law, religion, and ignorance put in the way—what moral improvement and pecuniary benefit have resulted to hundreds of thousands of families since is already matter of history.* The circumstances under which this device was made presents some facts not generally noticed, or not taken into account, if they are. When Mr. Howarth made the proposal to divide profits among purchasers it was the device of despair. Stores, as has been related,

* The story told in "Self-Help, or History of the Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale," by the present author, has been re-told by translators and independent observers in many languages, and need not be recited here. The object of this book is to present a general survey of the whole English movement.

had been argued down in some cases by impatient communists, and had gone down in other cases pretty much of their own accord. Not a few had been aided in their descent by a state of the law which favoured the development of rascal officers. Few persons believed stores could be re-established. When, therefore, on the revival, customers at the store were scarce and uncertain, it was so small a sum that was likely to arise to be given them, and for a long time it was so little that it proved little attraction. The division of profits among customers, though felt to be a promising step, not being foreseen as a great fortune, it was readily agreed to. No one foresaw what a prodigious amount it would one day be. Last year (1876) the profits of the Rochdale Store amounted to £50,668, and the profits of the Halifax Store reached £19,820, and those of Leeds £34,510. Had these profits existed in Mr. Howarth's time, and he had proposed to give such amazing sums to mere customers, he would have been deemed mad, and not half a dozen persons would have listened to him outside the "theoretical" co-operators. When twenty members constituted a society, and they made with difficulty ten shillings a year of profit altogether, the proposal to divide it excited no suspicion. A clear income of sixpence a year, as the result of twelve months' active and daily attention to business, excited no jealousy. But had £40,000 been at the disposal of the committee, that would have seemed a large fortune for forty directors, and no persuasive power on earth would have induced them to divide that among the customers. Up to that time the shareholders in most places were merely multiplied shopkeepers, and they took all the profits. Had Rochdale directors of that day imagined what immense sums co-operation would one day place at their disposal in that town, they would never have admitted the customer into partnership, nor carried out the proposal made. It would have been said "What right has the customer to the gains of

our trade? What does he do towards creating them? He gets value received for his money. He gives no thought, he has no cares, he performs no duties, he takes no trouble, he incurs no risks. If we lose he pays no loss. Why should we enrich him by what we win?" Nobody then could have answered these questions, or stated successfully the consumers' case. But when the proposal came in the insiduous form of dividing scanty and doubtful profits, with scarce and reluctant customers, Mr. Howarth's scheme was adopted, and Co-operation rose from the grave in which ignorance, impotence, and short-sighted greed had buried it, and it began the mighty and stalwart career with which we are now conversant. It really seems as though the best steps we take never would be taken, if we knew how wise and right they were.

At length the time came when substantial profits were made—palpable profits, actually paid over the counter, tangible in the pocket, and certain of recurrence, with increase, at every subsequent quarter day. It took some years to attain to them. But time was not counted when they did come. The fact was so unexpected that when it was generally divulged it had all the freshness and suddenness of a revelation to outsiders. The effect of this patient and obscure success was diffused about, as we might say, in apostolical language—"noised abroad." There needed no advertisement to spread it. When profits—a new name among workpeople—were found to be really made, and known to be really had by members quarter by quarter, they were copiously heard of. The co-operator, who had never had any encouragement from his neighbour, felt a natural pride in making him sensible that he was succeeding. As he had never had any success to boast of before, he was not likely to make little of this. Besides, his animated face suggested that his projects were answering with him. He appeared better fed, which was not likely to escape notice among

hungry weavers. He was better dressed than formerly, which gave him distinction among his shabby comrades in the mill. The wife no longer had* "to sell her petticoat," but had a new gown, and she was not likely to be silent about that; nor was it likely to remain much in concealment. It became a walking and graceful advertisement of co-operation in every part of the town. Her neighbours were not slow to notice the change in attire, and their very gossip became a sort of propagandism; and other husbands received hints they might as well belong to the store. The children had cleaner faces, and new pinafores or new jackets, and they propagated the source of their new comforts in their little way, and other little children communicated to their parents what they had seen. Some old hen coops were furbished up and new pullets were observed in them—the cocks seemed to crow of co-operation. Here and there a pig, which was known to belong to a co-operator, was seen to be fattening, and seemed to squeal in favour of the store. After a while a pianoforte was reported to have been seen in a co-operative cottage, on which it was said the daughters played co-operative airs, as the like of which had never been heard in that quarter. There were wild winds, but neither tall trees nor wild birds about Rochdale; but the weavers' songs were not unlike those of the dusky gondoliers of the South, when emancipation first came to them :—

We pray de Lord he gib us sign
  Dat one day we be free;
De north wind tell it to de pines,
  De wild duck to de sea.

We tink it when the Church bell rings,
  We dream it in de dream;
De rice-bird mean it when he sings,
  De eagle when he screams.†

The objects of nature vary, but the poetry of freedom

* *Vide* next chapter. † Whittier's.

is everywhere the same. The store was talked about in the mills. It was canvassed in the weaving shed. The farm labourer heard of it in the fields. The coal miner carried the news down the pit. The blacksmith circulated the news at his forge. It was the gossip of the barber's chair—the courage of beards being unknown then. Chartists, reluctant to entertain any question but the Five Points, took the store into consideration in their societies. At public meetings, speakers arose with confidence quite new—that of men who had experience in possessing something, and something to tell of what their neighbours might do. In the newspapers, letters appeared explaining practical points of co-operation never heard of before. Preachers who found their pew rents increase were more reticent than they were in former days about the sin of co-operation, while the Rev. Mr. Molesworth, son of the Vicar,* was from the first its considerate and practical friend. The "Toad Lane Store," as it was called, was the subject of conversation in the public-house. It was discussed in the temperance coffee-shop. The carriers who came into the town spread news of it in the "regions round about," and what was a few years before a mere matter of contemptuous derision, became the curious, enquiring, and respectful talk of all those parts. The landlord found his rent paid more regularly, and whispered the fact about. The shopkeeper told his neighbour that customers who had been in his debt for years had paid up their accounts. Members for the Borough became aware that some independent voters were springing up in connection with the co-operative store. Politicians began to think there was something in it. Wandering lecturers visiting the town found a better quality of auditors to address, and were invited to houses where tables were better spread than formerly, and were

* The Rev. William Nassau Molesworth, since well-known by his History of England and other works.

taken to see the Store, as one of the new objects of interest in the town. There was a newsroom opened there, where more London newspapers could be seen than in any coffee-house in London, and readers carried news of what was being done in Rochdale to other towns. News of it got into periodicals in London. Clergymen concerned for the social welfare of the people heard of Rochdale. Professors and students of social philosophy from abroad heard of it, and sent news of it home to their country. And thus it spread far and wide that the shrewd men of Rochdale were doing a notable thing in the way of Co-operation. It was all true, and honour will long be accorded them therefore. For it is they, in whatever rank, who act for the right when others are still, who decide when others doubt, who urge forward when others stand back, to whom the glory of great change belongs.

CHAPTER IV.

CAREER OF THE PIONEER STORE.

> But every humour hath its adjunct pleasure,
> Wherein it finds a joy above the rest:
> But these particulars are not my measure,
> All these I better in one general best.
> *William Shakespeare.*

He who would know how an idea may be well alive in a town and then die, and becomes so dead that no one believes in its reanimation, let him acquaint himself with the history of Co-operation in Rochdale. In 1830 co-operation was an idea of hope, and a source of energy among a portion of the people. Ten years later the idea was one of the forlorn hopes of progress—as hopeless in the Rochdale mind as any hope could be.

The first we hear of Rochdale, in co-operative literature, is an announcement in the "Co-operative Miscellany" for July, 1830, which "rejoices to hear that through the medium of the "Weekly Free Press" a Co-operative society has been formed in this place, and is going on well. Three public meetings have been held to discuss the principles. They have upwards of sixty members, and are anxious to supply flannels to the various co-operative societies. We understand the prices are from £1 15s. a piece to £5, and that J. Greenhough, Wardleworth Brow, will give every information, if applied

to." At this very time the working class were in a deplorable state.

The Rochdale flannel weavers were always in a vigorous trouble for want of work. In June, 1830, they had a great meeting on Cronkey Shaw Moor, which Mr. Bright's house now overlooks. At that time there were as many as 7,000 men out of employ. There was an immense concourse of men, women, and children on the moor, although a drizzling rain fell during the speeches—it always does rain in Rochdale when the flannel weavers are out. One speaker, Mr. Hinds, declared "that wages had been so frequently reduced in Rochdale that a flannel weaver could not, by all his exertions and patience, obtain more that from 4s. to 6s. per week." Mr. Renshaw quoted the opinion of "Mr. Robert Owen at Lanark, a gentleman whose travels gave him ample scope for observation, who had declared, at a recent public meeting in London, 'that the inhabitants of St. Domingo, who were black slaves, seemed to be in a condition greatly to be preferred to that of English operatives.'" * Mr. Renshaw, who spoke very well, said: "That when his hearers went home they would find an empty pantry mocking their hungry appetites, the house despoiled of its furniture, an anxious wife with a highway paper, or a King's taxes paper, in her hand, but no money to discharge such claim. God help the poor man when misfortune overtook him! The rich man in his misfortune could obtain some comfort, but the poor man had nothing to flee to. Cureless despondency was the condition to which he was reduced." It was this year that the first Co-operative society was formed in Rochdale. The meeting on Cronkey Shaw Moor was on behalf of the flannel weavers who were then out on strike. The

* Mr. Owen did not distinguish between domestic slaves and field slaves, and always dwelt upon social comfort as though it had not occurred to him that freedom was an element of national progress.

Rochdale men were distinguished among unionists of that time for vigorous behaviour. It appears that during the disturbances in Rochdale, in the year 1831, the constables—"villanous constables," as the record I consult describes them—robbed their box. One would think there was not much in it. However, the men succeeded in bringing the constables to justice, and in convicting them of felony.

It would appear that Rochdale always moved by two-pences. "The United Trades Co-operative Journal" of Manchester recorded that, notwithstanding the length of time the flannel weavers and spinners had been out, and the slender means of support they had, they had contributed at twopence per man the sum of £30, as their first deposit to the Protection Fund, and that one poor woman, a spinner, who could not raise the twopence agreed upon at their meeting, was so determined not to be behind others in her contributions to what she properly denominated "their own fund," that she actually sold her petticoat to pay her subscriptions.

At this Birmingham Congress of 1832, the Rochdale Society sent a letter urging the utility of "discussing in Congress the establishment of a Co-operative Woollen Manufactory; as the Huddersfield cloth, Halifax and Bradford stuffs, Leicester and Loughborough stockings, and Rochdale flannels required in several respects similar machinery and processes of manufacture, they thought that societies in these towns might unite together and manufacture with advantages not obtainable by separate establishments." At that early period there were co-operators in Rochdale giving their minds to federative projects. Their delegate in those days was Mr. William Harrison, and their secretary Mr. T. Ladyman, 70, Cheetham Street, Rochdale. Their credentials stated that "the society was first formed in October, 1830, and bore the name of the Rochdale Friendly Society. Its members were fifty-two, the amount of its funds was

£108. It employed ten members and families. It manufactured flannel. It had a library containing thirty-two volumes. It had no school, and never discussed the principles of Labour Exchange, and it had two other societies in the neighbourhood." It was deemed a defect in sagacity not to have enquired into the uses of Labour Exchanges as a means of co-operative profit and propagandism. Rochdale from the beginning had a creditable regard for books and education. It also appears—and it is of interest to note it now—that "wholesale" combination was an early Rochdale idea.

From 1830 to 1840 Rochdale went on doing something. One thing recorded is that it converted the Rev. Joseph Marriott to social views—the same gentleman, before mentioned, also wrote "Community: a Drama." Another is that in 1838 a "Social Hall" was opened in Yorkshire Street. These facts of Rochdale industrial aspirations, prior to 1844, when the great Store began, show that this Co-operative idea "was in the air." It could hardly be said to be anywhere else until it descended in Toad Lane, and that is where it first touched the earth, took root, and grew.

Co-operation is only new in its modern growth and contagious applications. Co-operation was long ago employed in maritime enterprise, in mining, in grinding flour, in cheese-making, in shopkeeping. Like curious and valuable animals which have oft been imported, but never bred from: like useful and rare products of nature that have frequently been grown without their cultivation becoming general—Co-operation has long existed in remarkable forms; it is only since the middle of this century that it has been extensively used; and it is now thought new because it was not noticed previously. Farmers grew wheat, there is no doubt of that, before the days of Major Hallett, and practised thin sowing, and made selections of seed—in a blind capricious way. But it was not until that observing agriculturist traced the

laws of growth, and demonstrated the principles of selection, that "pedigree wheat" was possible, and the growing powers of Great Britain were rendered capable of being tripled. In Co-operation this was the effect of the Rochdale persistent application of the principle of dividing profits on purchases. The Pioneers of that town first saw its importance; it was their perseverance in applying it, until the profits divided seemed so immense that they became an incentive to others; and distant towns, and at length distant countries, saw in the bulk of the gain made by societies following the Howarth rule the truth of a principle that was at first invisible to other than Rochdale eyes.

Of the "Famous Twenty-Eight" old Pioneers, who founded the store by their humble subscriptions of twopence a week, only a few survive. Chief among the dead is James Smithies, its earliest secretary, its ceaseless worker and counsellor. In his later years he became one of the town councillors of the borough—the only one of the Twenty-eight who attained municipal distinction. After a late committee meeting in days of faltering fortunes at the store or the corn mill, he would go out at midnight and call up any one known to have money and sympathy for the cause. And when the disturbed sympathiser was awake and put his head out of the window to learn what was the matter, Smithies would call out, "I am come for thy brass, lad. We mun have it." "All right!" would be the welcome answer. And in one case the bag was fetched with nearly £100 in, and the owner offered to drop it through the window. "No; I'll call in the morning," Smithies replied, with his cheery voice, and then would go home contented that the evil day was averted. In the presence of his vivacity no one could despond, confronted by his buoyant humour no one could be angry. There was such faith in his pleasantry that he laughed the store out of despair into prosperity. William Howarth, the "sea lawyer" of Co-operation, is

The First Co-operative Tomb Stone.

no more. William Cooper, too, is gone. I spoke at his grave, and wrote this inscription for his tomb :—

In Memory of

WILLIAM COOPER,

WHO DIED OCTOBER 31ST, 1864, AGED 76 YEARS

ONE OF THE ORIGINAL '28' EQUITABLE PIONEERS
WHO MADE CO OPERATION IN ROCHDALE FAMOUS.

HE HAD A ZEAL EQUAL TO ANY, AND EXCELLED ALL
IN HIS CEASELESS EXERTIONS, BY PEN AND SPEECH,
TO UNITE AND DIRECT OTHERS IN CO-OPERATIVE WORK
HE HAD THE GREATER AND RARER MERIT OF STANDING BY PRINCIPLES ALWAYS,
REGARDLESS ALIKE OF INTERESTS AND FRIENDSHIPS OR OF HIMSELF

His colleagues added these words :—

HE WAS CASHIER AND CORRESPONDENT
OF THE ROCHDALE EQUITABLE PIONEERS' SOCIETY WHEN HE DIED
SECRETARY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE BOARD,
SECRETARY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE COMPANY,
AUTHOR OF THE 'HISTORY OF THE ROCHDALE CO-OPERATIVE CORN MILL SOCIETY
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY SUBSCRIPTIONS CONTRIBUTED BY
THE ROCHDALE EQUITABLE PIONEERS' SOCIETY,
THE CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BOARD,
THE NORTH OF ENGLAND CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY
THE CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE COMPANY,
THE ROCHDALE CO-OPERATIVE CORN MILL SOCIETY,
AND NUMEROUS OTHER RETAIL CO OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND FRIENDS

"Well, after all," the unacquainted reader may exclaim. "what success was obtained, and by what art was it won?" By honest arts. Rochdale disowned artificial means of making dividends. It has followed the advice of its most experienced leaders, it has refused to advance prices in order to increase dividends. The Rochdale dividends have represented the simple honest business profits of economy and good management. "What has been its success?" Look over the following page of facts reduced to figures :—

Table of the operations of the Society from its commencement in 1814 to the end of 1876 —

Year	Members	Funds	Business	Profits
		£	£	£
1844	28	28	—	—
1845	74	181	710	22
1846	80	252	1146	80
1847	110	286	1924	72
1848	149	397	2276	117
1849	390	1193	6611	561
1850	600	2289	13179	880
1851	630	2785	17633	990
1852	680	3471	16352	1206
1853	720	5848	22700	1674
1854	900	7172	33364	1763
1855	1400	11032	44902	3109
1856	1600	12920	63197	3921
1857	1850	15142	79789	5470
1858	1950	18160	74680	6284
1859	2703	27060	104012	10739
1860	3450	37710	152063	15906
1861	3900	42925	176206	18020
1862	3501	38465	141074	17564
1863	4013	49361	158632	19671
1864	4747	62105	174937	22717
1865	5326	78778	196234	25156
1866	6246	99989	249122	31931
1867	6823	128435	284919	41619
1868	6731	123233	290900	37459
1869	5809	93423	236438	28542
1870	5560	80291	223021	25209
1871	6021	107500	246522	29026
1872	6444	132912	267577	33640
1873	7021	160886	287212	38749
1874	7639	192814	298888	40679
1875	8415	225682	305657	48212
1876	8892	254000	305190	50668

Look at those columns of figures, they will bear scrutiny. They are not dull, prosaic, and statistical, as figures usually are. Every individual figure glows with a light unknown to chemists, and which has never illumined any town until our day. Our forefathers never saw it. They

looked with longing and wistful eyes over the dark plains of industry, and no gleam of it appeared. The light they looked for was the light of material progress by the poor. Not a pale, flickering, uncertain light, but one self-created, self-fed, self-sustained, self-growing, and daily growing. Not a light of charity or paternal invention and support—not a fat, oily, spotling, intermittent blaze; but a luminous inextinguishable, independent light. Look, reader, at these figures again. Every numeral glitters with this new light. Every column is a pillar of fire in the night of industry. That is what common sense and industrial courage have done—that is what this generous watchfulness of a few gentlemen have promoted—that is what the good sense of every reader, if he has good sense, will aid in rendering yet more triumphant—guiding other wanderers than Israelites out of the wilderness of helplessness, and far from the house of a worse than Egyptian bondage—because in these days there is none to deliver those who have not the sense to save themselves.

This was the way, and these were the agencies by which Co-operation grew into a new system of industry. It needs only to be stated here that the Toad Lane Store has expanded into fourteen or more branches, with fourteen or more newsrooms. Each branch is a ten times finer building than the original store. The Toad Lane parent store has long been represented by a great Central Store, a commanding pile of buildings which it takes an hour to walk through, situated on the finest site in the town, and overlooks alike the Town Hall and Parish Church. The Central Stores contain a vast library, which has a permanent librarian, Mr. Barnish. The store spends hundreds of pounds in bringing out a new catalogue as the increase of books needs it. Telescopes, field glasses, microscopes innumerable, exist for the use of members. There are many large towns where gentlemen have no such newsrooms, abounding in daily papers, weekly papers, magazines, reviews, maps, and costly books of

reference, as the working class co-operators of Rochdale possess. They sustain science classes. They own property all over the borough. They have estates covered with streets of houses built for co-operators. They have established a large corn mill which was carried through dreary misadventures by the energy and courage of Mr. Abram Greenwood—misadventures trying every degree of patience and every form of industrial faith. They built a huge spinning mill, and conducted it on co-operative principles three years, until outside shareholders converted or perverted it into a joint-stock affair. None of the old pioneers looked back on the Sodom of competitive gains. Had they done so they would have been like Lot's wife, saline on the page of history evermore. It was the Pioneers who mainly promoted the improvement of the laws of friendly societies, of which mention has been made. The reader will see in another chapter how largely they contributed, by experience and management, to the creation of the great Wholesale Society of Manchester. They set the still greater example of instituting and maintaining to this day an Educational Fund out of their profits. Theirs has been the chief propagandist store. It would take pages to recount the features of their career which has brought them fame. Their original objects were large. They sought to equalise the distribution of property—to create co-operative workshops—to employ their own members and support them on land, of which they should be the owners, and create a self-supporting, intelligent, and prosperous community. They set out with high purpose, and therefore they have accomplished much. Those who place before themselves lofty aims, ensure to themselves great modesty and great usefulness. The greatness they achieve seems little in their eyes; whereas those whose aims are low, to them their littleness seems great—and they are proud without having earned distinction.

CHAPTER V.

PARLIAMENTARY AID OF CO-OPERATION.

Law is but morality shaped by Act of Parliament.—Mr. BERNAL, *Chairman of Committees, House of Commons.*

THE constructive period of Co-operation had made small way, and the devices of Mr. Howarth had not carried Co-operation far, had it not been for thoughtful friends, and the lawyers and politicians in Parliament. The legal impediments to industrial economy were very serious in 1844. Because "men cannot be made wise by Act of Parliament" is no reason for not making Acts of Parliament wise. If enactments do not give people intelligence, they may enable them to act with intelligence, or prevent them doing so. Still it is true that "Law is but morality shaped by Act of Parliament." None, however, knew better than Mr. Bernal, that if there was any morality in a Bill at first it often got "shaped" out of it before it became an Act—hence the many laws requiring repeal. Nevertheless there is a great deal of good, living morality in the world which would be very dead at this day had not law given it life, by giving it protection. A law once made in England is a chain or a finger post—a barrier or a path. It stops the way or it points the way. If an obstacle it stands like a rock. It is regarded as a fixture of nature. It comes to be venerated as a pillar of the constitution. No lawyer will tunnel it—no legislatorial engineer will blast it. The lazy will not touch it—the indifferent think it as well as it is—the timid dare not

approach it—the bold are discouraged by it—the busy are too occupied to give attention or aid, and it is a miracle if it is ever removed. At last, some ardent, disinterested persons, who merely get themselves denounced as nuisances for their restlessness and their pains, persuade Parliament to remove it, and the nation passes forward on a new road to progress.*

The Legislature has of late years opened several new roads of industrial advancement closed to working men before. By a great improvement they can become sharers in the profits of a commercial undertaking, without thereby incurring unlimited liability, which opens a new field of advancement; the advantage both to employers and to workmen being so great that the most sanguine despaired of living to see its enactment. This Act was mainly owing to the late William Schofield, M.P. for Birmingham.

In a great commercial country like England, one would naturally expect that law would be in favour of trade and economy; yet so slow was the recognition of industrial liberty that an Act was a long time in force, which enabled a society to sell its products to its own members, but not to any outsiders. Thus the Leeds Corn Mill, as Mr. John Holmes has related, which naturally produced bran as well as flour, could sell its flour to its members, and its bran also, if its members wanted it. But the members, not being rabbits, did not want the bran; and at one time the Corn Mill Society had as much as £600 worth of bran accumulated in their storerooms which they were unable to sell to non-members who would have bought it. Societies were prohibited holding more than one acre of land, and that not as house or farm land, but

* It was the Rev. William Nassau Molesworth, then Incumbent of Spotland, Rochdale, who, discerning in the early efforts of the Pioneers, the prospect of social improvement, first suggested to them the advantages of obtaining the protection of the law for their members. It was the long persistence of the Pioneer Store, and the aid of the influential friends it won, that the Stores owe the protection of Co-operative law.

only for transacting the business of the society upon. The Rochdale Manufacturing Society had ample means at their disposal for the extension of their business, but, on account of this prohibitory clause, they could not go beyond the premises already occupied by them, holding land on a lease to the full extent allowed by law. The premises occupied by the Equitable Pioneers, in which the business of the society was transacted, occupied land nearly to the extent allowed by the Act. Besides, all thoughts of leasing or purchasing land whereon to grow their potatoes, grow corn, or farm produce, were prevented by this prohibitory clause. Co-operative farming was impossible. No society could invest money except in savings banks or national debt funds. No rich society could help a poor society by a loan. No member could save more than £100. The Act prohibited funds being used for self educational purposes, and every member was practically made responsible for all the debts of the society—enough to frighten any prudent man away. Besides these impediments, there was no provision compelling any member to give up such property, books, or records that might have been entrusted to him by the society; so that any knave was endowed with the power, and secured in the means, of breaking up the society when a fit of larceny seized him.

The Friendly Societies Act of 1846 contained what came to be known as the "Frugal Investment Clause," as it permitted the frugal investment of the savings of members for better enabling them to purchase food, firing, clothes, and other necessaries or materials of their trade or calling, or to provide for the education of their children or kindred. In 1850, Mr. Slaney, M.P., obtained a committee upon the savings and investments of the middle and working classes. Important evidence, received by Mr. Slaney's Committee, was given by various persons, including Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bellenden Kerr, Mr. Ludlow, and Mr. Vansittart Neale. Mr. Neale has

stated that Mr Mill rendered a great and lasting service to co-operative effort by this distinction drawn in his great work, and repeated before the committee—between the scientific and the non-scientific elements in political economy—between the conditions affecting all labour carried on by mankind from the nature of the earth and of man, and the mode in which human institutions may affect the distribution of the products of this labour—two matters commonly confused by the rank and file of political economists, who treat the results of human selfishness, intensified by the modern system of free competition as if they were unalterable laws of the universe."*

The Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1852 (15 and 16 Vict. c. 31), introduced by Mr. Slaney, in consequence of the report of the committee of 1850, authorised the formation of societies by the voluntary subscription of the members, for attaining any purpose or object for the time being, permitted by the laws in force in respect to Friendly Societies, or by that Act, "by carrying on or exercising in common any labours, trades, or handicrafts, except the working mines, minerals, or quarries, beyond the limits of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the business of banking." It made all the provisions of the laws relating to Friendly Societies apply to every society constituted under it, except in so far as they were expressly varied by the Act, or any rule expressly authorised by it to be made, or were certified by an endorsement on its rules, signed by the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the time being, not to be applicable to it. In consequence, Industrial and Provident Societies, while allowed to carry on trade as general dealers, obtained all the advantages given to Friendly Societies, in regard to the vesting of their funds

* "Co-operative News."

without conveyance in their trustees for the time being, protection against fraud by their officers; whence the Corn Mill Society of Rochdale dissolved itself in order to be enrolled under the new Act, that it might recover debts due to it. But they were subject also to the restrictions affecting these societies in regard to the investment of their funds, which were not permitted by the Act then in force (13 and 14 Vict, c., 115) to be laid out in the hire or purchase of land, beyond "any room or premises for the purpose of holding the meetings of the society, or any branch, or for the transaction of any business relating thereto." In 1855, the position of Industrial and Provident Societies in this respect was slightly amended, in common with that of Friendly Societies generally, by the 18 and 19 Vict., c. 63, which permitted land to be purchased or hired for these purposes to the extent of one acre. But, unfortunately, in another respect it was altered for the worse, namely, by the Frugal Investment Clause, under which, as has been stated, Friendly Societies were authorised, among other things, to provide for the *Education* of their children, being struck out, with emigration, and the insurance of cattle from the purposes for which Friendly Societies were expressly allowed to be formed.* It appears to have been thought that cases of this sort were sufficiently provided for by the general powers given by the Act to form Friendly Societies for any purpose certified to be legal by any of the principal Secretaries of State in England, or the Lord Advocate in Scotland. But no power of applying for such a certificate was given to Industrial and Provident Societies, and their own Act limited itself to authorising the application of profits to "the payment

* It must be observed that Mr. Tidd Pratt had previously sanctioned rules of societies meditating self-education; as he had by a generous latitude of construction in some earlier cases by which Rochdale had profited from the beginning. Rochdale had been an old offender against the law in this respect.

of a dividend on capital not exceeding five per cent. per annum"—an effective preventive of speculation in the shares of societies, which has retained its hold even after the law enforcing it had ceased to operate—"the repayment of loans, the increase of the capital of the society, division among the members or persons employed by them, and such provident purposes as are authorised by the laws relating to Friendly Societies for the time being." The change in the law had thus, indirectly, the effect of preventing Industrial and Provident Societies, formed after it was passed, and previous to 1862, from following the excellent example of Rochdale in regard to the application of their profits, to establish news rooms, libraries, lectures, or other means of educating themselves. It was an effect of which probably no one in Parliament thought, and no one of those affected by it appears to have complained loudly enough to be heard. For, though the Industrial and Provident Societies Act was amended by the 19 and 20 Vict., c. 40, no notice is taken of this restriction. But in those days there was no Central Board. The Act of 1862 authorised the application of profits for any purpose allowed by the Friendly Societies Acts, or otherwise permitted by law. But, although the introduction of rules for the formation of Educational Funds thus became allowable, little use was, for some time, made of the permission.*

Dr. Watts stated at the Social Science Congress, Manchester, 1866:—"That in no case which has come under his observation, except in the original one at Rochdale, was there in the constitution of the society any educational provision, and personal inquiry had informed him that this is because the Registrar refuses to allow it. The managers of one of the Manchester stores had no less than

* For the statements of this paragraph I am indebted to Mr. Neale whom the reader will prefer to follow, Mr. Neale being professionally acquainted with the law.

four months' correspondence on the subject, and the result of the refusal was the necessity for a quarterly vote for the reading room, which leads to a false economy, in order to avoid a quarterly quarrel, which, after all, is not always averted." Rochdale entered their educational expenses with the expenses of management, and an indispensable and honest place they held there. Though the old restriction is no longer in force, there are hundreds of stores which have never taken advantage of the new law to create an educational fund. And new stores are often opened which have no such provision. These are known as "Dark" stores.

"It must not be forgotten," Mr. Neale has remarked, "how the law of England has affected the working classes, that the privileges given them for the first time in 1862, were also granted in the same year for the first time to the commercial classes. A large part of the evidence before Mr. Slaney's committee is occupied by the question of the desirableness or mischief of granting limited liability to partners in trade by some method less costly than the one at that time in use—by an Act of Parliament, or a charter from the Crown, which was shown to have cost the Metropolitan Dwellings Association over £1,000. By the Companies Act of 1862 this was done in the interests of the trading classes, and in the same year it was done also in the case of the working classes, who thus obtained the full measure of legal rights then conferred upon their richer neighbours, as they had obtained in 1852 the full measure of legal right possessed by these classes under the then Joint-stock Companies Act.

The Act of 1862, by permitting a member to own £200 in the society, has doubled the available capital for the extension of operations, and given new life to societies which, like Halifax, had lain or lingered like Rip Van Winkle twenty years without growth or motion. This single improvement in the law awakened it, put activity into it, and it has become a great society."

CHAPTER VI.

CO-OPERATION IN STORMY DAYS.

Nay, falter not—'tis an assured good
To seek the noblest—'tis your only good,
Now you have seen it; for that higher vision
Poisons all meaner choices for evermore.
George Eliot.

POLITICAL economists, who are all privately persuaded that nature would never have been able to carry on until now had they not arisen to give it an idea or two, were full of predictions that Co-operation might keep up its health in times of average prosperity, but in days of adversity it would take a low fever, fall into bad ways, suffer from coldness in the extremities, have pains in the "chest," and put the social "faculty" to their wits' end to pull the creature through. Let the cotton famine arrive, and fat Rochdale would become as lean as Lazarus.

In 1861, when the American slave war broke out, and the South armed against the North with a view to establish a separate slave dominion, the dangerous days set in. Cotton would be scarce, mills would stop, wages would cease, and eating would be interrupted in hundreds of thousands of households. Would white workmen, who were not quite sure they were not slaves themselves, put up with privations year after year, consume their hard-earned and long-treasured savings, all for the sake of their long-heeled, woolly-headed, black-faced brother, who probably did not understand freedom himself—would not know what to do with it when he should get

it, and who most likely cared nothing for it while the pumpkin was plentiful, and the planter's whip fell on somebody else's back? Sentiments in favour of freedom might be pretty strong at home—where it concerned ourselves—but it would be drawn very fine and thin when it had to reach all the way from Rochdale and Leeds to the cotton swamps of South America. The French and Italian workmen might in their chivalrous way die for an idea, but John Bull might be counted upon to be mainly moved by the disappearances of beef and beer, and to have small sympathy for the remote "nigger," whose ebony caprices and apple squash ideas of liberty interfered with John's substantial repast. If members of Parliament, secure of good dinners and the bountiful resources of territorial acres—if noblemen who grew rich while they slept—if merchants and manufacturers, wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice or limits of public safety—could basely cry, "Open the ports, and let the negro howl under the whip," half educated, or wholly uneducated workmen need not be expected to be dainty, discerning, or generously solicitous for the welfare of remote Samboes.

So thought the mob of politicians of that day, for, as Samuel Bailey says, "those are a mob who act like one," and neither a good coat nor high station alters the quality what they do. Character goes by acts. Copperheads, clerical and political, infested Lancashire and Yorkshire, retailed insiduous proposals to recognise the South. It is not my intention to include among these all the honest politicians who really believed that the separation of North and South would increase the individuality of nations, and conduce to general progress. I belonged to the party who thought differently, but I neither think nor would describe any men as disreputable because they held a different opinion to mine. I speak here only of the Copperhead class. The Copperhead in America was a political creature who talked union and helped separation; and when their agents came

among the co-operators of the north of England they talked freedom and argued for slavery. They disguised their aim under every specious form of trade policy. Physiology and Scripture were pointed against the Negro in lecture-room and pulpit. Ultimately the Copperheads slunk away under a storm of discerning scorn. Many a stout blast blew from Rochdale.

Lest the reader should think that there was some exceptional combination of advantages in Rochdale which made it prosper, or that some special co-operative Providence watched over it, it may be as well to give the statistics (an ugly, recondite, abstract, mysterious, discomforting word, invented to turn popular attention from the study of figures), meaning a statement of money made, and the number of people who had the sense to combine together to make it, of the Greenacres Hill Industrial Co-operative Society (Oldham) Limited, 1857-63 :—

Year.	No. of Members.	Capital.	Business.
1857	482	1745	13522
1858	702	2667	19403
1859	910	5538	32912
1860	963	7378	39635
1861	924	9130	47675
1862	824	8034	41901
1863	861	9165	36366

In those days, as now, there were two societies in Oldham, one situated in King Street, the other at Greenacres Hill. King Street was the larger by about one-sixth. The two societies together had 3,299 members, who did business to the amount of £87,766, and made £7,636 of profit. So that, taken together or singly, co-operation carried a saucy head in the slave war storm.

It will be well to cite examples of what was the fortunes of stores elsewhere :—

Name of Store.	No. of Members.	Amount of Business.	Profits Realized.
Liverpool	3,154	44,355	3,201
Bury	1,412	47,658	4,689
Bacup	2,296	53,663	6,618

The reader may be assured that no bare bones were found in Mother Hubbard's cupboard in co-operative quarters in the cotton famine days. There was no old lady in any competitive district of the working people so bright and plump as she. Bacup suffered more from the cotton scarcity than Rochdale. Bacup had scarcely any other branch of trade than cotton. Their receipts went down nearly one half at the time of the greatest scarcity. At one time the Relief Committee prohibited the recipients going to the store to buy goods with the money given them. The poor men might have bought at the store to more advantage, but probably the Relief Committee considered the shopkeepers more in need of support than the storekeepers. The Liverpool store was not much affected by the cotton scarcity. Mr. William Cooper wrote me at the time his estimate of store affairs, which I quote for his amusingly contemptuous appraisement of Manchester. "Liverpool," he said, "has had difficulties of its own making—namely, by giving credit to members—but they have adopted the ready money system, which will check its sales for a time, but its stability and growth will be all the more certain after it recovers from the shock of this wise change. Some of these stores have given a trifle to the relief funds, but not much. Mossley, Dukinfield, Staleybridge, Ashton, Heywood, Middleton, Rawtenstall, Hyde, have suffered badly, being almost entirely cotton manufacturing towns; yet none of the stores have failed, so that, taken altogether, the co-operative societies in Lancashire are as numerous and as strong now as before the cotton panic set in. Even *Manchester, which is good for nothing now, except to sell cotton*, has created a Manchester and Salford Store, maintained for five years an average of 1,200 members, and made for them £7,000 of profit."

The reader may be satisfied from these facts of the actual and inherent vitality of co-operation to withstand the vicissitudes of trades. Yorkshire and Lancashire

live on cotton. When the American slaveholders' rebellion cut off the usual supply, of course a cotton famine occurred, and people who regarded co-operation as a Great Eastern ship—too bulky for industrial navigation—naturally predicted that it would founder in the southern storm. The cotton scarcity, instead, however, of destroying co-operative societies, brought out in a very conspicuous way the soundness of the commercial and moral principles on which they are founded. Mr. Milner Gibson's parliamentary returns at that time show that co-operative societies had increased to 454, and that this number were in full operation in England and Wales in the third year of the scarcity. The amount of business done by 381 of these societies was upwards of £2,600,000. In Lancashire there were 117 societies, in Yorkshire 96. The number of members in 1863, in the 381 societies, was 108,000. The total amount of the assets of these societies was £793,500, while the liabilities were only £229,000. The profits made by the 381 societies (excluding 73 societies which made no returns) were £213,600; and this in the third year of the great cotton scarcity! It may be, therefore, safely concluded that Co-operation established for itself a place among the commercial and social forces of the country. That is what Rochdale Co-operation has grown to. It was not foreseen. No one ever can foretell where the right steps will lead to if men once take them and keep on walking in them. No moralist ever foresees the whole of that ethical change which his maxims will generate. No railway inventor ever had any idea of that omnipresent system which has grown up in our day. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, when they first addressed the people in favour of the repeal of the corn laws, scarcely anticipated that one result would be that they should make the English nation heavier. Every man that you meet in the streets now is stouter and heartier, and weighs two stones more than he would have done but for Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws increase the bulk of the British Nation.

Calculating from our present population, it may be said that these eminent corn-law repealers have increased the weight of the British race by 400,000 tons. So that if our men were precipitated unarmed against battalions of any other nation in the field, they would have increased advantages in bearing them down by sheer weight. And the humble co-operative weavers of Rochdale, by saving twopences when they had none to spare, and holding together when everybody else separated, until they had made their store pay and grow great, set an example, and created for industry a new power, and for the working classes a new future.

CHAPTER VII.

NATURE OF CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

"It is not co-operation where a few persons join for the purpose of making a profit from cheap purchases, by which only a portion of them benefit. Co-operation is where the whole of the produce is divided. What is wanted is, that the whole of the working class should partake of the profits of labour."—JOHN STUART MILL. (*Speech at the "Crown and Anchor" Tavern, London*).

To WHAT chaos is industry tending? Its insurgency increases. Will its perturbations ever end? From being aggressive will Trades Unions become destructive forces? Will the proletariat finally take the field and the capitalist have to fight for his life? Excited, empty-handed Labour seems on fire and the Political Economist, albeit a damp creature, seems powerless to extinguish it. Doctrinal streams of "supply and demand" poured upon it act as petroleum upon flame. Organized capital grinds helpless industry as in the mill of the gods—very small. Isolated labour is frightened and flees to combination for safety. No protests that capital is his friend reassures him. Terror has made him deaf and experience unbelieving. Can the struggle of ages, made deadlier now by dawning intelligence, end save by the despotism of the knife? Every man asks these questions to which there is but one answer. A new principle has entered Industry which has slowly awakened hope and will surely bring deliverance. Its name is Co-operation.

Any one sitting at the windows of the Marina, St. Leonards-on-the-Sea, finds the great ocean raging before him, all alive with tumultuous and ungovernable motion. It

surges and roars, tossed and driven by the masterful winds. It is close to the house. The observer knows there is unfathomable cruelty in its murderous water. It has swallowed armed hosts. Vessels laden not merely with hostile squadrons, but with anxious emigrants or peaceful men of science—have been sucked by it down to death. As far as the eye can stretch it covers all space, resembling some boundless and awful beast. Yet there is no fear for safety. It might sweep the town away as though it were a toy and leave no vestige, and a future age would dispute whether a town ever existed in that place. If the spectator saw the sight without knowledge he would be filled with terror; but he has no dread because he knows the ways of the sea. It comes up like destruction but it ebbs away at the shore. He who looks upon the restless ocean of society is alike unalarmed if he has the instruction which comes from discerning the self-regulating force of co-operative principle. He foresees the new way the world of industry will take, and the scene which otherwise would be a terror to him is now a mere spectacle. Society is heaving with the unrest of competition more devastating than that of the sea. Its remorseless billows wash away the fruits of humble labour which can be recovered no more. On the shore there is no bay or cavern where property lies, but is guarded by capitalist or trader whose knives gleam if the indigent are seen to approach it. The co-operator is not one of them. He can create wealth for himself, and foresees that the rapacity of insurgent trade and the tumult of greed will be stilled, as the principle of equity in industry comes to prevail.

The term co-operation is an old and familiar word used now in an entirely new sense. Co-operation, as the name of the modern industrial movement which the public now so often hear of, is a very different thing from co-operation as defined in dictionaries. The term in general literature merely means united action for the increase of mechanical power—as when several men join

in moving a log or a boulder, because one alone could not stir it. In this way, a bundle of sticks bound together present a force of resistance which separately none could pretend to, and in this sense the sticks are as much co-operators as the men. But industrial co-operation, in the sense in which the word is now used, means not a union for increasing mechanical force—but for the purpose of obtaining the profit of the transaction, and having it equitably distributed among those who do the work. It is not noting this difference or not knowing it, which causes such confusing chatter in the highest quarters in literature about "co-operation being as old as the world," and "which has been practised by every people."

Mr. Gibbon Wakefield says, co-operation takes place when several persons help each other in the same employment, as when two greyhounds running together, which it is said, will kill more hares than four greyhounds running separately." * This is the nature of the co-operation chiefly known to political economists. But industrial co-operation unites not merely to kill the hares, but to eat them. The greyhounds of Wakefield run down the hares for their masters—the new co-operative greyhounds, of whom I write, run down the hare for themselves. Industrial Co-operation is not only union for creating, but for dividing profits among all who have helped to make them.

Politeness, as explained by that robust master of definition, Dr. Johnson, consists in giving a preference to others rather than to ourselves. In this sense, co-operation may be defined as the politeness of industry, for it consists in giving the total of its produce to those who create it. Definition is as the geography of a system; it is the map of the roads taken by the projectors of it. The ways are many which at different times are pursued by the leaders of movements. These reasons are the different definitions of

* E. G. Wakefield, note to Smith's "Wealth of Nations," 1840.

the end to be aimed at. Therefore, to enumerate the leading definitions with which the history of co-operation makes us familiar, is to explain the different and progressive conceptions of it entertained from time to time. Definitions are always vague at first, because, in practical life, very few people know what they mean. Some are late in knowing it, and many never do know it; but if they know somebody who does know, they follow him. Still, a good many people want to know where they are going to, and, therefore, those who invite the public to take a new path, find it necessary to define the objects they propose.

Though co-operation, as a social scheme, began with Mr. Owen, he gave no definition of it. Though he founded at New Lanark the first store which devoted profits to educational purposes, co-operation was, in his mind, a paternal arrangement of industry, which could be made more profitable than the plan in which the employer considered only himself. The self-managing scheme, under which working people create profits and retain them among themselves, Mr. Owen had not foreseen. His idea was to organize the world, co-operation attempts the humbler work of organizing the provision store and the workshop. This is the distinction between communism and co-operation which public men of no mean discernment continually confound together.

Von Sybel defines the Communists proper as "those who desired to transfer every kind of property to the State." * This is the continental craze upon Socialism and has nothing to do with any thing English. There never was but one conspiracy for the transfer of property to the state, even in France—that of Babœuf—so the reader may dismiss the political hallucination from his mind. There was M. De Metz who founded a criminal community. M. De Metz was fortunate. He was a gentleman. He

* Von Sybel, Hist. French Rev., Vol. I., Bk. II., p. 249.

had wealth, and therefore he was not reviled. Had he been a working man he had been regarded as a Utopian, or as a hired agitator. He was as mad as any other social philanthropist. He believed in the radical goodness of little scoundrels, and that honesty could be cultivated as successfully as vice, and criminals colonized into an industrial self-supporting community.

A writer who has a cultivated contempt for social crazes, but who is always discerning and fair, remarks :—"We have had republican societies like Plato's, Fourier's, and Babœuf's; hierarchical and aristocratic like St. Simon's; theocratic like the Essenes; despotic like the Peruvians and Jesuits; Polygamists like the Mormons; material like Mr. Owen's. Some recommended celibacy as the Essenes —some enforce it as the Shakers, some like the Owenites, relax the marriage tie; * some, like the Harmonists, control it; some, like the Moravians, hold it indissoluble; some would divide the wealth of the society equally among all the members; some, as Fourier, unequally. But one great idea pervades them all—community of property more or less complete, and unreserved common labour, for the common good." † "Both in England and France, the fundamental idea of socialism, we take to be that of a fraternal union among men for industrial purposes, a working in common for the common good, in place of the usual arrangement of labourers and capitalists, employers and employed." ‡

When the Irish Land Bill was before the House of Commons, May 16th, 1870, Mr. Gathorne Hardy said, "It was not wise to endorse by the sanction of Parliament the principle that the ownership of land was a better thing than the occupation. He protested against the clause as socialistic and communistic. (Hear, hear.)"§ When a

* This is an unpleasant way of putting it. Mr. Owen's disciples merely advocated equal facility of divorce for poor as for rich.

† Mistaken Aim, pp. 192 and 193, W. R. Greg. ‡ Indem., p. 231.

§ Vide Parliamentary Report.

politician does not well know what to say against an adversary's measures, he calls them "socialistic," a term which, to employ Mr. Grant Duff's happy phrase, is a good "working bugbear." In former days, when a clerical disputant met with an unmanageable argument, he said it was "atheistic," and then it was taken as answered. In these days the perplexed politician, seeing no answer to a principle pressed upon him, says it is "communistic." He need give no reasons, the "working bugbear" clears the field of adversaries.

One thing may be taken as true, that the English, whether poor or rich, are not, as a body, thieves. Now and then you find some in both classes who have a predatory talent, which they do not hide in a napkin. Statesmen may sleep in peace. The working men will never steal knowingly, either by crowbar or ballot box. Nor will they be robbed if they know it. Of course they may be robbed without their knowing it, else neither Tories nor Whigs had ruled them so long as they have; and I think I have seen the Radical hand with marks about it, as though it had been in the people's pocket—doubtless in some moment of patriotic aberration. Nevertheless, let not the honest statesman fear—the common sense of common men is against peculation, whether in theory or practice, whether done on principle or in error.

The "Co-operative Magazine" of 1826 declared happiness as the grand pivot on which the co-operative system turned. "Happiness" was explained as "content and uninjurious enjoyment, that is enjoyment not injurious either to one's self or to any other." This, as the Americans say, rather wants "grit." The mind slides over it. A later advocate of some mark, Dr. King, of Brighton, defined co-operation as "the unknown object which the benevolent part of mankind have always been in search of for the improvement of their fellow creatures." Plainly, the object of a definition is to make the thing in question known; and we are not helped by being told it is the

"unknown." There is, however, something dimly revealed in what he says of "society," which he derived from the Greek word *sanus*, sound or safe, and *lieo*, to call together, the meaning of which was declared to be—to call together for safety.* No doubt there is sense in this. Persons do require to be called together for safety; but what they are to do when so called, is not defined.

A writer in the "Co-operative Miscellany" of 1830, signing himself "One of the People" saw his way to a clearer specification of the "unknown" thing. He exclaims—"What is co-operation, some may inquire." Certainly many did make the inquiry. The answer he gives is this, "Co-operation in its fullest sense is the opposite of Competition, instead of competing and striving with each other to procure the necessaries of life, we make common cause, we unite with each other, to procure the same benefits." This is rather a travelling definition, it moves about a good deal and has no fixed destination. It does not disclose how the "common cause" is made. A definition has light in it as soon as it discloses what a thing is not, and names its contrary. We learn now that co-operation is not competition; but is the "opposite." This writer gives an explanation of the method of procedure. His explanation is that a co-operative society devotes the profits of the distributive stores to productive industry and the self-employment of the members of the societies. After a lapse of near 50 years, the greater and more important part of the plan—the self-employment of members—is but scantily realized. The educated co-operator has always borne it in mind, and it remains as a tradition of co-operation that production and self-employment go together.

Mr. Thompson, of Cork, the first systematic writer on Industrial Communities, never defined their object otherwise than to say that "workmen should simply alter the

* "Co-operative Magazine," January, 1826, p. 7.

direction of their labour. Instead of working for they know not whom, they were to work for each other." Such a definition could only be made intelligible by details, and these Mr. Thompson gave with so much elaboration that the reader wished the plan had never been discovered. As a student under Bentham, Mr. Thompson was sure to mean something definite, but the conditions under which men shall "work for each other" the essential feature of co-operation, he never otherwise brought within the compass of a definition.

Practically, the principle of co-operation grew out of joint stock shopkeeping. At first a few persons with means, supplied capital for the business, with the understanding that after interest was paid on their capital, the profits should be devoted to the establishment of a community.

The next conception of it was that of prescribing that each purchaser should be a member of the store, and should subscribe a portion of the capital—the profits, after paying interest, was to be kept by the shareholders. At this point co-operation stopped eighteen years. Nobody was known to have any conception how it could be improved. If everybody was a shareholder, and the shareholders had all the profits, nobody could have more than all, and nobody was left out of the division. There was no enthusiasm under this management, and yet there was no apparent fault. In some cases there was great success. Shareholders had 10 and 15 per cent. for their money, which, to a member who could invest £100, was a sensible profit to him. Nevertheless custom fell off, interest in the stores abated, and many were given up. If any solitary cogitator proposed to divide the profits on purchases, it was said "what is the good of that? If there are profits made, they appear in the interest. You cannot increase them by varying the mode of paying them." Yet all the while this was the very thing that could be done. There lay concealed and unseen the principle of dividing profits on

purchases which altered the whole future of co-operation. We have traced the idea of it to Glasgow in 1822, to Meltham Mills in 1827,* to Rochdale in 1844, whence it has spread over the earth. What conception the originators formed of the new principle, or how they explained its operation, as an improvement on the interest on capital plan, has not appeared in any records I have met with. One thing would strike most persons when they thought of it, namely, that giving a profit to customers would increase them. No doubt others saw that under the interest on capital plan, that while the shareholders who could subscribe £100 might get £15, the poorer member who could only put in £1 obtained only 3s., yet the large shareholder who received the £15 may not have been a purchaser at all, while the poor member, if he had a family probably contributed £50 of capital to the business, if his purchases amounted to £1 per week, and the 2s. in the £ which on the average can be returned to purchasers, would give him £5 a year, besides his little 5 per cent. interest on his capital. Thus it could be shown that the customer contributed more to the profits of the store than the capitalist. The purchaser therefore was taken into the partnership. Thus the mere form of distributing profits actually increased them. The interest of the purchaser revived: he became a propagandist. He brought in his neighbour. Business grew, profits augmented, and new vitality was infused into co-operation. The conception of it grew. The vague principle that the producer of profit should have the profit, took a defined form, and he got it—and the purchaser was henceforth included in the participation of store gains.

* Mr. Walter Sanderson, of Galashiels, informs me (1876) that the principle was introduced into that town about the same time, by Mr. William Sanderson, (founder of the Building Society there) without any connection with Rochdale. Came it from Cambuslang? Mr. Walter Sanderson gives no details, but he is a responsible correspondent, and his word may be taken as to the fact.

Successive Definitions of Co-operation.

Definitions grow as the horizon of experience expands. They are not inventions, but descriptions of the state of a question. No man sees all through a discovery at once. Had Christ foreseen the melancholy controversies over what he meant, which have since saddened the world, he would have written a book himself, and never have trusted the conditions of salvation to the incapable constructions and vague memories of illiterate followers. Foreseeing definitions, guiding co-operation at successive points, would have been a great advantage, but it had to wait for them.

When it became clear that the purchaser must be taken into partnership as well as the capitalist, it did not occur to any one that co-operation was not complete so long as the servants of the store were left out. If profits were to be shared by all who contributed to produce them, the servants of the store must be included.

The definition of the co-operative principle in 1844 had assumed the following form. Co-operation is a scheme of shopkeeping for the working people, where no credit is given or received, where pure articles of just measure are sold at market prices, and the profits accumulated for the purchasers. No one said this then, but this is what would have been said, had any one tried to define the purport of what was then attempted.

It was not until twenty-eight years later, namely in 1868, that Rochdale attempted to extend the principle of co-operation to manufactures. The obvious way of doing this was to divide profits with the artizans. Those who had discovered that the interest of the purchaser was worth buying, were ready to admit that the interest of the workman was also worth its price. Clerks, managers, workmen, whoever in any capacity, high or low, were engaged in promoting the profits were to be counted in the distribution. Fourteen years more elapsed before any current definition of co-operation contained the following addition:— The main principle of co-operation is that in all new

enterprises, whether of trades or manufacture, the profits shall be distributed in equitable proportions among all engaged in creating it.*

At the Social Science Congress held in Edinburgh in 1867, I asked Prof. Fawcett to take occasion in one of the Sections to define co-operation as he conceived it, that we might be able to quote his authority in our societies. He did so in words which included labour as well as capital in the division of profits.

The most comprehensive statement of co-operation is that given by a master of definitions, that placed at the head of this chapter. It occurred in the first public speech Mr. John Stuart Mill was known to have made. A great Co-operative Tea Party, of members of co-operative societies in London, was held in the Old Crown and Anchor Hall, Strand, then known as the Whittington Club. Being acquainted with Mr. Mill, I solicited him to define the nature of co-operation as he conceived it, for our guidance. "It is not co-operation," he said, "where a few persons join for the purpose of making a profit by which only a portion of them benefit. Co-operation is where the whole of the produce is divided. What is wanted is that the whole working class should partake of the *profits of labour*."

Years elapsed before any official definition was attempted of co-operation. The Co-operative Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne (1873), agreed upon a floating definition of a co-operative society, stating that "any society should be regarded as co-operative which divided profits with labour, or trade, or both." Prior to this, I had taken some trouble to show that if the purchaser from a manufacturing society was to be placed on the same footing as the purchaser from a store, a similar extension of business and profits would be likely to arise in the workshop which had accrued at the store; and the cost of advertising and travellers and commissions would be greatly reduced. This led to a more com-

* Logic of Co-operation.

prehensive definition of the scope of co-operative principle which was thus expressed.

Co-operation is an industrial scheme for delivering the public from the conspiracy of capitalists, traders, or manufacturers, who would make the labourer work for the least and the consumer pay the utmost for whatever he needs of money, machines, or merchandise. Co-operation effects this deliverance by taking the workman and the customer into partnership in every form of business it devises.*

In a yet briefer form I sought to indicate that the consumer must be kept in view if co-operation is to be complete. These were the words used: "Co-operation is a scheme by which profits can be obtained by concert and divided by consent, including with the producers the indigent consumer." † This definition is also from the "Logic of Co-operation," written to show that the original and defensible purpose of co-operation is the better distribution of wealth throughout the whole community, including the consumer. Co-operation to benefit the capitalist at the expense of the workman; or to benefit the workman at the expense of the consumer, still maintains a virtual conspiracy against the purchasing public. Such co-operation leaves the third and larger class unprotected and unbenefited, save indirectly or temporarily. It creates new forces of organized competitors against the outlying community. Co-operation should aim to cancel competition within its own range of action, and thus mitigate its pressure. The present general state of society is beyond

* Logic of Co-operation.

† In the previous volume I have spoken of the capital-lender and labour-lender in a sense which may imply co-equal participation in profits. In all definitions in this volume the term captial-lender is intentionally absent. In the long survey I have had to make of the field of co-operation, I have seen confusion everywhere from capital being treated as a recipient of profit. There never will be clearness of view in the co-operative field until capital is counted as an expense—and when paid, done with. Labour by brain or hand is the sole claimant of profits.

our power of changing. The claim of co-operation is that it is a new force calculated to improve industrial society, by introducing in distribution and production wherever it operates, the principle of common interests, instead of competitive interests.

All co-operators who have, as the Italians say, "eyes that can see a buffalo in the snow," will see the policy of counting the customer as an ally. Until this is done, productive co-operation will "wriggle" in the markets of competition, as Denner says in "Felix Holt," "like a worm that tries to walk on its tail;" whereas, when the consumer finds his interest consulted, co-operation has a new and an assured future before it. It will tread as sure-footed as a behemoth, and, what is more, secure the distribution of wealth by making moderate competence possible to all who work. Production is already ample, and an affliction in society, rendering the poverty of the many sharper and more abject by the side of the splendid, ever-growing, bewildering, masterful, and aggressive opulence of the few, which menaces by endowing dreadful anarchy itself with the charm of change. There never was security except by the sword, in any nation, where the few have been rich and the many poor; but society will be secure without the sword when the condition is reversed, and the many have competence and only the few are indigent.

Audiences unfamiliar with the subject, I have found to understand it by describing the three features of it which experience and growth have developed. Co-operation consists

1. Concert regulated by honesty, with a view to profit by economy.
2. Equitable distribution of profits among all concerned in creating them, whether by purchases, service in distribution, or by labour, or custom in manufactures.
3. Educated common sense in propagandism.*

* Lecture to Eleusis Club, 1877.

The general conception of co-operation by outside economical writers who have paid attention to it, is that given by Dr. Elder in his recent work entitled "Topics of the Day," who says: "In common use, the term co-operation is restricted to such organized combinations of individuals as are designed to relieve them, as far as practicable, of intermediates in productive industry or commercial exchange. Co-operation is partnership in profits equitably distributed in proportion to the severalties of capital,* labour skill, and management.

The reader will see still recurring definitions of co-operative principle, as they are needed to explain the successive steps taken in constructive progress. There is need of this, for principles, like truth,

> Truth can never be confirmed enough,
> Though doubt itself were dead.

The main idea that should never be absent from the mind of a co-operator is that equity pays, and that the purchaser at the store and the worker in the workshop, mill, or field, or mine, or on the sea, should have a beneficial interest in what he is doing. A soundly founded movement will grow marvellously if the members act up to their principles. Of course the difficulty is there. A principle is a troublesome thing, and no wonder that so many persons have distaste for it. A principle is a distinctive sign of opinion, chosen and accepted. It is a mark by which a man is known. It is a profession of conduct: it implies a method of procedure: it is a rule of action—a pledge of policy to be pursued. To be a man of principle is to be known as a person having definite ideas. Such an one is regarded as a man who sees his way and has chosen it. While others are confused he is clear. While others go round about he goes straight on. When

* Dr. Elder follows the old idea of including "capital" in the "severalties" entitled to profit. For reasons given in this volume, in definitions of co-operation, "capital" is expressly excluded as a participant of profit. Capital takes payment but not profit.

others are in doubt he knows exactly what to do. But the majority are not of this quality. They see a principle for a short time and then lose sight of it; and when they learn it requires purpose and courage to act up to it, they do not want to see it again. They do not understand that a true principle is the best way of attaining the end they have in view; and if success presents any difficulty they are quite ready to try another way. Indolence or impatience, timidity or cupidity, suggests to them an easier, a safer, a quicker or more profitable way, and they are ready at once to set out on the new path. Some one may point out that the new paths lead to a place the very opposite of that they proposed to reach. This does not disturb them. Having no clear discernment of the nature of principle, or passion for it, they think one object as good as another, or better, if they see immediate advantage in it. These persons are not at all interested when you explain to them that they have "lost sight of principle." They give you to understand that all recurrence to principle is "dry," and if you propose to return to it they describe you as a "theorist," well intending but clearly "impractical." There are others who readily adopt a principle and profess a willingness to carry it out. But when they are required to stand to it, and stand by it, against all comers, that is quite another thing. If you remind them that being pledged to one thing means that they are not to do the opposite thing, you find they have never thought of this. Many persons are willing to be regarded as men of mark, so long as no duties are exacted in support of the pretension. But to be held as committed to a special line of action is irksome to them. Principle implies self-control; it implies the subordination of miscellaneous passions and interests to one chief thing. Those who profess principle raise expectations, and as a rule people dislike having to fulfil expectations. Therefore, if principle is to prevail in any society it has to be well explained, and the advantage of abiding by it has to be well inculcated; otherwise men

of strong selfishness soon get uppermost—their ambition becomes their principle; their interest, their policy; and they command the connivance or the acquiescence of all the capricious feebleness around them.

Since clear action is only to be had from persons who have clear ideas—the main thing is to impart these. Yet unless there is some repetition there will be no indelible impression—unless the statements include all aspects of the subject the reader will not see all round the idea—and if there be much iteration he will grow weary of the matter and look at it no more. Mere co-partnery in business, which some writers mistake for co-operation, lies outside of it. A co-partnery which proceeds by hiring money and labour and excluding the labourer from participation in the profit made—is not co-operation. English co-operation never accepted even Louis Blanc's maxim of giving to each according to his wants, and of exacting from each according to his capacity. This is too scientific for the English mind, and points to the organization of society. English co-operation gives nothing to a man because he wants it, but because he earns it. His capacity, if he has any, is seen in his performance, and there needs no other investigation into it.

There is an unpleasant ring of infallible assumption in speaking of true and false co-operation. Co-operation is a definite thing, and it can always be spoken of as such. Its principle and all its parts can be brought into view at once. Where the interest of the purchaser is not recognized in distribution—where the claim of the workman is not recognized in production, there is no co-operation; and the assumption of the name is an imposture and misleading; and whether conscious or not, it comes under the head of trading under false pretences. Distributive co-operation which takes in the purchaser, and leaves out the servants of the store, is partial co-operation. Productive co-operation, which does not recognize the directors, managers, workmen and customers, is incomplete co-opera-

tion. That comprehensive form of industrial action which includes in the participation of profit all who are concerned in any way in the production of it, is complete co-operation as understood in the constructive period. Co-operation is equity in business. A trading society is co-operative or it is not. There is no such thing as false co-operation. Co-operation is complete or partial. There is nothing else worth considering.

When capital divides profits with shareholders only and as such, that is a mere money-making affair. It is mere joint-stockism. It is not a scheme that concerns labourers much. It does not care for them, except to use them. It does not recognize them nor appeal to them, nor command their sympathies nor enlist their zeal, or character, or skill, or good will, as voluntary influences and forces of higher industry. And to do the joint-stock system justice it does not ask for them. It bargains for what it can get. It trusts to compelling as much service as answers its purpose. Even if by accident or arrangement, all the workmen are shareholders in a joint-stock company, this does not alter the principle. They are merely recognized as shareholders—or merely as contributors of capital. As workmen, and because of their work, they get nothing. They are still, as workmen, mere instruments of capital. As shareholders they are more likely to promote the welfare of their company than otherwise: but they do it from interest—not from honour; they do it as a matter of business rather than as a matter of principle. They are merely money-lenders, they are not recognized as men having manhood. Joint stock employers may have and often do have great regard for their men, and no doubt do more in many cases for their men than their men would have the sense to do for themselves. But all this comes in the form of a largess, a gift—as a charity—not as a right of labour—not as an equitable proportion of earnings of profit made by the men; and the men therefore have not the dignity, the recogni-

tion, the distinction of self-provision which labour should possess.

If most workmen had a fund of capital and could hold shares in all enterprises in which they were engaged in labour (quite a Utopian condition of society—not yet to be seen even dimly) they would be merely a capitalist class, regarding work not as a dignity or duty, or hardly so much an interest as a necessity. Their study would be how to get most by the employment of others, how early to desert work themselves, and subsist upon the needs of those less fortunate than themselves, to whom labour was still an ignominious obligation. What co-operation proposes is that workmen should combine to manufacture and arrange to distribute profits among themselves, and among all of their own order whom they employ. By establishing the right of labour, as labour, to be counted as capital, by dividing profits on labour, they would give dignity to labour and make it honourable; they would appeal to the skill, good-will, to the utmost capacity and honest pride of a workman, and really have a claim upon him in these respects. But the opposite system has grown; it has not been invented, and has certain advantages in the eyes of a large class of persons.

It is quite conceivable that many working men will yet, for a long time to come, prefer the present independent relation of master and servant. Many a man who has the fire of the savage in him, and whom civilization has not taught, by example or opportunity, how much more happiness can be commanded by considering the welfare of others than by considering only himself, prefers working on war terms, unfettered by any obligation. He prefers being free to go where he will and when he will. He has no sympathy to give and he does not care that none is offered him. He would not reciprocate it if it was. He dislikes being bound even by interest. Any binding is objectionable to him. Hate, malevolence, spite, and conspiracy, are not evils to him. He rather likes them. His mode of action may bring evils

and privation upon others: but he is not tender on these points; and if he be a man of ability in his trade he can get through life pretty well while health lasts, and enjoy an insolent freedom.

All the nonsense talked about capital and the imputations heaped upon it, which political economists have so naturally resented, have arisen from workmen always seeing its claws when it has mastery, absolute and uncontrolled. No animal known to Dr. Darwin has so curvilinear a back or nails so long and sharp as the capitalist cat. As the master of industry—unless in generous hands—capital bites very sharp. As the servant of industry it is the friend of the workman. Nobody decries capital in its proper place, except men with oil in their brains, which causes all their ideas to slip about, and never rest upon any fact. Capital is an assistant creator. It is nevertheless pretty often selfish when it takes all the profits of the joint enterprise of money and labour. It can be cruel in its way, since it is capable of buying up land and abruptly turning people off it—it is capable of buying up markets and making the people pay what it pleases; it is capable of shutting the doors of labour until men are starved into working on its own terms. Capital is like fire, or steam, or electricity, a good friend but a bad master. Capital as a servant is a help mate and co-operator. To limit his mastership we must be subjected to definite interest. This was the earliest device of co-operators, but its light has grown dim in many minds, and in the minds of the new generation of co-operators it has never shone.

The definite co-operative principle—the one maintained throughout these pages—is that which places productive co-operation on the same plane as distributive, and which treats capital simply as an agent, and not as a principal. In distributive co-operation the interest of capital is treated as a cost: interest is counted as one of the expenses to be paid before profits are accounted; and in productive co-operation the same rule must be followed.

In various papers and speeches I have maintained this from time to time, but in tracing the career of constructive co-operation its importance has become more distinctively apparent, and I was lately gratified to hear from Mr. Roswell Fisher, of Montreal, that he had quite independently arrived at the same conclusion. He has favoured me with a statement of his views which are conceived with vividness. He regards the Distributive form of co-operation as seen in the operations of a store, as a form of Capitalist Commerce. The members of the store contribute the capital which it uses, and the profit they make on their sales is the profit derived from the skilful use of their capital, and is not made upon labour except so far as the directors, manager, and servers of the store may be counted workers, and they are seldom, as such, accorded a share of the profit. Should they be included as participants of the profits, the proportion earned by their labour will always be small compared with the larger profits earned by the economical and administrative use of capital employed in purchasing stores for sale. Store profits being mainly derived from the uses of capital, Mr. Fisher considers the store as a form of capitalist commerce, the store being an association of small capitalists who create an aggregate fund from which they derive a common profit.

But in England we do not apply the term co-operative to business in reference to the source of profit, but to the distribution of the profit. In a store, profit is not divided upon the amount of capital invested, but upon the amount of purchases by members. The purchasers are in the place of workers—they cause the profits and get them, while capital, a neutral agent, is paid a fixed interest and no more.

On the other hand Productive Co-operation is an association of workers who unite to obtain profit by their labour, and who divide profit upon labour, just as in a store they are divided upon purchases. Mr. Fisher

recognizes what I take to be the true theory of productive co-operation, one which presents the advantage of the principle of dividing profits upon labour in a clear form. It is this: The workmen should subscribe their own capital, or hire it at the rate at which it can be had in the money market, at 5, 10, or 20 per cent., according to the risks of the business in which it is to be embarked: then assign to managers, foremen, and workmen of adequate experience and capacity, the minimum salaries they can command. Out of the gross earnings—wages, the hire of labour; interest, the hire of capital; all materials, wear and tear, and expenses of all kinds are defrayed. The surplus is profit, and that profit is divided upon the labour according to its value. Thus, if the profits were 10 per cent., and the chief director has £20 a week, and a skilful workman £2, the director would take £100 of the profit, and the workman £10. The capital, whether owned by the workmen or others, would have received its agreed payment, and would have no claim upon the profits of labour.

All the dangerous and ceaseless conflict between capital and labour arises from capital not being content with the payment of its hire. When it has received interest according to its risk, and according to agreement, there should be an end of its claims. Labour then would regard capital as an agent which it must pay, but when it has earned the wages of capital and paid them, labour ought to be done with capital. Capital can do nothing, can earn nothing, of itself; but employed by labour, the brains, and industry of workmen can make it productive. Capital has no brains, and makes no exertions. When capital has its interest its claims are ended. Were capital content with this, there would be no conflict with labour. It is capital claiming, or taking without the courtesy of claiming, the profits earned by labour that produces the conflict. It is only co-operation which treats capital as one of the natural expenses of

production, entitled to its proper price and no more, and thus limiting its absorbing power—which puts an end to conflict with it. In co-operation labour does not consider profit made until capital is requited for its aid. But that and all other costs of production paid at market rates, labour claims the residue as its profit.

A distinguished French co-operative writer, M. Réclus, says—"Give the capitalist only one-third of the surplus profits, and the worker two-thirds;" Mr. E. Hill replies, "In countries like India, wherein capital is comparatively scarce, it can and will command high terms in any agreement it may make with labour; whilst in North America, where *labour* is scarce, labour can and will command comparatively high terms in its agreements with capital. It would seem a monstrous violation of abstract principle, that whilst in order to earn fifty guineas, a low class agricultural labourer must work hard for two whole years, Jenny Lind should obtain such a sum for singing one single song! But so it is; and why—but that mere labourers are plentiful, whilst of Jenny Linds there is but one."*

My argument is quite independent of these cases. Co-operators must buy capital at its price in the market which will be ruled by the risks of the enterprise in which they employ it. A Jenny Lind rate of interest must be given for it if it cannot be had without, but having got that it should not come up a second or third time for more.

When capital first came into the field of industry men were numerous, necessitous, and ignorant of its capacity, and could not have helped themselves had they been well informed save by the co-operative device of creating it or hiring it. Capitalists, therefore, hired labour, paid its market price, and took all profits. Co-operative labour proposes to reverse this process. Its plan is to buy capital, pay it its market price, and itself take all profit. It is more reason-

* "Co-operator," Sept., 1865.

able and better for society and progress that men should own capital than that capital should own men. Capital is the servant, men are the masters, and when capital is in its proper place there will be no more discontent, no more conflicts.

In competition capital buys labour. In co-operation labour buys capital, the whole distinction of principle lies there. Capital is used in co-operation and honestly paid for, but the capitalist is excluded. Capital is a commodity, not a person. The worker is the sole person concerned in co-operation. The capitalist sells his commodity to the co-operator. The capitalist has no position but that of a lender, no claim save for the interests for which he bargains, and, being paid that, he should not be permitted to re-appear as a participant in the profits of labour. The capitalist being paid his proper interest has no claim to any more than a landlord to a second rent, or a coal merchant to a double discharge of his bill.

The self interest—the mainspring of progress—which the better sort of co-operators have at heart, is the self interest of health, truth, generosity, justice, and moderate competence. The self interest of man means his health, of which temperance, not merely in diet, but in pleasure, is the security. Self interest implies truth, which means exactness of knowledge and expression ; it implies generosity, which means liberality in disclosing truth, and befriending helplessness, and self effort of improvement. Self interest implies justice, which gives all its force to the right and against the wrong act, or the wrong judgment of others, and aims to place the many above the need of pecuniary benevolence or the mental patronage of charity. Self interest means the command of means of moderate competence by equitable association for the conduct of industry and division of profits—without which labour is a noiseless, ceaseless strife, ending in the chance of splendour to the few, and certain precariousness to the many.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISTRIBUTION.—THE CO-OPERATIVE STORE.

"Co-operation is the true goal of our industrial progress, the application of the republican principle to Labour, and the appointed means of rescuing the Labouring Class from dependence, dissipation, prodigality, and need, and establishing it on a basis of forecast, calculation, sobriety, and thrift, conducive at once to its material comfort, its intellectual culture and moral elevation."—HORACE GREELEY, Founder of the "New York Tribune."

SHOPS in most countries are confined to the sale of one or a very few articles. In iron founderies, engine works, and among artificers in metals, work rooms are called "workshops." In towns—places where small and dainty articles, and provisions in portable quantities, are sold, are called simply "shops." But the necessities of growing commercial districts, and new towns, do not admit of minute divisions of sale, and great varieties of goods are collected together in a single shanty and are called "Stores." This American name was very early applied to co-operative shops, and there articles of many kinds, groceries, garments, feet-gear and goods of household use were stored for sale. This sale bears the name of Distributive Co-operation—which means the sale of ready-made things.

The manufacture of articles for sale—growing and grinding corn, erecting dwellings, making engines, belong to the department of production. Productive Co-operation is an immense question, far mightier than that of Distribution. It involves the organization of Industry which Carlyle has desired and Louis Blanc has advocated.

The earliest, humblest and quaintest Store founded in England, so far as my researches have gone, is that set up by the sagacious Bishop Barrington, one of George the Third's Bishops, who held the see of Durham at the end of the last century. At first sight it is not a recom-

mendation to posterity to have been one of the Georgian Bishops. What did Walter Savage Landor say of them?*

However, Bishop Barrington was a great favourite in Durham, and had fine qualities and gracious ways. When my enquiry for Co-operative facts appeared in the *New York Tribune*, a correspondent, at the foot of the Alleghanies, sent me pages of an old magazine, which he had probably carried from England long years ago, with his household goods, containing, in large type, an "extract from an account of a village shop in Mongewell, in the county of Oxford, communicated by the Bishop of Durham." This humble provision store, with its scanty stock, its tottering pauper storekeeper, with his shilling a week salary, is a picture of the humblest beginning any great movement ever had. No doubt the Bishop was a good secular preacher. He certainly was a man of business, and showed perfect knowledge of the working of a store, and would make no bad manager of one in these advanced days. He describes the condition of poor people in those times: their ignorance, their helplesness, their humility of expectation, and the economical and moral advantages of a co-operative store, as completely and briefly as they ever were described. I enrich these pages with the entire account in the Bishop's words:—

In the year 1794, a village shop was opened at Mongewell, in Oxfordshire, for the benefit of the poor of that and

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* Thackeray had devoted four lectures to the four Georges when Landor put their history into six lines and sent them to Mr. H. J. Slack, who was then editor of the "Atlas" newspaper, in which they first appeared:—

George the First was always reckoned
Vile—viler George the Second,
And what mortal ever heard
Any good of George the Third,
And when from earth the Fourth descended,
God be praised the Georges ended.

three small adjoining parishes. A quantity of such articles of consumption as they use, was procured from the wholesale dealers, as bacon, cheese, candles, soap, and salt, to be sold at prime cost, and for ready money. They were restricted in their purchases to the supposed weekly demand of their families. The bacon and cheese, being purchased in Gloucestershire, had the charge of carriage. Most other situations would be nearer to an advantageous market. This plan was adopted under the apparent inconvenience, of not having a more proper person to sell the several commodities, than an infirm old man, unable to read or write. He received the articles that were wanted for the week; and it has appeared by his receipts at the close of it, that he has been correct. Since the commencement to the present time, there has been no reason to regret his want of scholarship: a proof how very easy it must be to procure, in every village, a person equal to the task. As he has parish pay, and his house-rent is discharged, he is perfectly contented with his salary of *one shilling per week*, having also the common benefit of the shop.

As the prices of the shop articles have varied much during the past year (1796), it will be easy to judge of the advantage by taking them at the average, and the account will be more simple. The price of the sale throughout has been in the proportion stated, against the prices of the shops in the neighbourhood.

The rate of bacon purchased, has been eight-pence half-penny per pound; the carriage rather more than a farthing. It was sold for nine-pence farthing; the advantage to the poor was two-pence three farthings per pound. Cheese cost four-pence three farthings; carriage more than a farthing; sold for sixpence: advantage to the poor, one penny per pound. Soap, candles, and salt, sold at prime cost: the advantage on these articles to the poor was one pound eleven shillings.

There is a loss on the soap from cutting and keeping: to prevent which it is laid in by small quantities. Buying

the salt by the bushel, almost covers the loss sustained from selling it by the pound.

The quantity of bacon sold during the year was one hundred and sixty-eight score. Cheese twenty-eight hundred weight.

Account of payments in 1796.

Candles, soap, and salt - -	£31	1	6
Bacon - - - - -	120	0	0
Cheese - - - - -	62	9	5
Carriage - - - - -	7	11	3
Salary - - - - -	2	12	0
	£223	14	2

The receipts corresponded, except by fifteen shillings: which arose from the poor of Mongewell having been allowed their soap and candles a penny per pound under prime cost. The saving to the poor was,

On bacon - - - - -	£34	16	8
On cheese - - - -	11	13	4
On candles, &c. - - - -	1	11	0
	£48	1	0

Hence it appears that the addition to the prime cost of bacon and cheese, is equal to the loss on the hocks and the cutting. Every other part of the flitch being sold at the same price.

Since the commencement of the present year (1797), rice and coarse sugar have been introduced into the Mongewell shop, with much benefit; particularly the former.

From the above statement it is seen that, taking all the articles together sold at the Mongewell shop, there was a saving to the poor of 21 per cent. in the supply of several of the most important articles of life. Many, in every parish, would lend their assistance to carry this plan into

execution, if it were known that the *rates* would be lowered at the same time that the poor were benefited.

From the adoption of this plan, the poor will have good weight, and articles of the best quality; which, without imputing dishonesty to the country shopkeeper, will not always be the case at a common shop. Where there is no claim on the part of the purchaser, and no power of rejection, it is not probable that much regard should be paid to these considerations by the seller.

The comforts of the poor may thus be promoted, by bringing within their reach the articles of life which they chiefly want, of the best quality, and at the cheapest rate. Their morals will also be improved by the removal of an inducement to frequent the alehouse. As their time will not be misspent, their means also will be increased. The parish rates will be lessened, even if the articles were sold without profit; for the labourer will be enabled to purchase clothing for his family without other assistance. The farmer will gain by keeping his servants regularly at their work, and by taking from the younger of them those examples of bad economy and dissolute conduct which tend to lead them into the same evil habits.

Another benefit of this measure, is the preventing the poor running in debt. The credit given to them, adds much to the sufferings they undergo from their situation. The season in which they have the best opportunity of exertion, and their industry is best recompensed, is in harvest. Their wages then must be applied to discharge the debts which they have contracted; and they are obliged to their parishes for such clothing and fuel (not to mention house-rent) with which they are supplied during the winter. As the poor find that they can procure necessaries for their families, by this indulgence of the shopkeeper, they feel less scrupulous in spending part of their weekly wages at the alehouse. Hence the earnings of the following week are diminished, by having mis-spent their time as well as their money. There are but few parishes, which

do not confirm the truth of these observations; and which have not been called upon to redeem such goods of the poor, as the shopkeeper had at length seized, to cover himself from loss, when he had no hopes of security from their labour.

It is impossible not to feel respect for the poor "infirm old" storekeeper—although "he could neither read nor write," his "receipts were always correct," and if he wanted "scholarship" he did not want honesty. The reader will agree this is a very minute and remarkable account of the Village Shop. The grocers of the diocese must have been as angry at the promoters of the innovatory store as they have been since. There has been no Co-operative Bishop, until the Bishop of Manchester arose, who has had such discernment of the subject, has taken such interest in it, or given so useful an account of it as the Bishop of Durham.

The co-operative store which Mr. Owen established at New Lanark was a very rudimentary affair, precisely such as we have in London under the name of Civil Service Stores. Knowing that the workpeople—as is the case everywhere with the poor—had to pay really high prices for very inferior articles, and could never depend upon their purity or just measure, he fitted up a store at New Lanark more than sixty years ago, with the best provisions that could be obtained and sold them to his work people at cost price, with only such slight addition as paid the expenses of collecting and serving the goods. Some households with large families are said to have saved as much as ten shillings a week, through buying at Mr. Owen's store. After a time he added to the cost and distributing price a small per-centage for educational purposes, and thus he laid the foundation of that wise plan of applying a portion of profit to the education of the members and their families. Mr. Owen afterwards appropriated a portion of his manufacturing profits to the improvement of the dwellings of

the workpeople, and in providing means for the instruction of their families. On one occasion, when his partners came down from London to inspect his proceedings, they found so many things to approve and so much profit made, they presented him with a piece of plate. Mr. Owen had incurred an expenditure of £5,000 for new schools. They had no belief that intelligence would pay. Mr. Owen was entirely of the opposite conviction, and though he did not make his workpeople sharers in the profits of the factory, in the sense of paying them dividends, he made them participators in the profits by the ample provision which he made for their education, their pleasure, and their health.

Mr. R. Owen, who was the prince of manufacturers, has had no successor, not even among State ministers of education, in conceiving splendid provisions for the instruction and social advantages of workmen. For long years after his death the influence of his fine spirit was discerned in the town. A workman in that neighbourhood remarked lately, "Lanark is one of the cleanest cutting places in Scotland now."

Those who take interest in the traditions of popular education in Great Britain, may form some idea of what Mr. Owen did for it from the following statement:—

"Before completing my 'History of Co-operation in England,' I thought it my duty to visit New Lanark, which I had never seen, to look upon the mills erected on the falls of the Clyde by Sir Richard Arkwright and David Dale, now nearly 100 years ago, and afterwards made famous by the educational miracles of the late Robert Owen. Though I had often heard him speak of what he had done there, and had examined several accounts given by his son, the Honourable Robert Dale Owen, I never conceived the high esteem for him which I felt when I saw with my own eyes what he had accomplished. I thought that the schoolrooms, of which so much was said, were some unused rooms in the mill and were entered by a hole in the wall—being, as I knew, commodious, but, as

I supposed, mean and tame and cheap in construction. Whereas I found the schoolhouse a separate structure, built of stone, vast and stately with handsome portico supported by four stone pillars. There are three school-rooms on the ground floor, which will each hold 600 or 700 people. Above are two lecture halls, lofty and well lighted; one would hold 800; another, with a gallery all round it, would hold 2,000 people. The reading desk (and the stairs to it) from which Mr. Owen first announced his celebrated scheme for the reconstruction of the world; the handsome triangular lights, still bright, which used to hang from the ceiling, and the quaint apparatus for the magic lantern, are there still; and in another building, built by him for a dancing room for the young people, are stored numerous black boards, on which are painted musical scales and countless objects in various departments of nature. There are also very many canvass diagrams, some of immense dimensions, which are well and brightly painted, as was Mr. Owen's wont, by the best artists he could procure. They must have cost him a considerable sum of money. Time, neglect, and 'decay's effacing fingers' have rendered them but a wreck of what they were, but they are still perfect enough to show the state in which Object Teaching was when it was first invented. Mr. Owen knew Fellenberg and Froebel, and carried out their ideas with the splendid ardour with which he conceived them, years before they found opportunity of carrying them out themselves. My purpose in mentioning these things is that the South Kensington or other Museum may hear of them. Most of the diagrams are capable of being restored and are numerous enough to make an exhibition of themselves, and would be of great interest to the new generation of teachers in any town in which they could be seen. The Messrs. Walkers, who now own the mills, and who have preserved this famous collection of school furniture, may be willing to transfer them to some public museum. It is now nearly sixty years since they were

first used, and their existence has long been unknown to teachers. Dr. Lyon Playfair is in America, or I would have asked him to interest himself about them. Probably Professor Hodgson, of Edinburgh University, would—he being near them, and being one who cares for the traditions of education. It matters little in what museum the relics in question may be placed, provided they are preserved from loss." *

On kicking away the layers of mortar which had fallen from the ceiling of the great lecture hall, to make sure that the floor was safe to tread upon, I found underneath diagrams which had been walked over until they were in tatters. It was thus I was led to enquire whether any others existed. Mr. Bright had just then asked whether ruins of the mills of Manchester would one day mark the extinction of commerce, as the ruins of Tantallon Castle marked the extinction of the feudal system. I thought as I walked through the deserted lecture hall of New Lanark, that I was treading amid the ruins of education.

The co-operation of the pioneer period was very precarious. The stores of those days sold goods at the average market prices; and what was saved by economy of shopkeeping—with a few, mostly unpaid servants, without advertisements, in low rented rooms—went as profit to the shareholders, who were a few adventurous persons who supplied the humble capital. These gains were at first mostly devoted to propagandism, and subsequently to the promotion of Home Colonies. So long as the directors of the earlier stores provided purer provisions and fairer weight than was to be had elsewhere, or as long as the store was a centre of social discussion and information, the stores made way, until there came a decrease of social interest, or leading members left, or died, or mismanagement and loss, or fraud broke them up one after another.

* Letter to the "Times," Nov. 13, 1877, inserted under the head of "Educational Archæology."

An obsolete Store.

So late as 1863, a store existed in London exactly in the condition to which they had degenerated when their social purpose had ceased to be recognised, and they were conducted merely as a joint-stock shop. At that time Mr. Ebenezer Edger joined with me in endeavouring to organise a union of the scattered Co-operative Societies of the Metropolis. Our circular was sent to one whose address was 30, Ion Square, Hackney Road, N. Mr. Chas. Clarke, the Manager, sent the following reply:—"Our association cannot be classed exactly amongst Co-operative Stores, so we have no interest to publish our affairs, as we won't have *anybody* in with us. As for Directors *we are very particular*. I am sole Manager of all, and intend to keep so. Any who join us can make a small fortune, but must obey my instructions, but we are independent of any who wish to join, we keep in working order with our present number."

Mr. Clarke did not favour us with the method whereby "each member joining his store could make a small fortune." Had he made it known and it proved satisfactory, so valuable a manager would never have been left to waste his abilities in Ion Square.

Dr. Angus Smith has pointed out that London has in it nineteen climates. Every town has several different climates and several entirely different classes of people—quite distinct races, if regard be had to their minds and ways of acting. No one supposed that the men of Rochdale would carry co-operation forward as they did. The men of Liverpool knew more of it. The men of Birmingham had more of its inspiration and traditions, and more advocates and leaders of co-operation in it than any other town. Manchester had more experience of it. Leeds had more energy among its men. Sheffield had more spirit and individual determination. Scotland had seen its foundations laid in their midst, and two communities had been started among them. Yet Rochdale, from whom no one expected anything, eventually did everything. In England there is

more business enterprise that in Germany, yet Schulze-Delitsch has overrun the land with Credit Banks for lending money to persons who would put it into trade or commerce, while in this country it has never entered into the heart of any human being, unless it be Dr. Hardwicke, to imagine that any person might like to borrow money among us.

The difference between German and English co-operation is this: the German co-operator sets up Credit Banks, the English co-operator sets up Stores. The Germans lend money, the Englishman makes it. The way in which a modern store makes money was explained twelve years ago by Dr. Watts so clearly that it will serve now as an example of co-operative statement, and illustrate what is still going on everywhere. "A well-conducted co-operative store can offer a workman 7½ per cent. rise on his wages, and that without a strike or struggle. I had before me in March of 1861, returns from sixty-five co-operative stores, and I found their paid-up capital to amount to £156,596; the business done over a million and a quarter per annum, and the average dividends showed a profit of 7½ per cent., which is one shilling and sixpence in the pound on purchases, or over 60 per cent. upon the paid-up capital in the year. My own pass-book shows that I paid on November 3rd of last year (1860) £1 to become a member of a co-operative store. I have paid nothing since, and I am now credited with £3 16s. 6d., nearly 300 per cent. on my capital in a single year! Of course that arises from my purchases having been large in proportion to my investment. In a Co-operative Store you get 5 per cent. upon the money which you invest as a shareholder; and if the store be well conducted you will get 7½ per cent. addition to your wages."*

The first thing the earlier co-operators attempted to do was to save the cost of middlemen. Dr. John Watts has pointed out how singular a thing it is that "the poorest

* Lecture, Mechanics' Institution, Manchester, November, 1861.

people have the most servants, and we know that they who keep servants must pay for them. Strange that those who can least afford it should have most to pay in this way. The rich man buys what he want of the importer, or the wholesale dealer, and he has at most but two servants from whom he gets his goods; but the poor man has to pay the importer, the wholesale dealer, the retail dealer, and often the huckster into the bargain. These are all his servants; they all do work for him—unnecessary work it may be—but they have to be paid; so the very poorest man who wants to become richer has only to drop his servants, the huckster and retail dealer."

A modern co-operative store generally commences and obtains success by five things:—

1. Intelligent discontent at being compelled to buy bad articles at a high price.

2. By opening a small, low-rented clean shop, and selling good goods at honest measure and at average prices.

3. Increasing the cheapness of goods bought by concert of custom. The more money can be taken into the market, the further it goes in purchasing; while the large custom gives full employment to the shop servers, and diminishes the cost of management.

4. By buying from the North of England Wholesale, the stock of the store can be obtained from the best markets at the lowest rates and of uniform good quality. It is by *continuity of quality*, that the prosperity of a store is established.

5. By capitalizing the first profits carried to the credit of the members until they amount to £5. By this means the first hundred members supply a capital of £5000.

Leicester, which King Lear founded before his daughters were disagreeable, and which had a Mint in the year 978, did not at first supply its store with sufficient capital, the members subscribing but £1 or £2 each. The result was that the store was pale in the face through financial

inanition. If the society had a physician it would have been ordered an appropriate increase of financial diet immediately. Pale-faced stores are starved stores; and when young have ricketts.

In a Co-operative Society there must be store feeding, paper feeding, brain feeding. The store must be fed with capital, the weekly official paper of the movement must be fed with subscribers, the heads of the members must be fed with ideas. If a store have not sufficient capital for all the business it can do, it has the look of a ghost, and it is suspected of being a disembodied thing. The member who does not take in the Journal which represents the cause of the stores and the workshop, will neither know his own interest nor how to support those who do.

In commencing a store, the first thing to do is for two or three persons to call a meeting of those likely to care for the object in view, and able to advance it. In this world two or three persons always do everything. Certainly, a few persons are at the bottom of every improvement, initiating it, urging it on, and making it go. The callers of the meeting should be men who have clear notions of what they want to do, and how it is to be done, and why it should be attempted. Capital for the store is usually provided by each person putting down his or her name for twopence, threepence, or sixpence a week—or more, as each may be able—towards the payment of five shares of one pound each. If the store is to be a small one, a hundred members subscribing a one pound share each, may enable a beginning to be made. In a sound store, each member is called upon to hold five one pound shares. It is safest for the members to subscribe their own capital. Borrowed money is a dangerous thing to deal with. Interest has to be paid upon it often before any profits are made. Sometimes the lenders become alarmed, and call it in suddenly, which commonly breaks up the store, or the directors have to become guarantees for its repayment, and then the control of the store necessarily falls into their

hands. Disputes arise about management; those who have become largely responsible fail to receive the support of the members, when they most need it and most deserve it; and the scheme languishes, or has financial convulsions, followed by fever of feeling and fatal prostration. By commencing upon the system of the intending co-operators subscribing their own capital, a larger number of members are obtained, and all have an equal and personal interest in the Store, and give it their custom, that their money may not be lost. This plan of dividing profits on purchases secures not only a common interest, but a large and permanent custom. On this plan, it may take longer to collect the capital, but the capital lasts longer when it is collected, and is much more productive.

A secretary should be appointed, and a treasurer; and two or three nimble-footed, good-tempered, earnest, willing fellows named as collectors, who shall go round to the members, and bring into the treasury their precarious subscriptions. Some place should be chosen where members can pay them. Some will have the right feeling, good sense, and punctuality to go, or send, and pay their money unasked. But these are always very few. Many will think they do quite enough to subscribe, without being at trouble to do it. Others who have the right feeling, and know what they ought to do, have no methodical habits, and no sense of punctuality, and must be looked well after, or they will be sure to be in arrears. In building and friendly societies, fines have to be resorted to, to compel members to do what they engage to do, and what it is their interest to do. Considering, as Dr. Isaac Watts says, that "the mind is the standard of the man," it is astonishing how few people "know their own minds," and how many have to be fined to bring it to their recollection that they have "minds." Numbers of well meaning working men keep no control over their wages. They can only pay at a certain hour in each week, and if the collector does not catch them then, they cannot pay that week at

all, for their money is gone. The collectors of the store funds require to be men of practical sense, well acquainted with working-class nature, capable of no end of trouble, and have infinite patience. "Why should any men take all this trouble on behalf of others who ought to do their duty?" is a question that the collectors will be sure to ask themselves many times. Why should one part of the society have thus to wait upon another, whose interest is the same as that of the peregrinating collectors? The answer must be left to the good nature and good conscience of these voluntary workers. It is enough to state the facts of what will have to be done—what always has to be done; and to give our ungrudging praise to whoever undertakes this work. They are the real founders of the store; they cause the fund to exist which creates it; they teach the first lessons of providence to hundreds of families who else would never learn them.

If the Store goes into the grocery business, or the meat trade, or tailoring, or shoemaking, or drapery, the members should get a good-natured, intelligent, experienced grocer, or butcher, or tailor, or cordwainer, or draper, to put them in the right way of buying in, and selling, and preserving stock. Such friendly persons are always to be found, if looked for. At first, wholesale dealers generally were shy of Co-operators, and would not sell to them, and the societies bought at a disadvantage in consequence. Before long, discerning and friendly dealers arose, who treated with them on fair and friendly terms. Mr. Woodin, of London, Mr. J. McKenzie, of Glasgow, tea merchants, Messrs. Constable and Henderson, of London, wholesale sugar dealers, Messrs. Ward and Co., of Leeds, provision merchants, are examples of tradesmen of the kind described. A wholesale agency now exists in Manchester, which keeps buyers in, who understand what to buy and where to buy it. The want of this knowledge is always a weak point in young stores. This Wholesale Society * enables a

* There is now a branch of the North of England Wholesale open at 118, Minories, London.

young society to offer at once to its customers goods of quality, so that the poorest residents in Shoreditch or Bethnal Green could buy food as pure and rich as though they were purchasers at Fortnum and Mason's in Piccadilly —in fact, obtain West End provisions at East End prices. This is what Co-operation can give them, and nothing save Co-operation can do this for them. Dishonesty among Co-operators is very rare, and it is sufficiently provided against by guarantees. When servants are appointed, they should never be distrusted on rumour, or conjecture, or hearsay, or suspicion. Nothing but the clearly ascertained fact of wrong-doing should be acted upon as against them. If every society took as much trouble to find out whether it has good servants as it does to find out whether it has bad ones, many societies would flourish that now fail. As Mr. J. S. Mill said to the London Co-operators, whom he addressed at the Whittington Club, "Next to the misfortune to a society of having bad servants, is to have good servants and not to know it." Talleyrand used to say to his agents, "Beware of zeal," which leads men into indiscretions. But if earnestness without zeal can be got, so that members shall go about propagating Co-operation among all the neighbours, inhabitants, and families about a store, success is certain. A true Co-operator has three qualities—good sense, good temper, and good will. Most people have one or the other quality, but a true Co-operator has all three: "good sense," to dispose him to make the most of his means; "good temper," to enable him to associate with others; "good will," to incline him to serve others, and be at trouble to serve them, and to go on serving them, whether they are grateful or not in return, caring only to know that he does good, and finding it a sufficient reward to see that others are benefited through his unsolicited, unthanked, unrequited exertions—which always get appreciated sooner or later—generally later.

In a properly constituted Store, the funds are disposed

of quarterly in seven ways. (1) expenses of management; (2) interest due on all loans; (3) an amount equivalent to ten per cent. of the value of the fixed stock, set apart to cover its annual reduction in worth, owing to wear and tear; *(4) dividends on subscribed capital of the members; (5) such sum as may be required for extension of business; (6) two and a-half per cent. of the remaining profit, after all the above items are provided for, to be applied to educational purposes; (7) the residue, and that only, is then divided among all the persons employed and members of the store in proportion to the amount of their wages or of their respective purchases during the quarter, varying from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. in the pound.

It was, as the reader is now aware, the discovery of the method of dividing Store-keeping profits upon purchases, which changed the whole face of Co-operation, and made the lazy, lingering, limping thing to start up with energy, march forward and walk strong and straight. William Chambers writing on the subject says "what may be called the peculiar distinction of Co-operation in the division of product, from private enterprize, or that of companies is, that a fixed interest is divided upon members' capital—say 5 per cent. upon the shares each holds—and then that all nett profits are divided to the trader upon the business each member has done. And as it is the trade which makes profit, so each gets exactly what each has made. Both principle and mode of working out have, as a rule, proved eminently satisfactory."

The Co-operators have known how to keep accounts. Dr. Watts, being the manager of an Insurance Society, which guaranteed the integrity of persons in responsible

* Mr. Willis Knowles, an experienced co-operator, says that the Store at Hyde, finds it most profitable to extinguish the fixed stock charge as early as possible—making the fund set aside for depreciations large for this purpose; for what ever value is put upon un-redeemed and fixed stock has to receive interest which is equivalent to a rent charge. This being cleared off allows a larger dividend to be paid to members.

situations, bears this testimony—"I have had to do with a considerable number of them professionally, having had to guarantee the honesty of the managers, which has enabled me, when I saw any fault in the accounts, to insist upon its being rectified; and I can say with the chairman, that the balance-sheets of Co-operative Societies, as a rule, would be a credit to any public accountant. There is no single thing hidden; you may trace the whole of the society's operations through the figures of the quarterly report." Co-operators also manage their affairs very peacefully, for though I have been appointed arbitrator to many societies, I have never been called upon to adjudicate upon any difference, save twice in thirty years. Other arbitrators have also reason to complain of want of business.

It is not pretended that Co-operation is a special solvent of scoundrelism, only that it diminishes the temptations to it. The dealer, the order-getter, and travelling agent of commercial firms, are often the corruptors of store-keepers and store-managers. Some few years ago, a manufacturer of a class of articles in general demand in stores, endeavoured to do business with them. Being a man of honesty himself, his agents made no offer of commission or any gift to store-keepers, and he soon found that he could not do a business with them, worthy of his attention. He succeeded for a time, but ere long the orders fell off or complaints were made without reason. It was within my knowledge, that the goods offered in this case were really pure. The manufacturer, for there were not many competitors in his business, knew that orders were given by the stores to firms that could not supply goods equal to his in quality and cheapness. At the same time I knew of cases in another part of the country where co-operation was better understood very creditable to Store keepers. There was a dealer in London known to me who would corrupt any one he could for trade, and who did not care who knew it. His doctrine was the common

one that if he did not do it some rival would—an argument by which any knave might justify himself in pocket picking. This villanous logician was a man of respectability, punctual in the payment of pew rents, and with a steady unscrupulous eye to the main chance. He showed me a letter he had had from Jay Giggles, a well-known Store keeper in the North. Any one would think the name fictitious who did not know what extraordinary names some Co-operators have. * Giggles had given an order to the house in question, and for reasons of his own, sent afterwards this note:—

"Sir, perhaps it is right to inform you that I do not ask, nor expect, nor take any gift from your traveller, to whom I have given orders; I therefore expect to have good goods sent me. I may not find it out very soon if they are not what I am promised by your traveller, but I shall before long make the discovery, or somebody will for me, and then you will have no more orders. I do not pretend to be such a very virtuous person: but my directors give me a good salary, that I may not be tempted to seek gifts. I am therefore bound to do the best I can for them. If I do not I shall be found out, and I shall lose my place.

"JAY GIGGLES." †

"Ah" said the dealer in his prompt and unabashed way, turning to his traveller, who was just up in town, "Here's a letter from J. G. Jay may have the Giggles, but there is no giggling about Jay."

* Robert Owen's first employer at Stamford was named Mc'Guffog, a manufacturer with whom he had early relations, was a Mr. Oldknow.

† The man's name was Giggles. His mother being an admirer of the Rev. Mr. Jay, of Bath, whom she had heard in her time, would have her son named Jay—rather an absurd union. Any one who passes to-day near Hyde Park entrance may read in large letters over the door, the name Tagus Shout. Never was there before such a wide mouthed name for a money changer. Co-operators are not alone singular in their nomenclature.

How Stores raise the profits of Shopkeepers.

The local habits of purchasers, make a considerable difference in the cost of managing a store. In some towns purchasers will march great distances to buy at a store. In another place members will expect four ounces of salt butter to be sent them. In many towns, customers will wait in numbers to be served in the order of their arrival. In other towns customers want to be served at once, and will go into any shop rather than wait long at the counter of the store. In these cases, the Directors are compelled to provide more counter-men than are really needed, in order that customers may be quickly served. The impetuosity or impatience of members, puts a large store to an expense or loss, it may be of several hundred pounds, which another society in the next town saves. No grocers could be persuaded that the day would come when co-operative societies would raise their prices and increase their profits. Yet this continually occurs, and no doubt grocers profit, and the outside public are taxed by co-operative stores. The public, however, can protect themselves by joining the stores. As soon as the dividends on purchases at a store rise higher than the average ordinarily attained, it generally means that higher charges for goods are made by the Directors of the store than is charged by shopkeepers in the neighbourhood. As soon as the astute shopkeeper becomes aware of this, he is enabled to raise his prices in proportion. All this is clear gain to him, and he owes this gain to the store. The clever tradesman knows that very little business would be done if fools did not abound, and he never doubts that co-operative societies will possess for a long time a fair proportion of idiots. Therefore the dealer, wholesale or retail, soon finds that he can disturb the unity of the innovatory society near him, by offering some article for sale at a lower price than the store is selling at.

Any society, or any person engaged in promoting them, may obtain information and various publications upon the

subject, by writing to the secretary of the Central Board, 9, City Buildings, Manchester. Among them is one by Mr. Walter Morrison, entitled "Village Co-operative Stores"—it is small because that is necesary to its design, that of general circulation—but it contains exactly those practical and familiar suggestions which everybody who belongs to a co-operative store, or desires to promote the establishment of one, would like to have at hand to consult. Besides, Mr. Morrison gives a much-wanted and practical list of the "Description of the Goods," their weight, price and quantity, which a store should begin with; nor does he omit those higher considerations which make co-operation worth caring for and worth promoting.

One of the best accounts, next to that of the Bishop of Durham, of the formation and career of a country store was given some time ago by Lord Ducie in the *Times*. It is a complete story of a store, and would make a perfect co-operative tract. This store was commenced on Lord Ducie's property at Tortworth, Gloucestershire, in March, 1867. It was conducted on the "northern" store plan. The villagers were all in debt to the shops, from which the store soon freed them. Lord Ducie says "the moral action of the store thus becomes of great value, encouraging a virtue which precept alone has long failed to promote. The shareholders at the end of the first year are as follows:—Labourers, 25; carpenters and masons, 11; tradesmen, 9; farmers, 6; gardeners, 6; clergy, gentlemen, and domestic servants, and various occupations, 16. Large purchases have been made by non-shareholders, receiving only half profits. The sales have been: For the first quarter, £320; second, £349; third, £468; fourth, £511. The dividends to shareholders have been, in the pound expended: For the first quarter, 3s. 4d.; second, 2s. 9d.; third, 3s. 2d.; fourth, 3s. 6d. For various reasons, the dividends will not in future range higher than 3s. in the pound. The accounts at the end of the year

of three labourers who joined at the commencement were :—

	Paid-up Capital.	Dividend on Money Expended.
A.	£1 0 0 ...	£5 0 7
B.	1 14 10 ...	2 10 0
C.	0 19 3 ...	3 17 0

Those men earn 12s. each per week; the difference in the amount of their dividends arises from the different amounts expended by each. A, for instance, has a large family, some of whom add to the family income; his purchases have been large, and the result is a dividend which much more than pays the rent of his house and garden. These men have also received 5 per cent. upon their paid-up capital. The first year of the Store ended, the committee ventured upon bolder flights and fresh enterprise. They have added a drapery branch, having expended £230 in stocking it. They have determined to pay their salesman 2½ per cent. upon sales in lieu of a fixed salary, and have secured the whole of his time. They have also decided to pay committeemen 6d. each for every attendance, a humble extravagance which will contrast favourably with the practice of more ambitious institutions."

Of the success of these societies a thousand anecdotes might be related. In these pages the reader will meet with many. One is told by Mr. Alderman Livsey, of Rochdale :—"A poor labouring man, and owing about £15 to his grocer for provisions, resolved to join a co-operative society. He called upon the grocer and announced his intention to leave the shop. The grocer was of course indignant. The debtor, however, remarked that he was quite prepared to pay his debt by such weekly or monthly instalments as the judge of the county court might dictate, and he was willing to do it without the expense and trouble of a legal process; and ultimately the grocer consented to this arrangement. The man kept his promise, the grocer was in due course paid off; profits accumulated

in the co-operative society, and he is now the owner of the house he lives in, and is also the owner of another property which he values very highly—a county vote."

It is the rule of the Co-operators to give no credit and take none, which has saved them the expense of book keeping, and enabled so many poor men to escape the slavery of debt themselves. The credit system existed in the Halifax society until May, 1861, to the extent of two-thirds of the amount of paid-up capital by each member. The confusion, trouble, waste of time, vexation, and moral harm of even this system was immense. When some Lord Chancellor does what Lord Westbury attempted, abolishes small credits altogether among the people, the poor will become rich enough and grateful enough to put up to his memory in every town a statue of gold.

The normal condition of a workman who is not a co-operator is to be in debt. Whatever his wages are, he has a book at the grocer's, and he is a fortnight behind the world. If any one benevolently cleared him of debt and gave him a week's money to pay his way with, he would not know what to do with it, and he would never rest till he was in debt again. Such is the blindness which comes with habitual poverty, that a man who first begins to pay ready money believes he is losing by it. Debt seems to him economy. The power of saving is an art, an act of intelligence, and co-operation has imparted it. By its aid 10,000 families in some great towns have acquired this profitable habit. Even if members dealing at a store really paid more for an article than at a grocer's, that surplus cost, as well as the entire profit made, are paid back to them. It is merely a sort of indirect taxation for increasing their savings, which otherwise they would not make.

A family belonging to a store, and sticking to it, has about it visible trophies of its benefits. One wife has a wringing machine to diminish the labour of the washing day, bought out of store profits; another has a sofa; some who have musical children possess themselves of a

pianoforte; those who have voracious children buy a pig. Perhaps the result is seen in a new suit of clothes, the admiration of the whole neighbourhood. Many have in view, at no distant day, to put up a small house through these means. Cobbett used to advise a young man before he married, to observe how his intended wife employed herself in her own family, and unless she was thrifty and a good hand at household duties not to have her. Had Cobbett lived to these days he would have advised young men to give the preference to a girl who belonged to a co-operative store. A young woman who has learned never to go into debt, but to buy with money in hand and save some of the profit at the store, is literally worth her weight in gold. Many a gentleman would save £500 or £1,000 a year had he married a co-operative girl. In many parts of the country now, no sensible young woman will marry a man who does not belong to a store.*

At the Leicester Congress, 1877, 20,000 copies of a clever little statement was circulated, which will suffice to explain to the most cursory reader what advantages a good Co-operative store may confer upon a town.

1. It has made it possible for working men to obtain pure food at fair market prices!
2. It has taught the advantage of cash payments over credit!
3. It has given men a knowledge of business they could not otherwise have obtained!
4. It has enabled them to carry on a trade of one hundred and sixty thousand a year.
5. It has made them joint proprietors of freehold property worth upwards of twenty thousand pounds!
6. It secures them an annual net profit of sixteen thousand pounds!
7. It has raised many a man's wages two or three shillings per week without a strike!

* See History of Halifax Societies.

8. It has alleviated more distress than any other social organisation.*

During the last two years the Leicester Society has divided amongst its members, as dividend, upwards of £23,000, in addition to several thousands added to the members' share capital.

"Practical" people deride sentiment, but they would not be able to make a penny were it not for "sentimental" people, who have in perilous days bleached with their bones the highway on which the "practical" man walks in selfish safety. Common people are all dainty in their way, and would not save money, much as they need it, did not "sentimental" people allure them, make it pleasant for them, and be at trouble to serve them.

The general economical results of co-operation have been unexpected in many ways. One is that some societies are obliged to pass resolutions compelling members to withdraw £10,000 or £20,000 of surplus capital accumulating. It was the original intention of the founders of early stores to provide these accumulations for the purpose of starting manufactories which might yield them higher dividends than the store paid. In some towns of enterprise this has been done, and building societies, boot and shoe works, spinning mills, cloth factories, have been undertaken. It happened that many stores have been discontinued or remained stationary because the members had no faculty for employing their savings. It seems ridiculous, but it is nevertheless true, that some societies have failed, not because they were poor, but because they were too rich, and working men whose early complaint was that they had no capital, and expressed violent discontent at being in that condition, have lived to be possessors of more capital than they knew

* The Parliamentary return of Co-operative Societies (1877) obtained by Mr. Cowen, M.P., shows that there are upwards of 12,000 Societies now.

what to do with, and have been compelled to draw it out of the society because they had no capacity for employing it productively. The men who at one time thought it a sin to pay interest for money have lived to regret that they can find no means of obtaining interest for theirs. Many men who complain of capitalists for taking interest for their money have lived to become the sharpest dividend hunters anywhere to be found, and to think of nothing else, and to sacrifice education and reasonable enjoyment to the mere silliness of needless accumulation.

Thieves did not understand their opportunity when they had it. For many years gold might have been captured in quantities, at many co-operative stores. Between the time of its accumulation, by increasing and unexpected sales, and its being lodged in the bank, quantities might have been captured with impunity. I have seen a thousand sovereigns lying in a bucket, under a cashier's table—which a clever thief might have covered with waste paper and carried away. But sharper management, the purchase of good safes, the rapid transit of the cash to the bank, have taken away these chances. At one store, the cashier used to carry a few hundred pounds to the cottage of the treasurer at night when he thought of it; and the treasurer, the next day—if he did not forget it—would take it to the bank. But the fact that the law had began to prosecute peculators, intimidated the thieves, and the general honesty of co-operators afforded security where carelessness prevailed. I remember a secretary of the Odd Fellows who was brought before the magistrates in Manchester, for stealing £4600 from the funds, and he was dismissed, as the law then permitted members of a Provident Society to rob one another. Very few robberies of Co-operative Societies have taken place since the law afforded them protection. In 1875, the Hyde Society was robbed of £1100. In London, the secretary of a Co-operative Printing Society made away with £2000, and the magistrates dismissed the charge, for no

reason that we could discover, unless he thought they being co-operators they ought to be robbed as a warning not to interfere with the business of shop-keepers. But, as a general rule, it is not safe to rob co-operators, and it commonly proves a very unpleasant thing for any, charged with such offence, unless it be in London. In the provinces if conviction is obtained, punishment follows. Mr. J. C. Farn, who has recorded very valuable experience he had both in the illegal and legal period of co-operation, gives these remarkable instances. "I have been instrumental in placing persons in co-operative stores, and they have in bygone days plundered almost with impunity. The following cases which I have reported for newspapers will show the state of the law as it was and is. The deciding magistrates were Mr. Trafford, at Salford, and Mr. Walker, at Manchester. We want a summons. What for? To compel the trustees of a co-operative society to divide the money they have among the shareholders.—'Mr. Trafford: Was the society enrolled? No.—Did you take security from those who held the property on the basis of an individual transaction? No.—I can't help you, and I would not if I could. You first form an illegal society, you bungle in the management, and then you want me to help you out of the mess; and, as though this was not enough, you let the Statute of Limitations cover everything. No summons can be granted.' The second case was as follows:—'This man, your worship, is charged with embezzling the funds of a co-operative society.—Mr. Walker: Is it enrolled? Yes.—Where is a copy of the enrolment? Here.—Very well. Who is here authorised by the society to prosecute? I am, your honour, said a person in court.—Go on.'—He did go on, and the man was committed. So much for co-operative law in 1853 and 1863. Many societies have been ruined because they could not obtain the protection of the law. If private businesses were so placed, the same results would follow."

Admirable as co-operation is as a moral method of

frugality it is not yet a very brilliant one in trading taste. Stores are in some cases dreary places, and there is often more pleasure in looking into a well-arranged shop window than into a store-window. The taste and ingenuity with which shop-windows in many towns are set out, certainly give life and interest to the streets. The streets of some cities, which are now brilliant with every product of art and industry, would look like a prolonged Poor-house, if they were filled with Civil Service and ordinary Co-operative Stores. The act of purchasing is in itself a pleasure. The dainty association under which a beautiful thing is first seen, adds to the delight of possessing it, and the delight is worth paying for. Whatever blessings Co-operation may extend and diffuse among the people, so long as taste and art are unextinguished, the higher class of shop-keeping will always endure. The lower class of shops, which have cleanliness and simplicity, and articles of honest make, have always been frequented with pleasure and always will. The purchasers of prepared food feel under a personal obligation to the vendor who sells him what is savoury and cleanly made, and what he can eat without misgiving. Mere vulgar shopkeeping, which ministers only to coarseness and cheapness, which lowers the taste of every purchaser, or prevents him acquiring any, and furnishes a means of selling articles which ought never to be made—is but a demoralizing business. Such shops were well superseded by real Co-operative Stores. It is the defect of pure co-operation that it has not yet risen to the level of an art. It is still a rough struggling process. It improves taste so far as honesty and quality go, but its humble members cannot be expected to have simple and true taste, which might exist among the poor in degree, as well as among the rich. It is seen in the jewels of an Italian peasant, in the dress of a French girl, and in the homes and handicrafts of working people of many nations. Lectures upon the art of choosing products, why they should be selected in pre-

ference to others, in what state consumed, or worn, will no doubt be one day associated with co-operative stores. Possibly they may think it worth while to make pleasant display of the excellent goods they deal in, making glad the heart of the buyer.

The Corn Society's New Mill, Weir-street, Rochdale, according to the engraving which represents it, which I published at the Fleet-street House, twenty or more years ago, is the most melancholy mill that ever made a dividend. Dark, thick, murky clouds surround it, and the sky line is as grim as the ridges of a coffin. The white glass of the plain front meets the eye like the ghost of a disembodied mill. A dreary waggon, carrying bags of corn, guided by drivers that look like mutes, is making its way through a cold, Siberian defile. The builder might have made it pleasant to the eye, with as little expense as he made it ugly. But in those days nobody thought of comeliness, seemliness, or pleasantness in structures, in which men would work all their lives. The really pleasant part about the Corn Mill was in the minds of the gallant co-operators who set it going, and kept it going. But grimness is gradually changing for the better. Some of the Oldham Mills put up under co-operative inspiration, are places of some taste, and in some cases of architectural beauty, with towers making a cheerful sky line without, and spacious windows making the work-rooms lightsome within. The old bare-bones view of economy is dying out. It has come to be perceived that it is ugliness which is dear, and beauty which is cheap.

A few years ago there appeared in "Reynolds' Newspaper" a series of letters signed "Unitas," advising the formation of a "National Industrial Provident Society," of which, when the prospectuses appeared, William Watkins was named as the secretary. The object appeared to be to establish co-operative stores, to retain the profits due to the members, and convert them into paid-up premiums in self-devised Insurance Societies, guaranteeing endowments,

superannuation allowances, and other benefits. The plan was ingenious and attractive, and no doubt might be worked as a new feature of co-operation, which would spread the system in many quarters. The idea of persons being able to provide payments in sickness, or loss of employment: and if the fund to their credit was not exhausted in this way, to secure a sum at death, or a fixed income at a certain age, by simply buying their provisions at a certain store—is both feasible and alluring. This scheme made great progress in Wales. I felt bound to oppose it but with considerable regret. Its frustation was ascribed to me, and I was threatened with an action for libel on the part of the proprietor of the paper in which the scheme originated. The plan required to be conducted by known persons of character and fortune, leisure, and great business capacity; as, if it succeeded to any extent, the profits of the members — large sums of money—would otherwise be in possession of a comparatively unknown committee of men living in the metropolis. In their hands also would be vested the property of all these stores, the provisioning of these stores from a central agency would be entirely under their control, and the rates of charges and quality of provisions, and the fund of the members, would be practically unchecked by the subscribers. At the same time there is no doubt that in the hands of known and able men of commercial resource and business organisation, a comprehensive scheme of this kind of Co-operative Insurance would have great popularity, great success, and do a great amount of good, and make co-operation a matter of household interest in a way not yet thought of by the great body of co-operators.

Since co-operation means that every body concerned has an interest in doing what he ought to do, the directors of the store, the secretary, the manager of it, all persons engaging in serving it, should have an interest in performing their duties well—as well as they were able.

Social Life in the Store.

It is not good for business when no one has a permanent motive for civility. If a fewer persons come to a counter, the better it is for the shopman, who has no interest in them. He will repel or neglect all he can. A shopman having an intelligent interest in the purchasers, and friendly to them, make custom at the store a personal pleasure as well as profit. For all to be respectful and pleasant to each other is no mean part of the art of association which co-operators have to cultivate. Personal courtesy, which is never neglectful, never inconsiderate, diffuses more pleasure through the life of a town than the splendour of wealth, or the glory of pageants. They are seen but for an hour, while the civilities and kindnesses of daily intercourse fill up the whole of life, and convert its monotony into gladness.

The store is a sort of Board School of co-operators. Members are first acquired there, and if they ever get any co-operative education it is there it begins; and as the majority of all co-operators are themselves or their families in daily intercourse with the store, that is the place where useful information can be diffused, and the greatest number of impressions, good or evil, permanently given. That is where co-operative literature can be sold, where news of all that concerns members can be posted up, that is, where the stranger looks in to see what is going on. Everything should be clean there and the brass work bright, and every article that can be seen without deterioration displayed with taste. The pleasure of seeing and selecting is half the pleasure of buying. Knowledge of the nature and varieties of pure provisions, taste in colours, patterns and texture of garments is a part of education in man or woman, and shows the quality of their individual character. Wise shopmen, therefore, who understand what business service means, and who have co-operative sense and interest in its diffusion, are as important agents in their places as directors or managers. These persons should be carefully chosen, treated well, and have a

clear interest in the success and popularity of the store. It is in their power to make the store a repellent place, or a monotonous, or insipid place, or a pleasant and popular place of resort. Those who hesitate to give them good wages and a dividend upon them, the same as that accruing to purchasers, do not understand what may be got out of good servants. Service is not in co-operation as it generally is in competition, a menial office. In a store it is a place of influence. Service, where the server is in a position of independence and equality, and where the server understands the art of service, is one whose position is superior to that of the customer. For he who serves obliges. If store servers are not all of the character described, the condition established by the directors, ought to be such as to enable co-operative servers to be what they ought. I purposely write Server instead of Servant, because servant is understood to imply meniality; while a server is one who obliges.

Societies do not yet consider sufficiently the qualities of those members whom they appoint directors. They often elect those who talk well instead of those who think well. Sometimes a person coarse-minded, harsh and abrupt, unceremonious in dealing with officers of the store under him, will harden them into indifference to the welfare of the store, or irritate them into ill-feeling, and they naturally become unpleasant to purchasers. A member of fluency and ambition will be very flattering to quarterly meetings, and win repute for most agreeable qualities until he gets an honourable appointment, who has himself no sense of personal courtesy, and will be very offensive to others over whom he has power. Courtesy, where a man has his own way, and to all who can help him to it, may co-exist in the same person who is at the same time insolent and brutal to any who have independence of spirit, and who may withstand him. There never was a tyrant deservedly execrated by a nation who had not a crowd of followers ready to testify to his humanity and most excellent amiability. Tennyson

points out this in William the Conqueror, when he makes a wise observer warn Harold, who was in his power, to note that the Duke was gracious only to those who lent themselves to his ends.

> "Obey him, speak him fair,
> For he is only debonair to those
> That follow where he leads; but stark as death
> To those that cross him." *

In local societies, and among petty men as well as in great states and public aspirants, the same personal peculiarities are to be seen and guarded against, and in co-operative societies directors have to be sought who unite to capacity a just consideration for the self-respect of others.

* "Harold," by Alfred Tennyson.

CHAPTER IX.

PRODUCTION—THE CO-OPERATIVE WORKSHOP.*

Che a compagne a padrone —*Italian Proverb.*
(He who has a partner has a master.)

INDUSTRIAL Co-operation includes not merely union for strength but union for participation in the profits made by the union. The reader already comprehends this, but the theory has never been applied very clearly or consistently to the workshop; and among co-operators themselves there is consequently confusion in argument and uncertainty in practice. The theory of the store, owing to its simpler operations and longer experience in conducting them, is better understood and defined.

In a store the purchasers share the total gains made. The reader knows that the total profits arising after payment of all trade and reserve fund expenses, and 2½ per cent. set apart for education of the members, the residue is divided among all the buyers of the store in proportion to their purchases. In a proper productive society, after the payment of all expenses of wages, capital, material, rent, education, and reserve fund, as the special risks of trade may require—the total profits are divisable among the thinkers and workers who have made them, according to the value of their labour estimated

* This chapter treats the workshop as a co-operative company in which labour hires capital, devises its own arrangements and works for its own hand.

by their respective salaries and to customers according to their purchases. But hitherto productive co-operation has seldom gone on these definite lines; or where it has, it has been by accident rather than design, and having no distinctive conception of the supreme claims of labour and the subordinate and auxiliary position of capital, the lines have been soon departed from.

Not unfrequently the men who form co-operative manufacturing societies prove themselves wanting in patience and generosity towards their comrades. They are unwilling to wait while their fellow-workmen come up to them in sense, energy, and intelligent acceptance of the principle of equity. The wiser sort perceiving that a successful trade may speedily produce large profits prefer converting the co-operative affair into a joint stock one, and keeping the gains in their own hands, and taking their chance of hiring labour like other employers. Thus instead of the mastership of two or three, they introduce the system of a hundred masters.* They may not be said to be traitors to co-operation, since they cannot be accused of betraying what has not existed. They simply desert it, and instead of promoting it, multiply organizations, for the individual rather than the common profit, and enlarge the field of strikes, and prepare ground for contests between capital and labour more furious and savage than any which have hitherto occurred. The theory of a co-operative workshop is therefore very simple. Workmen who intend commencing one first save, accumulate, or subscribe all the capital they can as security to capitalists from whom they may need to borrow more, if their own is insufficient. Nobody is very anxious to lend money to those who have none: and if any do lend it, they must seek a higher interest than otherwise they could think of, in consequence of the great risk of

* See Perils of Co-operation—the Hundred Master System contributed by the present writer to the "Morning Star" newspaper.

their losing altogether what they lend. The workmen hire, or buy, or build their premises; engage or appoint managers, engineers, designers, architects, accountants, or whatever officers they require, at the ordinary salaries such persons can command in the market, according to their ability. Every workman employed is paid wages in the same way. If they need capital in excess of their own they borrow it at market rates according to risks of the business—the capital subscribed by their own members being paid for at the same rate. Their rent, materials, salaries, wages, business outlays of all kinds, and interest on capital, are the annual costs of their undertaking. All gain beyond that is profit, which is divided among all officers, and workmen, and customers, according to their salaries or services. Thus in lucky years when 20 per cent. profit is made a manager whose salary is £500 gets £100 additional—a workman whose wages are £100 a year takes £20 profit, in addition to the interest paid him for his proportion of capital in the concern. There is no second division of profit on capital—the workers take all surplus, and thus the highest exertions of those who by labour, of brain or hand, create the profit are secured, because they reap all the advantage. This is the distinctive principle of a co-operative workshop.

The workman has of course to understand that a co-operative workshop is a co-partnery, and to take note of the Italian proverb that "he who has a partner has a master." He knows it is true when he takes a wife, and if he does not consult in a reasonable way the interests of home, things soon go wrong there. And so it will be in the workshop. All his fellows are partners, all have a right to his best services, and he has a right to theirs, and he who neglects his duties or relaxes his care or skill or exertions; or makes waste, or loss, or shows neglect, or connives at it—is a traitor and ought to be put out of the concern.

The main object of this chapter is to make clear what

are the interests which a co-operative company of workers should include. There has been much confusion hitherto caused by there being no clear conception of the place of capital, which has been allowed to steal like the serpent of Eden from the outer world of agency into the garden of partnership, where like the glistening intruder of old, it has brought workmen to a knowledge of good and evil—chiefly evil: and times beyond number the serpent of capital has caused the original inhabitants to be turned out of Eden altogether. Hence has come discouragement to others, and that uncertainty which rob enterprises of their native fire and purpose. No sooner, however, shall one clear principle dominate the whole field of co-operative industry, than a great change will be seen and a determined march forward be made.

We have a principle which is distinctive else we have no right to the distinctive name of co-operators. That principle must be carried out, else co-operators are imposters trading under a false name. The co-operative principle is that we divide profits with labour, that we recognize always the labourer in the workshop as we do the purchaser in the store. The co-operative principle is to give dignity to labour and interest the labourer in work. It demands that the labourer shall put his skill and character into his work and shall be repaid by being secured his full share of the whole profits. The joint stock system uses the labourer, but does not recognize him. At best it invites him to join the capitalist class as a shareholder, in which case he looks for profit, not from his labour, but from the labour of others. Under the joint stock plan, labour is still a hired instrument—labour is still dependent, without dignity, without recognition, without rights.

A true example of a co-operative workshop was that founded by the Christian Socialists, a quarter of a century ago. The condition of the working tailors of the metropolis, 23,000 in number, appeared from the description in

the "Morning Chronicle," to be so deplorable and so unjust —owing, as was alleged, to the system of contract work, sweaters, middlemen, and excessive competition, that several gentlemen, with Prof. Maurice, Mr. E. V. Neale, and Canon Kingsley at their head, resolved upon an attempt to rescue them from such wretchedness, and, if possible, supersede the slop-sellers. For this purpose they subscribed £300, rented some suitable premises, and fairly started in business a body of operative tailors, numbering some thirty, under the management of a person who was a tailor and a Chartist. The principles on which the Association was conducted was co-operative. The manager was absolute master until the Association repaid the capital advanced to it. He received a salary of £2 a week, the other members worked by the piece, according to a fixed tariff of prices. All work was done on the premises. Interest at the rate of 4 per cent. only was paid on the capital lent. One-third of the nett profits was by common agreement devoted to the extension of the Association, the remainder was to be divided among the workmen in the ratio of their earnings, or otherwise applied to their common benefit. The plan was fairly co-operative. Here capital took a very moderate interest for its risk. The manager "went wrong." A manager of energy, good faith, and good capacity, might have made an industrial mark under these well-devised conditions.

Printers, who are the wisest of workmen, as a rule, are not yet infallible in co-operation. The Manchester Co-operative Printing Society have this rule for the distribution of profits. "The net profits of all business carried on by the society, after paying for or providing for the expenses of management, interest on loan capital, and 10 per cent. per annum for depreciation of fixed stock, making the necessary allowance for the depreciation of buildings, and paying 7½ per cent. per annum (should the profits permit) on paid-up share capital, shall be divided into three equal parts, viz., *one to capital, one to labour, and one to the*

customer." Were the capital all supplied by the workers the double profit to capital would come to them. But in this society none are shareholders, and therefore labour works to pay capital twice before it gets paid once. Yet this society is in advance of most "co-operative" productive societies, as that of Mitchell Hey, for instance, at Rochdale, which gives nothing to labour. Mitchell Hey, however, does admit individual shareholders, giving them profit on their capital, but not on their labour. In the Manchester Printing Society the capital is subscribed by stores, and individual members have no opportunity of investing in it. But in properly co-operative societies where capital is simply a charge, and paid separately, and paid only once—the division of the profits in proportion of two-thirds to labour, and one-third to custom would generally be found satisfactory, and the one-third to custom would end in augmenting instead of diminishing the value of the two-thirds to labour.

Among the higher class of masters any responsible servant is adequately provided for; they give a salary which secures the whole of his interest and powers, and they commonly tolerate his prosperity so long as they are well served. The working class rarely do this. They are rather apt to fix all salaries at the workshop rate, and begrudge every sixpence over that. For a man's brains, devotion, interest, and experience, they award nothing willingly, and make it so humiliating to receive anything extra, that he who does so is eventually glad to accept competitive employment, and unless his devotion to principle is impassable, he does it.

Workmen who have known what it is to want, who have risen from small beginnings, and through great struggles and privations, are mostly, like noblemen with fixed and unincreasable incomes, pecuniarily timid. They are always afraid their means will fail them. Workmen who have risen from nothing may like to see others rise, but they expect and rather like to see them rise through the

same process. This is excusable, but very uncomfortable. And it brings discredit upon working men; it makes others indifferent to their elevation; workmen are often reluctant to go into the employment of their fellows. Now, working class masters should cultivate large and generous views; they should set an example to other employers. It is only a liberal frame of mind among men that can make a co-operative workshop possible.

Sometimes a committee of a co-operative society will find open government more troublesome than secret. Sometimes their manager will be able to show them that greater advantages could be obtained if he was not fettered by the obligation of explaining how he acquired them. As a rule a few persons will do things in secret, which many men would never think of doing openly, when the transaction by being known to many, would be noised abroad. In a co-operative productive society in London, it transpired that a person in the office was paid by a private firm to give it timely notice of all estimates sent out by the co-operators. It came to pass continually that a lesser tender was made by the rival firm, and they lost the work. Had the private firm been co-operative and the workmen had been acquainted with this expedient it could not have succeeded long, and probably not have been attempted. It is well enough known that some manufacturers often take an unfair advantage of others and expend money to this end, and hardly any one is the wiser. But a co-operative society would seldom be got to vote secret service money for unknown application. In these respects no doubt co-operation stands at some disadvantage, but society has no reason for objecting to it on this account. The publicity which co-operative policy implies and compels, is one of its beneficial influences in the conduct of trade. There is no doubt that it labours under natural disadvantage from often being incapable of prompt action from the necessity of a number of directors having to be consulted before an important step can be taken.

Private firms of manufacturers are not to be supposed to act unfairly because they act secretly. The secrecy and promptitude of individual action, is often the source of honest profit. In many cases co-operative management of a manufacturing business may suffer in this respect. Experience shows that practically members overcome it, by arranging that the responsible directors meet daily, and by delegating considerable power to one of their number. This is practically acting upon the same principle as private firms with this difference, that nothing can be done which those who do it do not feel themselves able to explain and justify to the whole society at the proper time. Even this is a restriction upon enterprise as understood in the competitive world. But it tells in favour of the morality of trade. At the same time it imposes more trouble on those who fill responsible posts in conferring more frequently with their immediate colleagues, that they may be able to join in their justification. Evidently, it requires a higher order of men, of greater patience, capacity and tact in communicating their views to each other; and deficiency in this capacity, the weariness of the continual trouble it imposes on them, cause many co-operative directors to give their influence secretly or openly to any movement in the society for converting it from a co-operative to a joint stock enterprise. We have seen at repeated Congresses, directors of the great Wholesale Society complain of the publicity of criticism brought to bear upon the details of their proceedings. At the Annual Congress criticisms arise upon the officers of the Central Board, upon the character of the investments of the Wholesale Banking Department, and of the sufficiency of the reserve fund which many consider ought to be provided for the security of the Bank. But co-operation always contemplates the maintenance of reasonable publicity, as a condition of security. The equality of members, the appointment of all officers by representative election, the eligibility of all members to the highest offices when their

fitness is discerned by the society, are essential features recognised in the constructive period of the movement. It is intended that all members shall acquire the capacity of conducting their own affairs, and shall possess the knowledge which holding office shall give them, so that they shall be competent to understand criticisms upon their proceedings. The conviction of co-operators is, that the greatest security and prosperity is to be obtained when everything can be discussed in a well-informed assembly; and their policy is to take care that all their members are well-informed. Co-operative workshops are the great means by which hired labour is to be superseded and an ever increasing body of workmen, who are their own employers, be substituted in its place.

Writers of the greatest business experience and commercial authority have been among the first to see this and to see it clearly. Here is a passage in which the effects of industrial responsibility on the views of workmen are stated with force and completeness. "The extensive trial of the system of co-operation in its different forms would tend to the correction of the present exaggerated ideas of the working classes respecting the profits of employers, and their disposition to under-estimate the value of the contribution of capital and skill which these furnish. Experience would show them that losses are frequent and inevitable, that it is easy to lose money and difficult to make it, and that the rate of net profit is not, in cases of only ordinary good management, very high. They would learn that the employer is not a man who merely draws a large tribute from their labour by virtue of his possession of the wealth in which they are deficient; but that he contributes to the process of production, an element of intellectual labour, on which the efficiency of their manual labour depends. There is always a disposition in the mass of mankind to underrate the value of purely intellectual exertion, in comparison with bodily labour, and the material wealth which is its visible result. It is natural that this should be

particularly the case with respect to intellectual labour applied to manufacture and agriculture; because the part of the working man in these is so much the more obvious and conspicuous. Only experience can convince working men that it is good economy to allot to a man, who sits all day in a counting house, a share equal to that of a hundred men like themselves working hard with their hands all day; because that man's management adds more to the value of the material products of their labour, than would be created by the labour of a hundred additional workmen." *

Manchester Commissioners, who visited the Emperor Napoleon respecting the Cobden Treaty, explained that the average profit of the cotton trade was twelve and a half per cent. on the capital employed. And the balance sheets of the Cotton Spinning Companies of the Oldham District, Dr. Watts says, confirm the statement. The best known of the modern crowd of Spinning Mills which have sprung up in Oldham, is the Sun Mill, which commenced in 1861. It originated with the co-operators, members of the Distributive Stores there, conjointly with a few Trades Unionists, with a share capital of £50,000 and a loan capital of a similar amount. They soon set 80,000 spindles to work. In 1874 their share capital amounted to £75,000, the whole of which, within £200, was subscribed. In addition to this, it has a loan capital of £75,000. The entire plant may be estimated at £123,000. The mill has always been depreciated at 2½ per cent. per annum, and the machinery at 7½. The total amount allowed for depreciation during the first ten years of the company's existence has been £32,000. The profits declared have been very large, varying from 2 to 40 per cent. Most of the Oldham mills have declared a rate of profit which seems very high. But as their loan capital is large and pays only 5 per cent. the high profits are counted from dividends paid upon the share capital alone.

* Charles Morrison, "Labour and Capital," pp. 134-5.

Distribution an Art requiring Uncommon Qualities.

It has certainly been held by political economists that distributive stores could never succeed without one directing mind invested with absolute authority. The argument from experience was completely in their favour. Since those days numbers of stores have been successfully conducted by directors, chosen in what appeared to be the very worst manner—that of public election,—where those who made the most speeches won the most votes. A man's capacity for talking is no measure of his capacity for business. Yet it has come about that men of business faculty are generally brought to the front. Now the same objectors say, this plan may do well for such a simple affair as distribution, but, in productive manufactures, nothing can be done without the presiding and commanding mind. Distribution is not, after all, such a simple affair; a few small errors will suffice to ruin a store of 10,000 members, and it requires great organisation and capacity to plan distribution on a large scale, to watch at once the fluctuations of 100 markets and consult the personal tastes and interests of 10,000 families. There is no good reason to think the working class will be unable to conduct productive co-operation by means of elected directors. There is good reason to think they will eventually be able to take the workman and the purchaser into partnership and realise satisfactory profits, and establish equity, content, and competence amid those concerned. Joint Stock Companies are being successfully conducted by working men. They do not yet, to any creditable extent, take the workmen into partnership; but they do surmount the difficulties of manufacturing management which heretofore were declared to be insurmountable. Such associations will rise and fall, even those devised on co-operative principles will fluctuate. Error or selfishness, reinspired by prosperity, will break many up. Sometimes, employers who establish partnerships of industry will be discouraged by the apathy and selfishness of their men, who will be willing to take profits

without exerting themselves to create them; and sometimes men will be discouraged and deprived of advantages they are entitled to have, by impatience or injustice on the part of the employers. But the number of new experiments will increase and the number which succeed will increase.

So far back as the days of Bellers, who advocated "Colleges of Industry," production and distribution were associated. The operatives in the colleges were to produce from the land, or in the workshop, food for consumption and articles for use. The manufacturers and the consumers were the same persons. In the communities proposed by Mr. Owen, 150 years later, the same thing was to take place. These forms of combined co-operation have never been realised in England. Co-operation has been destined, in this country, to be commenced and conducted by small groups of persons in towns and villages, scattered and unconnected, some engaged in the sale of provisions and some in manufactures. The most successful societies have been, as we have seen, those for conducting stores whose business was confined to distributive co-operation. Farms, mines, mills, manufactories, ships, banks, building associations, are what are meant by productive societies. These have never made much way hitherto in co-operative hands. They have never been inspired and directed by any distinctive co-operative policy. Productive co-operation would make greater way if it was not supposed to be sentimental. This impression deters many of those who have most power to put it in motion. This impression arises from the desire frequently expressed by well known co-operators to promote good will. It is therefore useful to point out that good will, though a pleasant grace and even a paying quality in co-operation, is but a subordinate part of it. The commercial sentiment of co-operation is not philanthropy but equity. Charity is always a grace in business men, but charity is not an element of business, and many persons would be glad to see it eliminated

from life. The demand of people of spirit and insight is justice, not charity: for if justice was oftener done there would be less need of charity to redress inequality of condition. Hence the business-minded co-operator says, give us equitable industrial arrangements and good will will take care of itself. The Rochdale co-operators, with good judgment, called themselves Equitable Pioneers, and this is the right name.

Good will is chiefly a virtue of transition. Masters may show it to servants, the rich to the poor—but masters do not use it towards one another; the rich do not ask for the good will of the poor. They prefer not to require it. It is not wanted between equals. Courtesy, cordiality, deference, respect are the virtues of gentlemanly intercourse. Co-operation seeks to supersede good will by establishing good conditions.

The names of Mr. Slaney's Committee of 1850 which first inquired into the laws affecting the finances of the Industrial classes deserves recording.

The Select Committee originally consisted of the following members: Mr. Slaney, Mr. John Abel Smith, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Greene, Mr. Ewart, Lord James Stuart, Mr. Wilson-Patten, Lord Nugent, Mr. Stafford, Sir R. Ferguson, Mr. Littleton, Mr. J. Ellis, and Mr. Frederick Peel; to whom Mr. Heald and Mr. Stansfeld were added in place of Mr. Wilson-Patten and Mr. Stafford. Mr. John Stuart Mill gave evidence on this Committee, one part of what he said was strikingly new and highly interesting when taken in connection with the subsequent development of co-operative enterprise. In a long statement in the earlier part of his evidence, in speaking of the remuneration of capital, and the mistaken notions which he believed to prevail among the working classes in regard to it, Mr. Mill dwelt upon "the extravagant proportion of the whole produce which goes now to mere distributors," as at the bottom of the greater part of the complaints made by the workers against their

employers; and in answer to the question whether this evil would not cure itself by competition among the distributors, replied "that he believed the effect of competition would be rather to alter the distribution of the share among the class who now get it, than to reduce the amount so distributed among them." But no one dreamt then that when these obstacles had been removed the effect would be that large bodies of these working men would combine to use the savings on their own consumption, not to employ themselves, but to employ other working men to work for them, that they might put the profits in their own pockets.* This is done in Oldham with an absurd fervour. In the fertile field of Oldham co-operative production is unknown. Mr. William Nuttall, a man of great ability and energy as an industrial agitator, has developed quite a passion for Joint Stock Companies there.

In Oldham Joint Stock Companies do not give workmen, as workmen, a chance. A town of great acuteness, without the co-operative instinct of equity, is not favourable to the enfranchisement of labour. Mr. Joseph Croucher, writing from the Royal Gardens, Kew, related that a gentleman once told him that he was stopping at an hotel, and noticing the waiter (a Yorkshireman) to be a sharp fellow, he asked him how long he had been in the place? "Eighteen years, sir," was the answer. "Eighteen years!" said the gentleman; "I wonder you are not the proprietor yourself!" "Oh," said the waiter, "my master is a Yorkshireman also."† Wit may outwit wit: equity alone gives others a chance.

The theory of Oldham Co-operation is that if every inhabitant becomes a shareholder in some company, the profit of the whole industry of the district will be shared by everybody in it—which is what co-operation aims at. But if this universal joint stock shareholding really results in the same equitable distribution of profits as co-operation

* "Co-operative News," Dec. 16, 1876, Art. by Mr. E. V. Neale.
† "Co-operator," March 28th, 1868.

seeks to bring about—why not adopt the co-operative method to attain it? Co-operation works by common arrangements for the common benefit—provides for the common good by common consent—establishes common confidence, saves rival calculations, anxiety and the uncertainty of speculative risks, which the joint stock system involves. The joint stock system works by mutual scheming and distrust, to obtain what can be more economically and wholesomely got by friendly concert and confidence.

Some examples of the diversity in the division of profits in co-operative societies will be of the nature of information to the reader.

The rules of the Brampton Bryan Co-operative Farming Society, promoted by Mr. Walter Morrison, order that every person employed as an officer or labourer shall be paid such sum of money that neither exceed one-10th part of the net profits, nor one-6th part of the salary or wages earned by such officer or labourer, during the year. The rules of this society are all through remarkably clear and brief, and are Model Rules for Co-operative Farming.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Co-operative Association, of Millbank Street, London, limits its interest upon capital to 7½ per cent. It takes no second interest, but returns the balance of profit to the purchasing shareholders.

The East London Provident and Industrial Society set apart 2½ per cent. profits for an educational fund, and a portion of the profits may be applied to any purpose conducive to the health, instruction, recreation, or comfort of the members and their families, which may include lectures and excursions.

The Howick Co-operative Hosiery Company, 1873, divide such portions of the net profits, or such portion as may be agreed on at the quarterly meeting, equally between capital and labour, at so much per £ on share capital, and so much per £ on wages received by the worker. The profit rule of this society has one merit, that

of not containing the word "bonus," but it pays capital twice.

The Manchester Spinning and Manufacturing Company, 1860, permits net profits to be equally divided upon capital and wages at so much in the £, payable to all workers who have been a full half-year employed, others have such sum placed to the credit of each workman, until he by purchase or otherwise hold five shares in the company, the rest is paid to the worker. These rules recognize capital as an equal participator with labour.

The Union Land and Building Society of Manchester has a special rule on the marriage of female members. Any married woman, or any woman about to be married, may be a member in accordance with, and subject to, the provisions of section 5 of the Married Women's Property Act of 1870, and such female member may apply in writing to the Committee pursuant to provisions 5 of the aforesaid Act, to have her shares entered in the books of the society in her name as a married woman, as being intended for her separate use. If she omits this notice, the shares would be credited to the husband. The profits of this society are divided equally between labour and capital. Capital is a creature with an impudent face, and as Elliot said of Communism, always "hath yearnings for an equal division of unequal earning."

The Cobden Mills Company distribute half profits arising over 10 per cent. interest to capital, among the officers, clerks, overlookers, weavers and other persons in the employment of the company, in proportion to the wages or amount of salary received. If any invention or improved process be placed at the disposal of the company, by any one in its employment, the value of it is taken into account in fixing the amount of profit to be given to him. But the remaining half of such clear net profit over and above 10 per cent. is to be divided between the members of the company in proportion to the respective amount belonging to them in the paid up capital of the company.

It is a homœopathic amount of "half profit" that ever reaches the workman in this mill, and the capitalist shareholders come in as claimants for the other half that should fall to the workman. The division of profits in this company has some good features, especially the recognition of the inventor or improver of processes; but whatever advantage may accrue from the workers having a substantial interest in the welfare of the mill has not yet been provided for.*

In the Co-operator's Hand-book it is provided in the 60th clause, which relates to "Bonus on Capital," that "Capital (having received its interest) shall *further* be entitled to a bonus consisting of all surplus of the dividends from time to time, apportioned therein *beyond the interest due.*"† This being the doctrine of the Hand-book of 1855, the first Hand-book issued, no wonder confusion as to the claims of capital has so long existed in the co-operative mind. Mr. Neale and his coadjutors the Christian Socialists made no claim of this kind with regard to their own capital. It was put in the Hand-book under the belief that capital could not be obtained for productive enterprises without the allurement of this extra remuneration. This it is which has led to the slow and precarious career of co-operative manufacturing. The allurement was needed for workmen, instead of which it was accorded to capital. It was enthusiasm among workmen that was wanted to be called out by prospect of gain. Had it been so encouraged, immense sums of capital subscribed in the prospect of double interest would never have been lost, as it often has been, through the indifference and torpidity of

* Dr. John Watts, chairman of the Cobden Mills Co., states that the general manager of the concern gets a bonus on all profits exceeding 10 per cent.; the weaving manager and the loom tacklers get bonus whenever the weaving wages exceed a given sum in the week; and the weavers themselves get a bonus whenever their individual earnings exceed 5s. a loom per week.

† Page 28.

the workmen. Had the second interest been secured to the men, the capitalist had seldom lost his first.*

The rules of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Co-operative Society, 1873, after paying 7½ per cent. on paid up shares, divide profits at an equal rate per £ between labour and purchase. This is a proper kind of workman's society. There are very few examples of a manufacturing society giving any consideration to the purchasers. This is one of the unsettled questions which will occupy attention in the future. Its importance as a feature of constructive policy requires a statement of it here.

In the division of profits prescribed in the Hand-book published by the Co-operative Board, 1874, the surplus which exists after payment of all charges legally incurred, is to be divided equally between purchasers and workers: which fully recognizes the consumer.

The determination of this policy has been the subject of much controversy of recent years. It is one of the high signs of the growth of co-operation that the question is agitated. Its increasing interest caused it to become a Congress question at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1873. The questions there debated were, shall labour and custom be taken into partnership with capital in co-operative societies of the future?

To most persons this is an entirely repugnant proposal, and requires to be strongly supported to obtain any consideration for it. It strikes well-informed persons as being wholly silly and a needless dispersion of profits to those who have no claim whatever to them either in usage or sense.

* "Good old Major Cartwright, the reformer, a venerated friend of mine, served in his youth in the Royal Navy, which took him into various parts of the world, and among others into the Mediterranean Sea, when we were at war with the Turks. Greece being formerly part of Turkey, our cruisers had to give chase to Greek merchant vessels, but they rarely if ever made a capture. Cartwright was curious to ascertain the cause; and after observation and inquiry, he attributed it to the fact that, according to the custom of the Greeks, every one of the crew, from the captain to his cabin-boy, had a share in the vessel."—Letter by Matthew Davenport Hill, "Co-operator," No 41, July, 1863.

Difficulties of the Workshop merely those which Stores have overcome.

Productive societies have to go through the same experience, more or less, which befel distributive societies—before they can acquire the wisdom or the confidence to adopt the policy of sharing profits with the customer. Through not doing this many of these societies have peddled along a few years, and ended in bankruptcy; or the affair has lapsed into individual hands. In the early history of co-operation we have seen that productive societies chiefly prevailed. Self-employment was at first extremely popular. Societies attempting it were numerous. They overspread the country. Few lasted and none flourished. They fell like the distributive stores, and for the same reason—their customers had no interest in continuing with them stronger than that which other manufacturers offered. When the revival of co-operation came, and the stores adopted the principle we have described of sharing profits with purchasers, productive societies regarded its adoption by themselves (so far as they gave it any thought) as a mere "waste of profits." Yet it would be no less true that with yearly augmentation of custom—ever increasing capital would admit of a vast succession of manufactories being built: then an army of operatives being employed, and the great gains which come of great organizations being realized—profit would arise in the workshop as in the store. The wholesale purchase of materials and the economy which arises from extensive and well arranged labour would bring great success in manufactures, as the same conditions have brought it to the stores.

To understand this question of admitting the consumer into partnership the reader must consent to look upon co-operation from the point of the poor. The scheme was first taken up by pinched and needy men with some powers of thinking. They are the sort of people who have clung to it, carried it on, failed in it: then came back to it, tried it again and finally improved it until it became a power, and extended it until it became popular. The

well-to-do did little for it practically. They did not care for it—they did not, except in a few instances, aid it. They did not, as a rule, even believe in it, nor did they need it if they did. But the poor, to whom sickness is the only boundary of labour, and the poor house the only boundary of age, co-operation was the only plank up which they could crawl out of the ditch of indigence, without fear that the policeman or capitalist would knock them back again.

When productive co-operation is consistently organized, and labour hires capital and takes all the profit, it will be the interest of the workman to make all the profit he can, and it will be open to him to do it: and his way of doing it will be by charging the highest prices he can get for his goods. The predatory feature of competition will still be retained. Though the outside public should be all members of co-operative stores, or employed in co-operative workshops, their gains will be liable to confiscation in some degree, greater or less, by producing companies, who will have unlimited right and opportunity to exact the highest prices they can get, or can conspire to get.

The problem therefore is, can there be a division of profits between labour and trade which shall content the worker, and accord to the consumer that proportion which shall secure his custom without cost of advertisements, travellers, commissions, and other outlays incidental to competitive business?

Even now persons not devoid of power of thought, not afraid of new ideas, not deficient in sympathy with industrial justice, "do not see the sense of making the consumer a sharer in profits." "He has," they aver, "no more right to share in them than has the man who goes to an inn, is fed and lodged there and pays his reckoning and never dreams of a share in the profit made by the landlord." But suppose it was known that the landlord made a good administration of his house and reserved to himself a fixed but sufficient

profit, and in some way returned to his customers what might accrue upon their expenditure. That might lead to a popularity and continuity of custom, saving so many expenses to the House, that it might *pay* to do it. It all turns upon this. Those who advocate the recognition of the purchaser in production as in distribution, do so on the ground that it seems to be the natural complement of workshop co-operation and will pay as it has done in the store. Mr. George Storr, of Staleybridge, a person well acquainted with early social views, wrote to me in 1872, to urge me to insist upon this neglected coherence of practice.

Three things are necessary to production—labour, capital, and custom. Capital and labour would have a poor time of it were it not for the consumers who pay for their produce. Of these three, custom alone is left idle. It supplies neither skill, means, nor attention. It is always away, and has to be sought, waited upon, and often expensively looked after. While the customer can be as active as any one if he has a motive. He can think, devise, point out what he wants, give orders, bring them, and procure them from others. In fact he can make it worth the while of any producing society to recognize him. It is quite time custom was put on duty and set to work.

There will be one day as much discussion as to who originated the plan of placing manufacturing on the same principle as the stores, and giving profits to those who give orders, just as the stores give profits to purchasers.

My wish to see the consumer included as a participant of productive profits is not because I think him a saint; on the contrary, he is often a thief at heart, and will buy the cheapest article he can without knowing or caring whether the producer was starving who made it. It was this which excited the generous indignation of Canon Kingsley, when he wrote "Cheap Clothes and Nasty."* A rich man or a poor man alike, feels misgiving and

* By Parson Lot.

discomfort lest it be an immorality to select the cheapest article before him. Any purchaser of common feeling and common honour would rather feel sure that the goods were honestly made, that those who made them were not ground down in wages, but had been pleasantly and fairly paid. As well buy off a murderer as buy from a manufacturer who murders his men through excess of business capacity. If there be not a spot of blood on the article when you place it in your room, there is a spot on the mind content to profit by it. Including the consumer in the partnership would put an end to this. His share could only arise when capital was satisfied and labour requited; and besides the equitable distribution of wealth is compassed when the consumer obtains his share without being left to scramble for it among the cheapest articles in the market.

If the co-operative workshop is to succeed like the store, we must pray for men of the type of Caleb Garth, with whose portraiture George Eliot has enriched industrial literature. It would be difficult to convey, she says, to those who never heard Caleb Garth utter the word "business," the peculiar tone of fervid veneration, of religious regard, in which he wrapped it, as a consecrated symbol is wrapped in its gold-fringed linen. The character of Caleb is so remarkable a description of the men necessary to a co-operative workshop that it is necessary to quote it here.

"Caleb Garth often shook his head in meditation on the value, the indispensable might of that myriad-headed, myriad-handed labour by which the social body is fed, clothed, and housed. It had laid hold of his imagination in boyhood. The echoes of the great hammer where roof or keel were a-making, the signal-shouts of the workmen, the war of the furnace, the thunder and plash of the engine, were a sublime music to him; the felling and lading of timber, and the huge trunk vibrating star-like in the distance along the highway, the crane at work on the wharf, the piled-up produce in warehouses, the

precision and variety of muscular effort wherever exact work had to be turned out, all these sights of his youth had acted on him as poetry without the aid of the poets, had made a philosophy for him without the aid of philosophers, a religion without the aid of theology. His early ambition had been to have as effective a share as possible in this sublime labour, which was peculiarly dignified by him with the name of 'business;' and though he had been only a short time under a surveyor, and had been chiefly his own teacher, he knew more of land, building, and mining than most of the special men in the county.

"His classification of human employments was rather crude, and, like the categories of more celebrated men, would not be acceptable in these advanced times. He divided them into 'business, politics, preaching, learning, and amusement.' He had nothing to say against the last four; but he regarded them as a reverential pagan regarded other gods than his own. In the same way, he thought very well of all ranks, but he would not himself have liked to be of any rank in which he had not such close contact with 'business' as to get often honourably decorated with marks of dust and mortar, the damp of the engine, or the sweet soil of the woods and fields. Though he had never regarded himself as other than an orthodox Christian, and would argue on prevenient grace if the subject were proposed to him, I think his virtual divinities were good *praetical schemes, accurate work,* and the *faithful completion of undertakings:* his prince of darkness was a *slack workman.* But there was no spirit of denial in Caleb, and the world seemed so wondrous to him that he was ready to accept any number of systems, like any number of firmaments, if they did not obviously interfere with the best land-drainage, solid building, correct measuring, and judicious boring (for coal). In fact, he had a reverential soul with a strong practical intelligence."*

* Middlemarch.

Pothier's singular definition of Partnerships.

Pothier, in his "Treatise on the Law of Partners," defines partners as "a society formed for obtaining honest profits," a definition which would tell against a good many partnerships of very respectable pretensions. However, this is the kind of partnership to which co-operators are pledged and restricted.

It is, as any man of "business" will admit, a disadvantage to any commercial undertaking to say that it is honest. The first thing a business man (a "practical" man is his favourite designation) asks is, not is the thing moral, but does it pay? I know nothing that better reveals the fine sentiment of competition than the spontaneity and universality of this admirable enquiry. To others, however, who think that what is right, ought to be "practical," there is a charm in any plan that has a moral element in it, and if the element be what the lead miners call a "lode," or the colliers a "thick seam," or iron masters a "bed cropping out on the surface," so much the better. If, however, the moral element be merely like one of Euclid's lines, having length but not breadth, it is not worth public attention, and human interest in it takes the form of a mathematical point which has position but no parts. But if it has in it a palpable equitable element, recognizing the right of the artificer to ultimate competence, the interest in such a workshop has all the dimensions of solid satisfaction.

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

> The kingdoms of this world began with little,
> A hill, a fort, a city—that reach'd a hand
> Down to the field beneath it, "Be thou mine,
> Then to the next, "Thou also—" if the field
> Cried out "I am mine own;" another hill
> Or fort, or city, took it, and the first
> Fell, and the next became an empire.
>
> TENNYSON'S *Harold*.

EVERYBODY understands the natural history of discovery. Some one proposes to do something which it is thought will be useful. It is at once declared to be very absurd; then it is found out that if it was done it would be very dangerous; next it is proved impossible, and that it was never done before, and it would have been done if it had been possible. Nevertheless the proposers of the new thing persist in advocating and agitating it. They come then to be designated by the disagreeable name of "fanatics." Things are made very unpleasant to them. They are charged with being impracticables, spoliators, incendiaries, visionaries, doctrinaires, dreamers, and generally, troublesome and pestiferous persons. It is surmised that they are probably of very bad morals, unsound in theology, and certainly ignorant of the first principles of political economy. At length they succeed. Their plan is then found to be eminently useful, very desirable, and the source of profits and advantages to all concerned. Then it is suddenly discovered that there never was anything new in it—that it had always been known—that it is all as old as the hills, and the valleys too—that it was recorded from

the day history began, and, doubtless, before. Those who reviled it, and distrusted it, now find out that they always believed in it; and those who opposed and denied it now become aware that it was they who suggested it—that they were the originators of it, and they who bore all the obloquy and opposition of carrying it through, had really nothing to do with it. Something like this is the history of the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Manchester, which is a federation of stores for the wholesale purchase and distribution of commodities for store sale.

By Federative production we understand an *alliance* between producers and consumers, for their mutual benefit: the one side furnishing goods and the other custom, while they unite in supplying the materials and plant required to produce those goods, by the joint contribution of capital. Such an alliance might be made between producers and consumers under various conditions.

This may be taken as an official definition of federative production, it being defined in these terms in a recent address of the Southern Section of the Central Board.

When co-operative societies first began to multiply on the Sussex coast, the idea of organizing arrangements of buying first took form. Dr. King was chief promoter of a plan for this purpose. Lady Byron contributed as much as £300 to enable it to be carried into effect. My townsman, Mr. William Pare, of Birmingham, was an advocate of a plan of this nature for twenty years before it occupied the attention of Promoters of Working Men's Associations in London, who were the first to practically advance it.

The first official mention of a Co-operative Wholesale Society dates as far back as 1832. The idea was started at the first Manchester Conference when it was thought that £500 would be sufficient to set it going, and one was established at Liverpool which bore the name of the North West of England United Co-operative Company, its object being to enable the societies to purchase their goods under

more advantageous terms. Mr. Craig relates that at a bazaar held in the Royal Exchange, Liverpool, the rent of which was contributed by Lady Noel Byron, delegates attended who brought goods which had been manufactured by co-operators, and a large exchange was effected. There were linens from Barnsley, prints from Birkacre, stuffs from Halifax, shoes from Kendal, cutlery from Sheffield, and lace from Leicestershire. One society had £400 worth of woollen goods, another had £200 of cutlery. Some of the delegates were nearly entirely clad in clothes made by co-operators. The Wigan Society had the possession of a farm, for which they paid £600 a year.

But it was in Rochdale that the idea was destined to take root and grow and be transplanted to Manchester. A mile and half or more from Oldham, in a low lying uncheerful spot, there existed, twenty years ago, a ramshackle building known as Jumbo Farm. A shrewd co-operator who held it, Mr. Boothman, had observed in the Shudehill Market, Manchester, that it was great stupidity for five or six buyers of co-operative stores to meet there and buy against each other and put up prices, and he invited a number of them and others to meet at Jumbo Farm on Sundays, and discuss the Wholesale idea; and on Saturday nights at the Oldham store at King Street, a curious visitor might have observed a solid and ponderous load of succulent joints well accompanied, a stout cheese being conspicuous, for Sunday consumption, during the Wholesale discussion; for the hearty co-operators at Jumbo had appetites as well as ideas. Unaware what efforts had preceded theirs, they came to imagine that they also devised the Wholesale. It was another mind earlier occupied than theirs in attention to it, which had matured a working conception of it.

Jumbo Farm is nearly effaced or built over now. It had a dreary commonplace look when I last saw it. Though I do not believe, as certain old frequenters of that jaggling spot do, that the gravitation, the circulation of the blood,

and Queen Cassiopia's chair were first discovered there. I respect it because useful discussions were held there under Mr. Boothman's occupancy; and I am glad to hear from Mr. Marcroft authentic particulars how the joints got there on the good days of debate, when co-operators were "feeling their way"—and, what shows their good sense, eating their way too; for lean reformers seldom hit upon fat discoveries. There were and still are two great stores in Oldham, Greenacres and King Street. Greenacres has never carried out Sunday gatherings on any occasion. King Street Co-operative Society has done so for over twenty-five years, and many of their best and most successful projects have first been talked of at these Sunday meetings. That society has probably the largest number of members who are ever trying to get new light to better understand what is possible and immediately practicable. The members have no dogmatic opinions as to religion or party politics, but are prepared to hear all men, and change action when duty and interest lead, reverencing the old and accepting the new. For all this, as well as for its interest in the commissariat of Jumbo, King Street shall be held in honour among stores! The "Christian Socialist" periodical, of 1852, published an account of a conference held in Manchester, when Mr. Smithies of Rochdale was appointed one of a committee, of which Mr. L. Jones was also member, to take steps for establishing a general depôt in Manchester for supplying the store with groceries and provisions. At that time, Mr. L. Jones drew up a plan recently published,* which contained the elementary ideas of an organized depôt so far as experience then indicated them. Thus the idea had from the beginning been in the air. Costly attempts were made to localize it in London in 1850. A few years later Rochdale conducted a wholesale department in connection with its store for the supply of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

* "Co-operative News," May 12, 1877.

But it became apparent that the increasing stores of the country could never be supplied adequately by a department of any store, however large, and that Rochdale having co-operated with the Wholesale Society in London, devised and carried forward a working plan suited to the needs and means of the stores in Lancashire and Yorkshire. They trimmed the lamp afresh, and for some 10 years they bore it burning: its light enabling other poineer co-operators to see their way to founding a new, separate, and more comprehensive society, which came to bear the name of the North of England Wholesale. The question, who should be credited with the chief conception and origination of this successful and yearly-growing society, is put beyond all doubt by evidence elsewhere adduced.* Mr. Crabtree, whose testimony walks close by the side of incontestable facts, is material. He was himself on the committee of the Wholesale in 1865, the same year in which Mr. Nuttall first joined it. Mr. Crabtree recalls a series of public facts which prove that by all contemporaries best acquainted with the subject, Mr. Abraham Greenwood, of Rochdale, was the chief founder of the Wholesale. First, Mr. Crabtree sets forth that "in the 'Co-operator' for March, 1863 (vol. 3), Mr. Greenwood propounded his plan for a Wholesale Agency, which, with some modifications, formed the basis of the present admirable organization." Mr. Nuttall's paper, read at the London Congress, in 1869, makes reference to the efforts of 1856, and shows that they broke down, at that time upon the most important part of any undertaking, namely, as to the best means of raising the capital. Particulars of this are given on page 39 in the Congress Report, and on page 40 Mr. Nuttall gives credit to Mr. Greenwood for having proposed a plan which was ultimately adopted. Some have had the idea that the directors had to abandon Mr. Greenwood's plan and adopt the plan of 1856. The

* Part II.—History of the Equitable Pioneers.

plan of 1856 was never completed, for its devisers never did agree upon the principle of raising the capital; and without capital it would be impossible to commence business. The change of plan in question was simply this: That, instead of charging a commission upon goods bought for societies—which proposition the directors abandoned—they commenced to charge for their goods a market price which had to cover the commission, and was intended only to be sufficient to cover expenses incurred. The Wholesale have, as far as possible, carried out the original idea, for they have never gone on the principle of making large dividends, as in co-operative stores. Mr. Greenwood's plan, as adopted by the delegates in 1862, has been carried out.*

The Wholesale scheme in its inception, proof, and careful steps for carrying it out in 1864, is a complete example of the capacity of the constructive co-operators. Thrice the attempt had been made, thrice it had deplorably or discouragingly failed. More than thirty years had intervened since the project was first launched. The idea had been lost like a ship at sea, but had not foundered, and was heard of again. Again and again it went out of sight and record, and yet re-appeared. Mr. Greenwood examined the vessel, found its sailing powers were all right, but was sent out to coasts where no business could be done, and consequently could not keep up a working crew, and the ship could never get back to port without assistance.

The reader knows from public report what the expenses usually are of promoting and establishing an insurance society or other company. Many would think that the

* Those who have written to the effect that the Wholesale had discarded the principle on which it was first founded, had in their mind what is commonly regarded as a detail of management. In the minutes of Oct. 9, 1864, it is recorded "that in future no commission will be charged on goods sold." The reason of this was that the knowledge of prices which the system of charging a commission disclosed, enabled buyers to take advantage of the Wholesale. The society itself has always gone on the great lines originally marked out for it.—*Letter to Author by Mr. James Crabtree.*

magical "twopence," out of which Rochdale finance arose, would be insufficient here, but the actual levy fell very much below, as the following circular, sent to each society by Mr. William Cooper when the Wholesale was resolved on, will show :—

"At a conference of delegates from industrial and provident co-operative societies, held at the King Street Stores meeting room, Oldham, on December 25, 1862, it was resolved :—'That all co-operative societies be requested to contribute one farthing per member, to meet the expenses that may arise.' The purposes for which the money is required are—to meet the expenses of the committee in carrying out the resolutions of the conference, viz. :—To remedy a few defects of the Act of 1862 in the present session of Parliament; to prepare plans for a central agency and wholesale depôt; and consider plans for insurance, assurance, and guarantee, in connection with the co-operative societies. Therefore your society is respectfully solicited for the above contribution of one farthing per member."

This mighty Wholesale tax, when it was gathered in, would have been of small avail had not strong and clear proofs of advantage been drawn up and presented to the confederators. The benefits calculated by Mr. Greenwood as likely to arise (and which have been realised) he foretold as follows :—

1st. Stores are enabled, through the agency, to purchase more economically than heretofore, by reaching the best markets.

2nd. Small stores and new stores are at once put in a good position, by being placed directly (through the agency) in the best markets, thus enabling them to sell as cheap as any first-class shopkeeper.

3rd. As all stores have the benefit of the best markets, by means of the agency, it follows that dividends paid by

stores must be more equal than heretofore; and, by the same means, dividends considerably augmented.

4th. Stores, especially large ones, are able to carry on their businesses with less capital. Large stores will not, as now, be necessitated, in order to reach the minimum prices of the markets, to purchase goods they do not require for the immediate supply of their members.

5th. Stores are able to command the services of a good buyer, and will thus save a large amount of labour and expense, by one purchaser buying for some 150 stores; while the great amount of blundering in purchasing at the commencement of a co-operative store is obviated.

Never was a greater movement created by clearer arguments or a smaller subscription. The Wholesale began at a bad time, when the cotton famine prevailed, and the first half-year the store lost money, but the second half-year its directors contrived to clear off the loss, and pay a dividend of 12s. 6d. per cent. With an average capital of £2000, and working expenses amounting to £267, the company transacted business to the amount of £46,000. The economy of capital and labour thus achieved was unprecedented, and a proof of the power and advantage of the ready-money rule. Such were the results accomplished by the Farthing Federation in 1864.

Within twelve months, Lord Brougham (than whom none knew better how to appreciate the significance of such a step) spoke of it as one "which, in its consequence, would promote co-operation to a degree almost incalculable." When Mr. Horace Greeley was last in England, he inquired of me, as was his wont, with Cobbett-like keenness, as to the progress of co-operation. From information he received from others also he wrote an account of the Wholesale in the "New York Tribune," in which he confirmed Lord Brougham's estimation of its importance.

Scotland has a Wholesale Society of its own, which is situated in Glasgow. The Manchester Wholesale was solicited to establish a branch there, but ultimately the

Scottish co-operators established one themselves. In 1873, the new warehouse of the Scottish Wholesale Society, a large commanding building, was opened in the Paisley Road, Glasgow. Mr. Alexander James Meldrum was the President, and James Borrowman, Manager. The first year of the Scottish Wholesale Society they did business to the amount of £81,000. In the fifth year £380,000. Their capital the first year was £5,000, in the fifth £37,000. Their total divisible profit, exclusive of interest, exceeded £18,000 in the first five years.

In 1863, Ellen Mason, writing from Whitfield Rectory, remarked that "a Wholesale Depôt at Newcastle would be an immense boon to us." Many years later the sensible appeal was listened to, as was also an application made in London where a branch is established at 118, Minories, with great advantage to the Southern stores. In 1865 an application was made from New South Wales to the Wholesale, to consider whether the Co-operative Society of Sidney could not purchase through it.

This Co-operative Wholesale Society of Manchester sells some three millions pounds worth of goods in a year. There are a great number of societies in England which do not buy of the said Wholesale Society, and the entire sum these societies expend in the competitive markets is a very large amount. If all these societies were federated together they might buy vessels, farms and grazing grounds, and set up countless manufactories, and guarantee orders which would keep all profitably going, secure good provisions and honest workmanship, and add the profits of production to the profits of distribution among all concerned. This is what is meant by federative production. Its method of business and provision of capital are simple.

With the first order a remittance must be enclosed sufficient to cover the value of the goods. Future accounts must be paid on receipt of invoice, or within seven days from the date; but if not paid within fourteen days no

more goods will be supplied until such overdue accounts are paid.

The shares, which are £5 each, are issued on condition that a society takes out one for each ten members belonging to it, increasing the number annually as its members increase. One shilling per share must be paid on application, on which interest at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum is allowed; the remainder can be paid up at once, or be paid up by accumulations of dividend and interest.

The sales for 1877, amounting to £2,791,477, do not represent half the business possible. According to the Registrar's Return the purchases of co-operative stores amounted to £10,609,515. If all the Societies bought all they require form the Wholesale, the business might soon be at least that amount or £10,000,000 yearly.

What the progress of the Wholesale has been during fourteen years, the following table makes clear. The figures are taken from the Rochdale Pioneers' Almanac of 1878:—

Year.	No. of Members in Societies which are Shareholders.	£5 Shares taken up.	Capital, Share and Loan.	Value of Goods Sold.	Net Profit.
			£	£	£
1864	18,337		2,456	51,858	267
1865	24,005		7,182	120,755	1,859
1866	31,030		10,936	175,420	2,310
1867	57,443		24,208	255,779	3,452
1868	74,494		28,148	381,464	4,925
1869	77,686		37,785	469,171	3,584
1870	87,854		43,950	653,608	6,818
1871	114,184	5,821	49,262	727,737	8,038
1872	131,191	6,651	133,493	1,049,394	10,468
1873	163,661	12,894	196,578	1,531,950	14,044
1874	192,457	16,641	228,817	1,925,548	19,963
1875	241,829	21,473	360,527	2,103,226	23,816
1876	274,874	24,658	399,255	2,644,322	34,808
1877	273,351	24,850	414,462	2,791,477	33,274

In 1877 there were 588 societies buying from the Wholesale. In the table above, the reader will see number

of members in these Societies exceeds 273,000. The Reserved Capital of the Wholesale is £27,898. This great Society has now 32 buyers and salesmen, including those stationed at Cork, Limerick, Kilmarnock, Tipperary, Waterford, Tralee, Armagh, and New York. The large Reserve Fund is yearly increased so as to render every department of the Society secure. One department is that of banking, which has grown to such important dimensions that its separation from the Wholesale is advised by the most prudent friends of the Society, and that it be conducted on recognized banking principles.

The quarterly balance-sheet of this society, after it had been twelve years in operation, presented to outside readers a fair idea of the diversity and magnitude of its operations. Such an analysis was lately made by a writer in the "Newcastle Chronicle." He says:—"The fifty-first quarterly report of the Manchester Co-operative Wholesale Society is a huge folio pamphlet of twenty-four pages, filled with all sorts of accounts and statistics rendered with painstaking minuteness. Under Manchester is included Lancashire, and great part of Yorkshire. The Wholesale serves 22 counties, besides parts of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Lancashire has 190 societies, with 101,000 members. Yorkshire, so far as it is under Manchester, has 143 societies, having over 66,000 members, in connection with the Wholesale. The Manchester district shows a total membership of more than 212,000. The Newcastle district comprises eighteen societies in Cumberland, with 3,496 members. Durham has forty-three stores and 23,630 members, sent £100,000; Northumberland, thirty-eight societies and 14,000 members.

The great total of cash received from the whole area covered by the Wholesale during one quarter was £815,411 18s. 4d., yielding a dividend to the customer-societies of £6211. The expense of management for the quarter was £6223 12s. 7d. in the distributive department. Apparently all the counties in England are

represented in this report, except Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire. The smallest return is from Cornwall, amounting to £3 10s. 4d. The Wholesale holds land and buildings and the ship "Plover" of the estimated value of £72,130. The productive establishments belonging to the Wholesale are a boot factory at Leicester, a biscuit factory at Crumpsall, and a soap factory at Durham. To these must now be added the Tyne (late Ouseburn) Engine Works, towards the payment for which the sum of £10,433 has been written off last quarter. Besides these direct and exclusive investments, the Wholesale holds shares in seventeen manufacturing, printing, coal, and insurance companies.*

Share capital receives 5 per cent. per annum interest. The profits, which are divided quarterly, after paying interest on capital and working expenses, are distributed among societies, according to their purchases—to shareholders the full rate of dividend, to non-members only half.

Members of this society, being stores, the division of profits is made after the manner of distributive associations, of which the Wholesale is the chief. In the productive workshops owned by the Wholesale there is no division of profits with labour, which is a serious blot upon its administration. In some businesses custom is great and labour small, and in others labour is large; but labour in every productive society should have representation on the directory, where the profits of custom and labour could be adjusted equitably and liberally between them. It is not possible to prescribe an inflexible law of division; but what should be inflexible is the partnership of labour and custom in every society, and that labour should have adequate self-protecting representation; and this is precisely what Federation alone can adjust and maintain, and should secure, free from caprice and decadence. The Wholesale

* "Newcastle Daily Chronicle," 1876.

should set apart in its workshops, as the stores do, funds for educational purposes. It does not pay to have fools for members, and it is shabby to depend for information upon papers written and speeches given by charity.

Thus every producing society would be co-operative all through, self-acting, and self-sustaining. Like the products of nature, every seed of organized industry, wherever it took wholesome root, would yield perfect fruit in every place and every clime; then federation will be the federation of equals gaining like an army by combination, with each society like each soldier perfect in individual discipline, and able, each like the English at Inkermann, to make a stand on its own account. Under the co-operative system, factories and industrial works will become Institutions. They will rear workmen who will have the old ambition of skilled craftsmen, who will put their character into their work. The men will remain for years connected with firms in which they will be partners, and the means of trade and social education should be available in every mill and mine, factory and farm.

If the directors of the Wholesale add to their other great achievements, the direct recognition of labour in their productive works, they may increase their profits, command the enthusiastic good will of the whole labouring community, and win a more splendid repute and do more lasting good than was accomplished by Robert Owen at New Lanark, who left behind him an enduring name as the Prince of Manufacturers.

How difficult it was in the early days of co-operation to get persons qualified to buy. Buyers, like poets, seem to be born, not made. They must possess the tact of the market. It is of small use that a man has money to buy with, unless he knows where to find the right dealers, in the right thing. A mechanic, while confined to workshops, does not often know where to go to buy. There are certain tea fields in the world known to produce certain qualities of tea, and certain houses get possession

of them. He who does not know these facts does not know with whom to deal. Some men who do know where to look for the article they want, probably do not know it when they see it. A man who is a great tea buyer has tea in his blood: just as famous mechanics have steel in their blood, and who know metals by instinct, as some men do colours, or textures, or as artists do forms and tints. I know one coffee roaster in Manchester who has coffee in his blood, and I never knew but one man in London who had. Sugars are also a special field for the exercise of natural taste. The Central Wholesale Society in Manchester engage, or create, or nurture a class of great buyers, to ensure to the humblest store advantages they could not command for themselves. The officers of the Wholesale submit any doubtful food to the operation of the public analyst. Sometimes a Store will report through its local buyer that it can purchase much cheaper than the society can buy through the Wholesale. Specimens of what has been so bought are asked for, when, on sending it to the analyst, it has transpired that the cheapness was owing to the commodity being fraudulently adulterated. Local buyers are subjected to so many temptations, by commissions clandestinely or openly offered, by agents seeking orders, that many who are men of honesty when they take office, cease to be so in a short time. Unless the store finds a buyer of unusual virtue who resists doing what he sees others do*—a store must pay a higher salary than it need do, to place him above temptation. The Wholesale Society has been a great source of fiduciary morality and economy by affording the stores a buying agency. A society is regarded as wanting in co-operative sense if if it does not join the Wholesale, just as a productive society is deemed wanting in co-operative principle unless it recognizes the partnership of labour in profits.

*See "On Commissions." By John S. Storr. Trubner & Co., London.

In the advertisement of this society at the end of the volume, the reader will see how extensive its operations are. These Federated Stores are shippers and owners of a screw steamer. Considerable sums of money were lately spent with a view of instituting a Mississippi Valley Trading Company. A deputation was sent to New Orleans to promote that object, and a scheme being promoted of International Co-operation between England and America, it has been officially brought under the notice of the Grangers of the United States at their Annual Conferences.

At a quarterly meeting of the Wholesale several hundred delegates assemble and a more striking spectacle of the capacity of the working-class for business, when their minds are set upon it by self-training and intelligent interest, is not to be witnessed in England or elsewhere. Between the House of Commons of to-day and the Wholesale Conference there is an instructive comparison. The delegates of the Wholesale present an appearance of more alertness, brightness, and resolute attention to business, than is to be seen in the House of Commons. In that House of 658 members, there are not more than 58 who attend earnestly to business. There are about 100 who attend pretty well to their own business, and the remainder attend to anything else when it occurs to them. At the Wholesale Conference all the members attend to the business. The Chairman not only knows what the business is, he knows what it ought to be, and sees it go; and if it loiters on the way, makes it go. Each delegate has in his hands a huge-sized folio covered with a perfect wilderness of figures; and when one page is exhausted, the rustle of leaves turning over simultaneously in every part of the hall, is not unlike the rising of a storm at sea, or a descent of asteroids in November, or the vibration of silk when the rush of ladies takes place at Her Majesty's Drawing-Room, or the wind striking the glaciers at the North Pole. The directors of the Wholesale, like

Ministers in Parliament, are all on the platform, ready with answers the moment objections are put, and sometimes have replies on hand to questions which are not put. In every part of the large hall in Downing Street the voices of questioners and critics break out in quick succession. No body of the industrious classes in England—excepts Trades Unionists—can be compared to a conference of the Wholesale ; nowhere else are the delegates so numerous ; nowhere else is every one so able to make a speech ; every one having business knowledge and experience of the branch he represents.

CHAPTER XI.

LONDON CO-OPERATION.—THE REVOLT OF THE GROCERS.

An observer skilled in the pathology of knowledge has said that "Folly is a contagious disease, but that wisdom is by no means catching."
M.M. (*Modern Manuscript*)

Co-operation has produced two distinct and protracted revolts—one of the grocers, another of their customers. The first revolt is very little known, and few persons are now alive who were observant of it, or actors in it. Co-operation is one of the commercial troubles of the time. It cannot be said to be a disturbing influence since it seeks unity, and has always been pacific; but society has been perturbed concerning it for fifty years. The first revolt of the grocers against it took place before the days of the first Reform Bill. We know tradesmen conspire against it now, when Mr. Baliol Brett (since Mr. Justice Brett) went down to oppose Mr. Cobden at Rochdale. his chief charge against the great free trader was that he was friendly to co-operation. At the general election of 1872, candidates were reticent concerning it, and others not reticent, who had held seats in the previous Parliament, lost them. The knowledge that they had stood up for fair play for co-operation proved fatal to their claims. Co-operation we know has been the perplexity of two Governments. Chancellors of the Exchequer have a terror of

deputations praying to have it put down. The Government of Mr. Gladstone carefully abstained from saying anything in its favour, and that of Lord Beaconsfield abstains from doing anything against it. The general opinion is that co-operation is absurd and impossible; and if not impossible impractical. Nevertheless unnecessary efforts are constantly made to prevent the impracticable from being realised.

The adversaries of co-operation among shop-keepers have shown more skill in preserving themselves from the infection of wisdom than any opponents of a movement that could move. Many traders have been defeated by more competent and trained competitors than themselves; but grocers and tradesmen show distress at the appearance of amateurs in the field, as the Church clergy did, when the untutored Wesleyans took to preaching on the village green. It was beneath their dignity to fear that humble competition. They strengthened it by showing terror at it.

The reader of these pages will often be struck with the perfect coincidence between the past and the present history of co-operation. This generation of co-operators are doing, thinking it quite new and innovatory, precisely what their forefathers did with more ardour and a brighter hope long years since. The co-operation of our time, which many imagine to be an invention of to-day, is built, as has been explained in the previous volume, upon the ruins of an extinct movement, buried out of sight and knowledge of the commercial classes of to-day, under the forests of forgotten publications as completely as Pompeii under the ashes of Vesuvius; not less strange is it to see grocers and tradesmen descending into the streets, to arrest the progress of co-operation, and holding indignation meetings in the ante rooms of the Government in Downing Street; and to read that their forefathers in business were equally excited more than sixty years ago.

When the Union Mill was first commenced in Devon-

port, adjoining Plymouth, in 1815, the members had no mill, bakehouse, or shop, in which to make up or sell their flour. They rented a small store, in which to sell their bread, and were dependent on a baker for making it. The bakers soon combined against them, and wrote to the Admiralty to put them down, but somehow the co-operators of the Mill surmounted the difficulties in their way. The Government never appear to have been very anxious to take the part of one set of tradesmen against another. A venerable survivor, who was 84 years old in 1863, mortgaged a house he had to raise £600 to enable a new society to be established in the town.*

The British Association (for the advancement of co-operation) of 1830 brought under the notice of its members "with extreme regret that an ignorant yet powerful band of petty shop-keepers at Hampstead, has been successful by bribes and low cunning in frustrating the attempt of some co-operators in that place to hold a public meeting, and that the parochial authorities of Tunbridge Wells and of Thurmaston, in Leicestershire, have withdrawn the trifling pittance given by the parish to some poor people who were making attempts to relieve themselves from so degrading a dependence for bread. Others threatened with like deprivations have been obliged to withdraw from membership of the co-operative societies, and remain a burden to their parishes."† It would seem that the shopkeepers preferred paying poor rates to having workmen as competitors in their business. The probability is that the shopkeepers who happened to be guardians were willing to throw upon their neighbours this liability in order to protect their own interests at the counter. In other places local influence was brought to bear upon officers of the Government, and

* Letter of James Pound. "Co-operator," vol. 4, p. 87.

† Third Quarterly report of the "Proceedings of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge."

The Board of Excise reprimand the Shopkeepers.

representations were made to them, on behalf of grocers. At Godalming, in Surrey, the Trustees of a Co-operative Association in 1830 were refused a licence for the sale of tea by the Excise Officers, to prevent them beginning the grocery trade, which would interfere with that of retail dealers close by. Whereupon Mr. G. R. Skene wrote to the Board of Excise who behaved very well in the matter. The persons refusing the licence received a severe reprimand and a licence was instantly granted with apologies, and an illegal fee returned. At Poole a threatened extortion of the parish rates was made upon the co-operators with a view to deter them, but it was successfully resisted. Mr. Skene was the Secretary of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge, which met in London. Mr. Skene was an able influential man of high connections who knew how to communicate with the authorities. He was himself connected with official persons and some were known to be attendants at the meetings of this Association, which may account for the prompt and impartial action of the Excise.

The grocers being the most numerous class of persons affected by co-operative shopkeeping have been oftener before the public in opposition to it, but they have not been more unpleasant in their action than manufacturers, or farmers, or other classes, whose trade interests have been affected by any rival movement. The Clergy have been quite as disagreeable to Dissenting Ministers, and have appealed to Parliament to suppress them oftener than shopkeepers have appealed for public aid against storekeepers and their frequenters. There seems to be no difference in the practises of gentlemen and poor men where trade interests are threatened. Employers, capitalists and shopkeepers, and even bishops and noblemen were all as bad, as spiteful and as offensive as workmen, to whom lower wages meant disease and home misery. From 1826 to 1836 numerous instances

occur of the "superior" classes being engaged in strikes and rattening and picketting as against the lower classes, but it is always denied on their part, and the discreditable practices are solely imputed to working men and trade unionists. Grocers have been the most noisy, but co-operators have been attacked by more dangerous adversaries.

Mr. William Carson, a delegate to the Third Co-operative Congress, held in London in April, 1832, related that "he held a situation with a highly respectable architect employed by the Commissioners for building churches, amongst whom were several bishops and others of the aristocracy. His discharge was sent him although he had a wife and large family to maintain, because he had rendered himself obnoxious to the Commissioners by the active exertions he had made in aid of co-operation." Upon the architect appealing to the Commissioners on Mr. Carson's behalf, telling them of the situation in which he would be placed if they were determined upon his discharge—the reply was "he must be discharged and they would bear the responsibility." Whatever injustice these inspired gentlemen practised, they were pretty safe in those days, and they knew it.

Mr. E. Taylor, delegate from Birkacre, Lancashire, who represented a society of more than 300 persons, whose premises for printing silks and cottons stood them in at a rental of £600, stated that they suffered greatly from the jealousies of capitalists and masters who had tampered with their landlord to get them turned out of their premises.* These cases were oft reported. The jealous adversary generally succeeded.

In the days of the Cotton Famine in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the shopkeepers on relief committees oft behaved with incredible shabbiness to the co-operators. In many towns they caused the co-operators to be refused any

* Report of Third Congress, 1832.

participation in the funds publicly subscribed for the relief of the distressed.

Liberals have always been more or less prompt in befriending co-operation; but tradesmen, in their hostility to it, have always assumed that the Conservatives could be depended upon to put it down. It is therefore justice to record the honourable letter which the late Earl Derby wrote at the opening of the new store at Prestwich. It is dated Knowsley, January 6th, 1864. His Lordship said to Mr. Pitman, "If any persons have been led to believe that I look coldly on the co-operative movement, they are greatly mistaken. It has always appeared to me to be well calculated to encourage in the operative classes habits of frugality, temperance, and self-dependence; and if the managers of these societies conduct them prudently, not entering into wild speculations, and retaining in hand a sufficient amount of reserved capital to meet casual emergencies, they cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon the habits of the population, both morally and physically." Lord Derby was a man of honour, he might sincerely sacrifice his country to his principles, but he never sacrificed his convictions to his party.

There has been published from time to time passages by men of eminence or influence favourable to co-operation. Among these were John Stuart Mill, the present Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, Professor Francis William Newman, Professor Frederick Denison Maurice, Canon Kingsley, the Rev. William Nassau Molesworth, Lord Brougham, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and William Chambers. Mr. Mill's opinion, written at the opening of the Liverpool Provident Association, is remarkable, like most statements of his, for its completeness and comprehensiveness. He said, "Of all the agencies which are at work to elevate those who labour with their hands, in physical condition, in social dignity, and in those moral and intellectual qualities on which both the others are ultimately dependent, there is none so promising as the

present co-operative movement. Though I foresaw, when it was only a project, its great advantages, its success has thus far exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and every year adds strength to my conviction of the salutary influence it is likely to exercise over the destinies of this and other countries."

It was the perilous but honourable practice of Mr. Robert Lowe when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer to give what information he could which might serve a deputation waiting upon him. Had he talked a few platitudes to them and left them to believe he would do what he could when he knew he could do nothing, he had been more popular and less deserving of honour. He told the deputation from the National Chamber of Trade, introduced by Mr. Smith, M.P., the present Lord of the Admiralty, that "The only way to defeat these societies was by competing with them in the market, and if they were in a condition to do that, let them do so, and combine together, and offer to the public as good terms, as these societies did."

Mr. Gladstone in his correspondence with Messrs. Evison & Barter in 1868, told them with like wisdom and honesty, "Long credits mean large loans by men in business out of their trading capital to men out of business. This system aggravates the risk of bad debts, which form an additional charge to a good debtor: and it is connected with a general irregularity and uncertainty which must also be paid for. I cannot help thinking that traders are in fault also, and that much might be done by a vigorous effort, and by combination among traders in favour of ready-money dealings."

Many inquirers of Mr. Gladstone, and some of the deputation to the Liberal ministry were incited to go up for political reasons, to elicit some expression of opinion that might be used to influence shopkeepers' votes at the next election. For tradesmen to ask the Government for aid against competitors was to confess their incompetence

Astute tradesmen possess the means of self-defence.

to conduct their own business on trade principles. Most of them knew that the Tories could no more interfere on their behalf than the Liberals, and Mr. Gladstone was more their friend than they deserved to find him in the advice he gave them. He had the sagacity to see that if the chief grocers in any district would combine together and open a large ready money five per cent. store, guaranteeing the best kind of provisions—at prices the same as those at the stores—they might easily rival the stores and in many cases supersede them; make themselves as great a profit as the stores make, and serve their customers with more address and celerity, by reason of their better knowledge of their business. The economics of cash payments and large custom would enable them to serve the public cheaper than any "London" store has yet done. If they had wit and unity, they could beat "London" stores out of the field, and grow triumphantly rich in the campaign. Professor Thorold Rogers states—in the address delivered by him at the London Congress in 1875—that, "from careful inquiries made by him of large manufacturers in many branches of productive industry, as to the cost at which these articles were charged in their books when they left the workshop, compared with the prices charged to the purchaser by the retail trader, he found that the additions made, as the charge of distribution, very commonly doubled the price of the article distributed. Not that the retail trade gained the enormous addition, but that the cost of distribution is unnecessarily increased from the needlessly great number of persons who are employed in the work." Co-operators are often under the illusion that their savings represent the profit of the shopkeeper, whereas they mainly represent the cost which the shopkeeper incurs. The co-operator gains what the shopkeeper loses. Herein the shopkeepers by combination can gain equally.

The Civil Service Co-operative Society have a place of business in the Haymarket—one of the most unpromising places in the whole of London—yet every day, nearly from top to

the bottom of the street, as great a crowd of carriages of the nobility are to be seen as are to be found in Piccadilly, at Fortnum and Mason's, the day before the Derby day. As many footmen surround the doors of this Civil Service Store as are to be found round Swan and Edgar's, or the Waterloo House, in Cockspur Street. Yet this Haymarket store is clumsily managed; there are more forms to be gone through, and more trouble to be encountered in buying a pound of butter than in obtaining a dividend from the Bank of England. This is not all the wonder. The Haymarket is not a place of sweetest repute. True, there are honest houses and residents of good fame in it; yet it is rather curious to hear a young marchioness accosted in Rotten Row by a young nobleman, who assures her he has not had the pleasure to see her since he met her in the Haymarket. It could hardly be any light or unimportant thing which induces ladies of "high degree" to subject themselves to be addressed in terms which are considered to require personal explanation. What is it that attracts these illustrious customers; and induces them to incur all this conspicuousness, suspicion, discomfort, and fatigue, but the satisfaction of providing their houses with articles of consumption which they think they can depend upon for purity, and obtain at moderate charges? There is no instance in the whole of London of any shop so little attractive, commanding customers so numerous and so distinguished. This shows the grocers what they have to do, and they can do it better and make more by it, than those amateur shopkeepers.

The expression concerning "profits which go into the shopkeepers' pockets" is oft used by co-operators. Still it would be better qualified, since, as it stands, it incenses the shopkeeper needlessly, and hides from the co-operator what the source of his gain really is. The main gain of the co-operator is made by concert—by numbers buying at one place—by avoiding loss through bad debts—by abolishing the endless book-keeping attendant on giving

credit—by buying with ready money in the best wholesale markets—by having a great buying agency of their own, saving the cost and loss of sending a hundred buyers into the same market to compete against each other and put up prices; by economy in the transaction of business; one large store saving the rents of a hundred shops, a hundred servants, the support of a hundred proprietors, in addition to saving the taxes and advertisements of as many places. The actual profit of the little shopkeepers is very small. The cost of small shops is very great to the public, but the gain to the small shopkeeper is really little. The greater part of what the shopkeeper receives in price is lost on the way by his many expenses in making his little sales, that there scarcely remains in his hands enough to keep him in his useful but often needless calling. It is only this little profit of the shopkeeper that the co-operator captures. The co-operator's greater gains arise from his intercepting what the small shopkeepers lose. The co-operator gathers up what never comes into their hands. The ordinary shopkeeper's profits scarcely amount to one-fifth of the co-operator's profits. Four-fifths of co-operative savings arise from the economy of the new method of buying, from the economy of management, and from the economy of distribution. The unseeing way of saying that "What the co-operator gains comes out of the shopkeeper's pocket" does double mischief. It causes the shopkeeper to think himself five times more harmed than is true, and it conceals from the co-operator that four out of five portions of his gain are not won in a victory over the tradesman, but by his good sense in joining in business with his fellows—by faithfulness to his own store—by prudence in speculation; by honesty and equity in trade; by a liberal economy (there is a crooked, stingy economy, which loses money); by directors keeping faith with purchasers, and by purchasers giving a discriminating, ungrudging, an encouraging and honouring support to vigilant, persevering, capable, and faithful directors. If every shopkeeper was abolished

to-morrow by Act of Parliament, co-operators would not gain a penny if they relaxed in fidelity in the principles of concert, of confidence, of mutual trading, of honesty in quality of goods, and equity in distributing profits, which are the main sources of co-operative profits. Co-operative prosperity does not come by prayer, but by prudence; not by caprice, but by concert; they do not depend upon advantage gained over the shopkeeper, but upon wisdom among co-operators themselves. It is seeing this clearly, seeing it constantly, seeing it always, which constitutes what is meant by the education of the co-operator. It is the intelligent conviction of this, and putting the conviction into practice, and keeping it in practice, which constitutes the security of the co-operator.

Pictures have been constantly drawn in the public papers, of every tradesman being bankrupt and the town in the hands of the co-operators. Of course this never happened; but it was thought all the more likely by the excited outsiders, because it never could happen. An enterprising friend of mine, wishing me to name some town where he might open a new shop, I at once said, "Rochdale, and nestle near the store, that is the best place for a shopkeeper." "Well," he answered, "any one who looks about towns to see what is the matter with them, and what openings they offer, sees what people living in them do not see, because they are so obvious, and the obvious is the last thing people do see—but you must be wrong about Rochdale." My answer was, "Under a store is the place for a new shop to pay. First, a number of outsiders will buy off you, to spite the store. Next, half the co-operators will buy off you themselves. Your articles will sell anywhere on their merits and will be sure to be thought well of there, for half the co-operators always think the goods in the shops are cheaper and better than those in their own stores." Every director of a store knows this. He has heard it at quarterly meetings a hundred times. Half the stores do not buy themselves off

their own Wholesale Society, because they believe they "can do better elsewhere." Half the members of any store are mere dividend hunters—not a bad sort of hunting in its way—and I am glad that co-operative stores are good hunting grounds for the working classes; but an ignorant hunter is like an untrained setter, he has not an educated nose. He does not know where to find the bird; or he starts it foolishly, whereby it gets away. Hearken thou to me, my friend. I went the other day into one of the three greatest stores in the country. My first question, after a long absence, was, as is my custom, "Have you the 'Co-operative News' about (the Journal of the societies)? How many purchasers enter this shop in a week?" "Four thousand," was the reply. "How many 'Co-operative News' do you sell?" "Oh, FOUR DOZEN!" "Yes," I answered, "that statement wants a great big 'O' to preface it. That means that out of every four thousand members of the store three thousand nine hundred and forty-eight believe they can be co-operators and hunt dividends better without co-operative knowledge than with it. You must be a bright lot of co-operative 'cusses' down here." In the pork and butter shop, where they had 1,000 customers a week, they sold one dozen "Co-operative News" only. There was the same magnificent proportion of intelligent members found all over the store. The dividend hunters, their name is legion. The intelligence hunters are—twelve in the thousand. Since that time that cultivated store has lost a great pot of gold at one swoop—enough to have bought a copy of the "Co-operative News" every week for every member for the last ten years, and given each a penny with it to read it. Had they done this they would have now £30,000 in hand out of the vanished funds. O my teetotal, energetic manufacturing friend, if thou wantest to make money, open thy shop under the shadow of a great store, and if only half the unreading members buy of thee, thou will make a fortune long before they take in their own

paper. Besides, put into thy account the mass of people who do not understand co-operation. In towns like Liverpool and Birmingham the memory of it has almost died out. That is a mighty and historic store which has 10,000 members in a population of 100,000 inhabitants. That leaves nine-tenths of all purchasing people to the tradesmen. Does not that give you an abounding chance? Then remember that the majority of persons use their brains so little, that the avenues of their minds are blocked up. When they were born there was no School Board to keep the entrance of their intelligence clear, and put something through it. Never fear, shopkeeping will last your time. My friend followed my advice, and prospered exceedingly. A shopkeeper who knows his business can hold his business. It is the other sort who turn into querulous outsiders.

There is a saying, "Mad as a hatter." There is nobody so mad as an incapable grocer, when he imagines a co-operator is after him. Yet the better sort of shopkeepers are among the best friends co-operators have found. They have generously taught workmen the art of keeping shops. In many an emergency they have given counsel and aid. In Scotland and England I know many shopkeepers—men of genius in their way, masters of their business. Their service of the public is a fine art, and buyers of taste will always go to them. The co-operators are not born who will harm them. Shopkeepers have no more reason to be afraid of co-operation, than innkeepers have to be afraid of the Permissive Bill. Of course there will be mad publicans as well as demented grocers.

The grocers sadly want wit. They set Sir Thomas Chambers to make an inquiry in Parliament whether the Government could not put down Civil Service Co-operative Supply Associations. Any clear-headed co-operator, for a moderate fee, would put them up to a thing or two which would endanger the best Civil Service Co-operative Society in the metropolis. All Sir Thomas Chambers

could do, if he got his silly way, would be to spite the Civil Service gentlemen. Once they are removed, capable men of business would be put in their places. Dainty, perfumed, kid-glove loungers about clubs are not great in grocery knowledge. They have succeeded through the popularity of co-operation won by very different persons, and through the infatuation of grocers, who do not know where their own strength lies.

The Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M.P. (Conservative), attended a meeting of the Ladywood Co-operative Society in Birmingham, 1869, and made a speech strongly in its favour, and said that "God intended the whole world to be one great association of co-operation." Mr. Sampson Lloyd, the present M.P. for Plymouth (also a Conservative elected in lieu of Mr. Morrison, the former Liberal member, who was charged with sympathy with co-operation), also sent a letter to the Ladywood meeting in approval of its object. Mr. William Howitt afterwards made it an occasion to thank God that Mr. Adderley had discovered, like many other statesmen and landholders that co-operation is a great "school of natural instruction."* Certainly the Liberals being more in favour of self-action and self-help among the people, have been more friendly to co-operators. Certainly the only Members of Parliament who have been active on their behalf, and who have made sacrifices for their success, have been Liberals. Conservatives are not unwilling that the poor should do pretty well, but generally think it best that they should believe that it is in some way owing to what their "superiors" do for them that they prosper. Liberals are more in favour of the people owing success to themselves: which is right—but foolish in the Liberals, since it leads to the people becoming independent of them, and to their receiving no more respect than intelligent gratitude may show: and as this is not an abundant sentiment they are

* "Co-operator," January, 1869.

ofttimes not so popular as the Conservative, who in favouring dependence and patronage keep people in their places, and by judiciously giving them back, at election time, a little of that which the people ought to have kept in their own hands, appears as their benefactor for having conserved their neediness and secured their subordination.

Not protecting themselves where they might by the legitimate arts of greater expertness and business capacity, shopkeepers proved in many cases as spiteful as they were supine, and as ignorant in their hatred as in their trade. It has been the Civil Service Stores, Army and Navy and Supply Associations, which have done them harm in London, and not the Working Class Stores which Mr. Morrison and Mr. Hughes supported. None of these have ever been strong enough or lasting enough in the metropolis to supersede a single shop. The Imitative stores of amateur gentlemen grocers, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Morrison not only never joined, they never countenanced them: they not only never countenanced them—they spoke and acted against them. Yet they were sacrificed by the undiscerning shopkeeping elector who gave his vote to the real enemy. Mr. Hughes was certainly kept out of Parliament at Marylebone through the reputed resentment of the shopkeepers who were regarded as an element of such uncertainty that he was prevented going to the poll. Only Liberal members have lost their seats on account of friendliness to co-operation.

Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., wrote a remarkable letter to the "Daily News" in 1873, in reply to some editorial comments, critical but not unfriendly. Mr. Morrison said:—"You seem to think that the societies there represented conduct their trade after the fashion of the Civil Service societies in London. I venture to assert that the very large majority of those who have at heart the continued prosperity of co-operative societies deprecate that manner of doing their trade as earnestly as any retail shopkeeper. We hold that it is unfair to the latter,

especially to the honest tradesman, who sells genuine and unadulterated goods at a fair living profit, that it degrades co-operation into a mere mercantile machine for cheapening the price of goods. From the Land's End to John o'Groat's there is not a workman's retail co-operative store which attempts to undersell the tradesmen of the locality; when tradesmen have combined to ratten the store out of the district by underselling it, the stores have not retaliated in kind."

Though Conservative candidates have profited by opposing or conniving at opposition to co-operators it ought to be said to the honour of the Conservative press that it has never concealed its approval of the principle, even as respects productive co-operation as applied to manufactures, which fewer persons can be found to speak hopefully or approvingly of. The "Standard" said, before the last general election:—

"Co-operation, on the other hand, though possibly too weak a remedy to be relied upon altogether, is the best device for putting labour, more or less, on a level with capital, which has ever been attempted. As far as it goes it is thoroughly healthy in its action. The co-operative factory * * * competes with the private capitalist, and tends to keep up, at their highest possible level, the terms offered to the workman in return for his labour."*

This was plainly and boldly said, the reader can see. The tradesman therefore has no ground for treating co-operation as a political question.

* "Standard," June 4, 1869.

CHAPTER XII.

LONDON CO-OPERATION.—THE REVOLT OF THE CUSTOMERS.

THE friends of order became insurgents when a real grievance came home to them. Partizans and apologists of trading confiscation, who regarded it as the reward assigned by Nature to successful competition, so long as they shared the spoil, discovered it to be a shameful exaction when they were the subjects of it.—*Eccentricities of Opinion* (unpublished.)

THE second revolt produced by co-operation proved to be a revolt of customers. This long foreseen, but late arriving insurgency, led to what, for convenience of description may be designated "London Co-operation." This Metropolitan invention sprang up, extended and has attracted a pretty good share of attention. Early, original co-operation, as it is now regarded, is that which was organised and pursued in Rochdale. It was there that co-operation first became conspicuous by its success, instructive by its equitable features, and intelligible by its simplicity and methodical procedure. This model on which the great provincial stores of the provinces have been founded, has become known as "Rochdale Co-operation." What is generally regarded as "true Co-operation" is usually described by that name. It may be taken that there are two kinds of co-operations—Rochdale Co-operation and London Co-operation. The public generally are not familiar with the distinction, but it contributes to clearness of view to apprehend the nature of the two forms and not mistake one for the other.

Origin of the Civil Service Supply Association.

The Civil Service Supply Association began (the "Saturday Review" has said apparently by the pen of one concerned in devising it) with some members of the Civil Service "who were pinched by low salaries and high prices;" they combined together for the purpose of obtaining articles of common domestic use at wholesale prices. They were soon encouraged by finding that they not only saved a good deal of money but stood a better chance of obtaining goods of high quality than when they bought at retail shops; but also by learning what great profits the Rochdale, Halifax and Leeds Stores had made in the same way. Thus gentlemen of London were inspired by the artizans and weavers of Lancashire to establish themselves as shopkeepers. Their humble predecessors had, by unity and prudence, proved the advantages of trading by concert. Thus it dawned upon the metropolitan understanding that competition, held up as the nursing mother of all social blessings, had not proved itself to be that self-regulating and provident agency it was supposed to be. Certain members of the Civil Service therefore proposed a general revolt of customers in their body, against London shopkeepers, and devised an association consisting of two classes of members—members who were shareholders, and members who merely held tickets entitling them to make purchases at the stores. Some of the promoters of one association were considered to have acted not without regard to their personal interest, as certain private contracts appear to have been made, concerning which the members were not consulted. * The general

* At a public meeting in 1875, at which Sir Cecil Beardon presided—He said he had only accepted the office of chairman upon repeated solicitations. He had then only read the prospectus, but after joining the board he read the articles of the association and also the contracts, and was now ready to admit that there was a great deal to condemn in the articles. The contracts were not such as he should have agreed to, if he had been on the board. When he looked at them he found that the contracts with the promoters had been cleverly drawn, and it was impossible to set them aside. Therefore, instead of going into legal proceedings, the issue of which could

principle professed by all was co-operative, as far as it went which was to supply the members with goods, at wholesale prices, with such addition as left a sufficient margin for managing expenses. The value of a share at death or withdrawal was fixed at 10s.

Shareholders of the C.S.S.A.* had prescribed to them the same advantage as members—namely, that of obtaining good articles at moderate prices without deriving profit from the transactions carried on in their name. This association soon came to have two places of business, one in the City, the other in Long Acre; each being a vast warehouse embracing almost every description of retail trade. During several years the association has intercepted half a million of money on its way to the ordinary shopkeepers' tills, and bids fair to intercept a million and more annually in this way. Of course care was taken, that the addition made to the wholesale prices was prudently arranged to leave sufficient to prevent risk of loss. An excess of profit over working expenses thus arose, which left every year an accumulating sum in the hands of the association. In a few years this amounted to more than £80,000, when stormy meetings were held to determine who should have this money. On the whole this association seems to have been governed by a committee of very honourable gentlemen, desirous of preventing it descending into a mere trading company, in which the share-

hardly be doubtful, he set himself to work, with assistance, to endeavour to abate the terms which had been agreed upon with Messrs. John Chisholme and Co., and the endeavour was not altogether unsuccessful. He had also used his influence with Mr. Bentley and Mr. Evans. Mr. Bentley had agreed to submit to any reduction of his commission which the board thought reasonable, and Mr. Evans had done the same. This related to the New Civil Service Store. At none of these London Stores is there openness and publicity of financial facts as there is in real co-operative societies.

* C.S.S.A. (Civil Service Supply Association) are the initials on the windows of the large new building erected in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, by this Association, a vast well-built store of great completeness and convenience.

holders make special profits at the expense of others. The committee were honourably in favour of applying the great balance in their hands to the reduction in the prices of the articles, by which every member would obtain advantages in proportion to his purchases. It was ultimately decided to distribute it among the shareholders as was done among the same class in the old co-operative societies of the Pre-Constructive period.

In the Haymarket, is a modest business looking shop, tame and solvent in appearance, with the Royal Arms over the door, and a small brass plate on the entrance, bearing the words Civil Service Co-operative Society. This is the principal provision store belonging to an association of gentlemen from every branch of the British Civil Service.

This Haymarket Store, the most eminent of the kind, is recorded* to have grown out of one commenced by certain clerks at the General Post Office in 1861. Lowness of salary, and serious charges on the part of grocers, were alleged as reasons for forming a combination against them. A strange circular was issued, calling upon members of the Civil Service generally to form a Co-operative Society. At the Post Office there were high officials—Sir Rowland Hill and Mr. Ashurst, the solicitor, who were both acquainted with the history of co-operation. They were probably not consulted when it was first thought of, as the project was carried out in a far less complete way than persons so well informed, might have advised. Members of the Civil Service generally did not then know co-operation from communism, nor were quite sure which was which, and the proposal was viewed with considerable disfavour by the majority of them. Periodicals and pamphlets, published in London, had oft told the marvellous story of co-operative profits in the north of England. Mr. Mill, in his "People's Edition of Political

* "Saturday Review."

Economy," had borne powerful testimony to its significance. Competition was held to be the parent of all the advantages of the market, but the excesses of tradesmen's bills were felt to be a great price to pay for them, and eminent members of the Civil Service at length agreed to join in the revolt against them. Ultimately a Board of Directors were formed from each of the principal departments of the Crown. It was agreed to commence with a capital of £5,000 in £5 shares, bearing 5 per cent. interest, and no more. This was the Rochdale amount of shares and limit of interest; a good rule, though adopted originally from an ignorant distrust of capitalists. The first store was opened near the General Post Office, and limited to members and their families. Purchasing members were required to pay a fee of 5s. annually for tickets not transferable, giving the power of buying at the store. The success of the Post Office Store extended the spirit of the insurgency all over the Service, and a new society was opened in the Haymarket, by officials of the higher State Departments, who were joined in their rebellion by members in every branch of the Service—Home, Colonial, and Foreign; by Peers, Members of Parliament, Bishops, Judges, Colonial Governors, Foreign Consuls, and other high Government officials, who had never before regarded co-operation otherwise than as the ignorant dream of dangerous visionaries.

The store tea was imported direct from tea-lands. With the purchasing ticket of the member was handed to the subscriber a book giving a detailed list of everything sold at the store itself, with price of each article annexed, a list of every merchant or tradesman with whom the association had dealings, and a catalogue of special articles sold by special tradesmen, advertisements of merchants on the society's list, and other information of considerable importance to members of the Civil Service abroad. The society had its physicians, surgeons, accou-

cheurs, apothecaries, consulting counsel, solicitors, stock-brokers—all of whom are well known in London as men of good standing in their several professions—who engaged to attend to the wants of members of the society at a considerable reduction of their usual charges. The Provident Clerks' Life Insurance Association had an understanding also with the society by which members were insured at lower than ordinary rates. These operations arose in another London invention, to which in courtesy, we may give the name of Floating Co-operation, which consists in inducing tradesmen to advertise in some store list of prices, or store journal, and in return customers at the store are invited to give their orders to him. The tradesman further undertakes to make a reduction in his prices to these customers. In some cases he also gives a commission to the store, upon the orders he thus receives. If a tradesmen gets a great accession of orders by this means, he can afford to sell as he would to a wholesale purchaser, who, however, in this case, has no security as to the quality or fairness of his bargain, which a co-operative store affords him. It is an unpleasant device at the best. If the customers are few, the tradesman gives them a poor welcome; and if he has two prices for his goods, he sometimes tries to discover if the customer has a co-operative ticket upon him, before he names the lower. The customer who has heard that with respect to co-operative buyers, the reduction is often put on before it is taken off, sometimes conceals what sort of purchaser he is, until he has made his bargain. It seems a prostitution of the honest name of co-operation to apply it to these furtive Pauline contrivances for economizing expenditure by overcoming the tradesman "with guile." The attributes of co-operation are equity, openness, and frank consent! None of these qualities are much present in this system of cheapening by connivance. Imitative co-operation is hardly worth more notice than any other expedient by which trade is diversified without increasing public morality, or amity among purchasers.

These details will give the reader a practical idea of the many sides on which shopkeepers and professional men were attacked at once. Carriers by land and sea, insurance companies, and all orders of men, were made to "stand and deliver" up the profits, which, from time immemorial, had been theirs. The English excel in insurrection when they once give their minds to it. Peers, bishops, members of Parliament, and gentlemen, when they commence it, put the poor and limited insurgency of working men to shame. Neither communism nor co-operation, in the hands of the people, has ever displayed this comprehensive rapacity. No working people ever broke so many ties with their neighbours. No friend of co-operation wishes to see it advanced in this hasty and embittering way.

The poor are driven by necessity, and oft display an ignorant impatience of wrong which cannot be rectified at once. They precipitate themselves into change, and hope to find it improvement. But from the classes better off, who have larger means of deliberate action and more intelligence, there are to be expected some taste in advancement and that considerateness in progress which shall make it alluring—raising it from a brutal impetuosity to the level of a fine art.

Many a gentleman forsook the shopkeeper between whose family and his own friendly offices had been interchanged for generations. Peradventure father and grandfather before him had been honoured customers at the shop which he now clandestinely deserted. Had these gentlemen offered cash payments and gone and given their orders themselves, or sent their wives in their carriages to do it, as they do at the Haymarket shop, they would have been served in many cases quite as cheaply, and with infinitely more courtesy than at the cheap store of Imitative co-operation. Co-operation is the necessity of the poor, it is not the need of gentlemen. When a shopkeeper cannot supply good articles, or will not make reasonable charges; or has no special knowledge of com-

modities, and pursues shopkeeping as a mere business and not as an art, customers of taste have no choice but to make a change. Some gentlemen, who have taken the part of leaders in this revolt of customers, have been actuated by the conviction that the middle man as an agent of distribution is a mere costly instrument of obsolete commerce. Seeing him with discerning eyes, they admit that where the retail dealer is also the manufacturer of his commodities, as in the case of many trades where the shopkeeper sells the productions of his own handicraft, he will always hold his place. He can guarantee the goodness of his materials, and his skill and ingenuity ought to speak for themselves. Where this is the case, he will attract and keep customers despite all the co-operation in the world. He needs no costly shop, customers will go in search of him anywhere. Work or product of any kind, which has the character of the artificer in it, will always be sought after so long as taste exists, or honesty is valued. The mere middle man who has special knowledge of the nature of the articles or commodities in which he deals, and who has a character for honestly describing them, and of charging reasonably for goods to which his discernment and attestation add value—will always hold his place and command respect. But the class of mere mechanical middlemen and shopkeepers who do not know, and do not care what they offer you, provided they can induce you to buy it; or who conspire to keep up prices by preventing the customer from finding any better article in the market —are mere parasites of trade, whom co-operation serves society by sweeping away.

London Co-operation, as represented by Civil Service or Army and Navy Stores, have only the merit of saving somewhat the pockets of their customers, without affording them the facility and inducement to acquire the habit of saving, which is needed as much by the middle class as by the poor. These societies, organised chiefly to supply goods at a cheap rate, and make a large profit for the

shareholders, are not co-operative in the complete sense of that term, since the managers have an interest distinct from the shareholders, and the shareholders an interest distinct from the purchasers. The managers are not known to care for co-operation as a system of equity and honesty, and are not under the supervision of directors elected by the purchasers, and charged with the duty of carrying out the principle of Co-operation. Civil Service Stores, or Military Service Stores, and similar associations, are virtually private commercial societies bent upon realising the economy of combination without caring much about the morality of it. They do not intend to disregard morality any more than other commercial firms, but leave it to take care of itself, and peradventure hope it will come all right. The managers generally have in view the highest remuneration they can obtain for themselves compatible with keeping the shareholders in a contented state of mind with regard to their dividend. The shareholders in their turn are chiefly solicitous to see that purchasers have goods of such quality and at such prices as shall secure their custom. But whether the quality is as pure as it should be, or the prices as low as they might be, are not considerations which they have any interest in entertaining. These associations do not proceed so much upon the principle of equity as upon doing business. The common principle of managers, shareholders, and purchasers is that of all competitive commerce—each for himself and the devil take the hindermost; and such is the activity of the devil in business, that he commonly does it. Co-operation, on the other hand, is a concerted arrangement for keeping the devil out of the affair. A scheme of equity has no foremost and no hindmost for the devil to take. Everybody in the society stands in a circle, and the total profits made are distributed equitably all round the circumference.

"London Co-operation" begins in distrust of the shopkeeper, and ends with obtaining, at considerable personal

trouble, a reduction of a shilling in the pound at the store counter; and if the purchaser can obtain the same reduction at the grocer's shop, and the goods used are equally satisfactory, there is no reason why he should not return to the shop and abandon the store. "London Co-operation" which most stirs the terrors of shopkeepers has small hold upon the interest or respect of its customers, beyond that which accrues from saving them a shilling in the pound. Under this cold and covetous plan the mighty phalanx of great stores throughout the country would never have existed. All the public would ever have seen would be a solitary big grocer's shop here and there, mentioned perhaps by some commercial traveller in the commercial room at night, but neither Parliament nor history would have heard of Co-operation. The great movement has grown in strength and in public and political interest by two pregnant principles—that of capitalizing the savings of the customers and of establishing productive manufactures, gaining a second time the profits of production as well as those of distribution. By its Stores it creates a new art of distribution; by its Productive societies it aims at changing the character of industry by substituting self-employment for hired labour.

It is imperative to treat with fairness, but it is difficult to treat with patience, Imitative co-operation. Unfairness of any kind is foolishness, as he who employs it weakens his own argument by his own hands. Therefore I will readily admit and put in the fore ground the admission that Imitative co-operation is, so far as it may assist the incomes of some struggling middle-class persons, and poorly paid civil service, law, and mercantile clerks, an advantage. In so far as these shadowy stores call the attention of the more influential classes to co-operation, and interest them in it, and induce them to connive at the co-operative principle, they do public good and are part of the general propagandism of the idea of economy by concert. Such praise as belongs to this order of service I ungrudg-

ingly give, but there is no use in making more of anything than there is in it: and if a scheme is good as far as it goes but falls short of what it should be, and fails to acquit itself as it might, or do the good it ought—that should be made clear in the interests of progress.

Thus there are two kinds of stores, the market-price charging and saving stores, and the Civil Service underselling and improvident stores. The market-price and saving store belongs to real Co-operation, which is a device for the improvement of the condition of the poor. In the provinces the sort of supply association which the Civil Service stores have brought into imitative existence are often mere schemes of gentlemen at large for intercepting the profits of tradesmen, for the benefit of shareholders and persons of position who turn amateur huxters for a pecuniary consideration. Among the "patrons" or "directors" whose names are published there is scarcely one familiar to co-operative ears. They know nothing of co-operation —they care nothing for it. They cannot explain its principles nor advocate them, nor vindicate them. In its struggles they have taken no part, nor rendered any aid. In its difficulties they have given it no encouragement, nor made any sacrifices to support it. In the days when adversaries abounded, they stood aloof. When co-operation has been regarded with odium they disowned it. In all its literature, their speeches or writings in its defence are nowhere to be found. When Acts of Parliament had to be obtained, at the infinite labour and cost of years of agitation, they took no part, and gave no thought, or time, or trouble to conquer the reluctance of the House of Commons for facilitating the formation of societies, or concede them legal protection.

There is no reason, of course, why those who did not do what they ought, or what they might, should not be applauded for doing what they will in the right direction. Since, however, many halt on the way, not really knowing what the way is, who would proceed further if the road

was pointed out to them :—it may be useful to enumerate the distinctions between Original and Imitative co-operation. A co-operative society proper divides whatever savings it makes among all its customers who buy from it; an Imitative one merely gives partial reduction in price to the purchaser, and awards the remainder as personal profit to managers or directors, to promoters, or patrons.

An original co-operative store permanently increases the means of the poor, by saving their profits for them and teaching them the art of thrift. An imitative store does nothing more than cultivate the love of cheapness without providing security that the cheapness is real and complete.

An original store, by augmenting the means of humble purchasers, prevents them becoming a burden upon the poor rates and a tax upon shopkeepers. An imitative store renders little service to the indigent, and by abstracting the custom of the tradesman reduces his means of paying the poor rates which fall upon him.

This imitative, inferior, and one might say, spurious co-operation, availed itself in most instances of the Friendly Societies Acts, has obtained exemption from stamp duties and acquired other privileges intended solely for the humbler classes. This is a direct peril to industrial co-operation. Mr. Lowe, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to abolish these exemptions on the reasonable ground that well-to-do people availed themselves of Industrial and Building Societies Act not intended for them.

Another evil of this shifting species of trading above described, is further, that it lowers the standard of co-operation in men's minds, sets many against it, and imposes upon other persons the belief that the imitative thing is real co-operation, that there is nothing in it beyond that. Such co-operation is a little more than joint stock shopkeeping, at which the shareholders reduce their charges with a view to allure custom.

At the same time since the better class of London stores have stopped credit purchases, and enabled the public

to obtain articles at a lower rate than otherwise they could obtain them, they have raised the expectation that the articles they supply can be depended upon to be good of their kind, and to raise this expectation is useful, as it imposes a certain obligation of meeting it, and so far as the London stores accomplish these things, they may claim credit for usefulness, and are to be regarded for the merit they have. As copyists of co-operation they are entitled to "honourable mention" according to their skill.

If amateur painters attempt to make transcripts of the Old Masters without obtaining previous instruction, they commonly prove very feeble copyists. If, without caring for that degree of excellence, which shall not degrade, if it does not exalt art, their object is merely to sell their work for what they can get—what they sell is seldom worth buying. Of course it would be no more fair in commerce, than in literature, to judge any one by some other standard than that which he has set before himself. A critic oft-times condemns an author because his book does not come up to some ideal in the critic's mind, of what such a book ought to be. This is not criticism, it is dogmatism. A writer, or a social contriver, is not to be condemned for falling below a model which he never proposed to imitate. If the model he has chosen is a poor one or an unworthy one, it is plainly useful to say so, that nobler attempts may be incited in him or others. A trader in ideas or commodities, is to be estimated mainly by the good sense and good service to be found in the work he actually does. It is therefore suggested to the reader, that the London cheap store scheme has not been formed on the co-operative type. The leading aim of co-operation is not merely to increase present comfort (albeit not a disagreeable thing to do), it seeks also to ensure competence. It contrives economy in spending in order to extend the habit of saving. Those who do not provide for the future of themselves and families, as far as they can—so far as they

ought * are not merely dependent, they are mean, since they leave to chance, or the charity of others, to provide for them when the evil day comes. The middle and upper classes are not much better than the working class in these respects. Noblemen used to quarter their families on the State, and do it now in too many cases, when they can, and a Conservative Government (unless it is much misjudged) is always ready to find them facilities to that end, in the ecclesiastical, military, and maritime departments, and by keeping in their hands the school endowments of the poor. Noblemen have no general reputation for paying their bills when due. Industry is considered a plebeian mark, and among the middle class frugality is regarded as mean, and they ape a gentility of indebtedness their creditors are far from approving. Mere cheapness tends to mere profusion, and profusion to waste, and waste is allied to debt, therefore if one form of co-operation more than another tends to thrift and savingness that is on public grounds to be preferred.

In a so-called Co-operative Store, where goods are merely sold cheaper, the store is merely an irritation and offence to all shopkeepers or dealers whom it undersells. If it charged every member the market price of its articles, it would save its officers the infinite trouble of determining the graduated price which shall leave the society a profit upon each article. The purchaser obtaining his goods at a lower price than at another shop has an advantage worth giving him, but not all the advantage he might have. His money goes farther than it would under other circumstances; it goes farther for the week, but not often for the quarter. His total expenditure is commonly the same, for instead of putting by the money gained by his purchases, he commonly buys other things with it. He or his family are the better for the time being, but they

* For instance no one is bound to provide for his family so far as to relieve them of the duty of self-exertion.

are seldom richer. Whereas in a society on the Rochdale plan the directors are pledged to provide goods of the greatest purity they can procure, and sell them at just weight or quantity, and at the ordinary market prices. The difference between the cost price, the expenses of management, and the price at which the goods are sold—the profit due to the purchaser is, by arrangement, saved for him. Certain portions, £5 usually, in sound societies, is retained as the purchaser's share in the business, for which he receives interest, and the residue of his profits stands to his credit in the society's books at interest also. The society becomes to him a Savings' Bank, and he can withdraw the whole or portion of the residue at any time he may require it. He is compelled to pay cash for all his purchases, and thus learns to do without credit. Thus the purchaser learns something of the art of saving. As his profits for the first year are commonly retained for the payment of his share, and after that is paid up he can only obtain his weekly profits quarterly, the member of a co-operative society on the Rochdale plan, has always something saved which he is able to invest, if he has wisdom to do it, and every facility and encouragement is given him to that end. He finds himself surrounded by members and neighbours who have £20, £50, £100, and some £200 in the society, intending to invest it in buying a house, or drawing it out and paying it into a building society, with a view to do the same thing: or investing it in some co-operative spinning company, or quarry, or mine, or co-operative manufactory, as the prospects of profit and security may present themselves to him. In what is called "London Co-operation," as represented by Civil Service and similiar societies, no facility of saving in the way we have described is afforded, though in thousands of families of the middle class, and indeed in many of those of the wealthier classes, the facility, the inducement, and the practice of saving would be as valuable as in the households of working people. In

co-operative families, when the father or mother begins to save in this way, the example spreads through the house. The young people acquire a passion for saving, which is not mean or selfish, or narrowing to the sympathies in any way. They feel the pleasure and see the advantage of possessing money of their own, at their own control, and acquired by their own prudence and good sense. They acquire a spirit of honourable independence because they owe everything to themselves. This saving costs them no privation; they lose no comfort or pleasure to effect their accumulations. They have simply to make all their small purchases at a store, and the small profits they would distribute among the shopkeepers about them, come at the end of the quarter into their own pockets. Sometimes these young co-operators persuade their friends, who do not belong themselves to any store, to let them make their purchases for them, and they can always promise them a better quality of provisions and articles than any small shopkeeper is able to sell, whatever may be his honesty and good intentions. These commissions, entrusted to these minor co-operators, cost nothing to those who give them, and the youthful commissioners learn thrift and gain by the opportunity, and become little millionaires in their own estimation.

In co-operative families the sons and daughters commonly become members on their own account. The young men learn other economies, avoiding needless and wasteful pleasures which they would never otherwise avoid, and are the better in their habits and health in consequence; and when the time for setting up households of their own arrives, they often have a house of their own to go into. It is found that young women are often as clever as their brothers in saving, when their minds are well put in the way of it. They too, discover, that they often spend money to no purpose without thinking about it, because means of saving have never been set before them and made pleasant to them; and many a girl has found herself sought for in

marriage by a better class of suitor than would ever have fallen in her way, had it not been discovered that she had a fund of her own creation in the co-operative store. The certainty that a prudent girl will make a prudent wife, and be the mistress of a prudent household, is a popular belief which acts as an unsolicited letter of recommendation to her. It is in the training of home that personal character is most surely formed, and the saving habit can be induced in no other way so natural as when it is made to grow out of the daily expenditure, which occurs to every one. If it can be shown that persons can save without laying anything by, and accumulate money without paying anything out of their pockets, and save without living any way poorer, or meaner than they did, and without depriving themselves of a single article they have the means of purchasing, this were surely to make saving easy, alluring, and inevitable. This is the moral, social, and salutary discovery which co-operative societies have made. If persons can save only by depriving themselves of something which they need, very few have the strength of mind to do it. Future advantage seems to most persons a poor thing compared with present satisfaction. The weak-minded only half believe in the need and privation of a future day, which comes to the improvident as surely as death; and often they both come together. A true co-operative store dispenses with this scant, difficult, and precarious heroism of daily life, and without requiring the strength of mind which looks the future in the face, provides for it. Without asking the exercise of the greater courage of privation to-day in order to secure comfort for the morrow, a co-operative store offers means of saving without privation, or sacrifice, or effort. Nothing ever brought this advantage to the humblest household until the co-operative device arose. No homily, no precept, no wise saw, or modern instance, no exhortation, or prayer, or entreaty, can inspire strength of will or wise and lasting purpose in the average mind of

any class. Facility alone brought to their doors, put into their hands, saving made part of the very convenience of their daily life, which co-operation furnishes; effects the change from thoughtlessness to thrift, as no other human device has ever been found to do. If the great Civil Service stores of London could be induced to connect the merciful compulsion of saving with their rules, they would have a certainty of the attachment and continued support of their members which is unknown now, and besides, they would create the habit of economy in a hundred thousand households, where it will otherwise never exist.*

Professor Hodgson—brilliant and instructive as his presidential address to the Co-operative Congress at Glasgow (1876) was—gave in some respects a cold, alien, and deficient view of this subject, when he said, "The plan of giving a bonus upon purchase if he could not regard it as a stroke of financial genius, or a discovery in social ethics, seemed to him a skilful device for making palpable the gain that accrued from lessening cost of management in proportion to the work done. Whether one got 10 per cent. as one's discounts as they were made, or a bonus of 10 per cent. on that amount after three, six, or twelve months, was surely not of vital moment." No one who had personal co-operative experience among the working people could have said this.† Surely it is idle to say (as other political

* This was admitted lately at Oxford, where dogmatic theology has been much better cared for than social morality. At the opening of Keble College, the Marquis of Salisbury said, "There never was a time in which frugality required to be so much preached to the educated classes of this country;" and Lord Selborne praised the arrangements of the College as a means much needed of protecting young students from pernicious indifference to "debt."

† The "Standard" (newspaper), which does not understand Co-operation, often confounds the London version of it with the Rochdale theory, thus speaks contemptuously of the many moralities of the genuine Store. "The worst mistake into which the 'Co-operative leaders' seem to have fallen, is, that of over-estimating the importance of their retail grocery business. Playing at shop is a favourite amusement with children, and the managers of Co-operative Stores have carried out that innocent pursuit on a colossal

economists as eminent as Professor Hodgson have said) that if a man saves 2s. in the pound in a purchase it makes no difference to him whether he receives the money weekly or at the end of the quarter; he has the money in his pocket, and if he wants to save it he can do so. This is a mad theory of human conduct, as it implies that all men are perfect, that all minds are prudent, and bent upon prudence always; that the advantages and fine spirit of self-providence is present to the mind of every one, and present unintermittingly. It implies that opportunity of some gratification, which betrays nine out of every ten, every wakeful hour of their lives, can be set aside and disregarded at will. It implies that omnipresent strength of purpose, which the philosopher extols as the perfection of character, which he never expects to see prevalent; which no Utopian ever dreams will be universal—is to be found in every one, and found always. If men could be trusted to save because they have the means of doing so, Insurance societies would be impertinencies, since every man could more or less provide for himself if he took care of his means when he has them. All the laws and all the devices of social life, to protect the thoughtless from themselves, and to prevent temptation from destroying the foolish or the weak, would be unnecessary. Thus the compulsory thrift of co-operation is one of the most necessary and beneficent features of that great self-helping scheme.

Cobden once held the theory that nothing would be so popular as a newspaper distinguished for furnishing facts.

scale with this useful result—that a number of ladies who have plenty of time on their hands succeed in procuring marmalade and Worcester sauce at a visible saving in pence. Let us hope that in many households, where the *salvation of pence is an important object*, it has been achieved without too great a waste of hours on the part of the housekeeper; but it is nonsense to imagine that the Co-operative Stores can do more towards the regeneration of the world than is involved in the partial cheapening of groceries and the wholesome lesson thereby imparted to ordinary tradesmen."—"Standard," June 4, 1869.

A taste for facts a sign of considerable cultivation.

No paper ever lived long enough to succeed in this adventurous department. The cost of getting at facts is enormous. They are as scarce as gold. The most valuable facts commonly lie very low down, and are as uncertain to find, and costly to get at, as boring for coal in an unexplored field. So difficult are they to find that men are celebrated as discoverers who first produce facts in art, or politics; in science, or social life; and when found it requires a man of genius to identify them and interpret them. Ordinary people do not know what to do with them. In a west-end district in London, where needy or thoughtless people are not expected to abound, there is a pawnbroker's shop where two thousand pledges are redeemed every Saturday night and four hundred new pledges are brought in. Pawnbrokers shops are the humble banks of the poor, who, when sudden sickness or distress overtakes them, or a journey has to be made to a dying child or parent, indigent women can there obtain a little money when they have no friend to lend them any, and only possess some wearing apparel, or wedding ring, which they can give up in exchange for money. These cases, however, represent a very small portion of that great crowd whose folly, or vice, or improvidence make up the two thousand four hundred applicants, who, in one night, throng the pawnbroker's shop we have indicated. What an ignominious crowd to contemplate! Two or three co-operative stores in that neighbourhood would do more to thin the deplorable throng than all the moralists, philosophers, and preachers London could furnish. These stores ought to be promulgated by missionary zeal. And men might give themselves to the work, as to a great religious duty.

If gentlemen had taken to co-operative trading with a view to elevate it, and improve shopkeeping by improving the taste of purchasers, by the gradual introduction of becoming colours and qualities, and articles of honest manufacture, no words of honour would be too strong to apply to these amateur shopkeepers. Some years ago I

made an appeal * to the piety of London, to do something practical in the name of faith. A few congregations in every district of the far extending metropolis might unite in setting up a good co-operative store. If deacons, elders, lady visitors, and city missionaries were to visit the poor of the neighbourhood with half as much interest in the welfare of their bodies, as that they display for the health of their souls, they would soon have thousands of poor members at their co-operative store. If they saved the profits of the poor for them, and encouraged them to permit the slow accumulation, they would teach them in time the holy art of thrift and independence, which no preacher inspires them with and no prayer endows them with. If the wealthy members choose to deal at the stores and save their profits, not for the baser reason of adding to already sufficient gains, but for the purpose of devoting them to works of art, or to that charity which helps the unfortunate and does not make mendicants, they might do good with dignity and do it without cost.

* Vide letter to "Pall Mall Gazette."

CHAPTER XIII.

METROPOLITAN PROPAGANDISM.

"I regard social schemes as one of the most valuable elements of human improvement."—JOHN STUART MILL, "Political Economy."

LONDON has started more Co-operative societies and projects than any city ten times told. If it has not succeeded with them, it has enabled others to do so. It may be held that it has had real co-operative enthusiasm and enterprize. Somebody must go forward with an ideal, which the "practical" people carry out, but rarely have the capacity to discover for themselves; and when they succeed, they are apt to disparage the thinkers who inspired them.

The vicissitudes of co-operation in the metropolis would be an instructive narrative in itself, but it would occupy a disproportionate space here. In several parts of England, as is elsewhere instanced, societies formed in the Pioneer period, and before it, continue to exist. In London no society formed in those days has continued. There was an intermittent platform advocacy of it at the old Hall of Science, City Road (rented mainly by Mr. Mordan, of gold pen repute, for Mr. Rowland Detrosier to lecture in), when physical science really was taught there; and industrial advocacy was continuous and incessant on the platform at the John Street Institution, Tottenham Court Road, and at the Cleveland Hall, hard by, for a time. Indeed in every hall—in Theobald's Road, Gray's Inn Road, in Goswell Road, Islington, Whitechapel, Hackney, Blackfriars Road, in the Rotunda in the days of Carlile, Queen

Street, Charlotte Street, at Castle Street, Oxford Street, and, subsequently, at the new Hall of Science, in Old Street, St. Luke's, and in every Free Thought or Secular Hall which has been occupied in the metropolis, Co-operative advocacy has more or less been heard.

The reader has seen in the previous volume on the Pioneer period, how earnestly the social propaganda was promoted in London. It was here that the "British Association for the Diffusion of Co-operative Knowledge" was formed. It is the tendency of the metropolis to think more of disseminating true ideas than to profit by them. The tone of the metropolitan mind is imperial. Strong thinkers strive to act from London upon the empire. The best ideas do not often originate in London, but they receive a generous determination there. Through the kindness of Dr. Yeats, there has lately come to my hands "The Report of the Committee appointed by a Meeting of Journeymen, chiefly Printers" to consider the first systematic plan of Co-operation known to have been proposed. The plan was that of Mr. George Mudie. The second edition of the Report is dated January 23, 1821. The Report first appeared in 1820, and it speaks of having been long under consideration, so that as early as 1818 or 1819 Co-operation, as a "plan of arrangement" for working people, was formally put forth. Mr. Mudie is spoken of as having delivered discourses thereupon in the metropolis. Mr. Mudie's scheme was that of a community of goods; but the Committee proposed to adapt its Co-operative features to friendly societies and working men's clubs, which was done in 1821, and was the beginning of Co-operative societies in London. The Report was signed by Robert Hunt, James Shallard, John Jones, George Hinde, Robert Dean, and Henry Hetherington. The Report is the ablest, least sentimental, the most clearly written and exhaustive — touching community schemes and Co-operative application—I have met with in the early literature of the movement.

A remarkable statement of Co-operation in 1820.

One passage, which expresses the first conception formed of that practical co-operation which we now know, will interest the reader and enable him to judge of the correctness of my estimate of this remarkable report. "It appears to us that the principle of co-operation is susceptible of so many modifications, as to be capable of being brought to bear upon almost any supposed circumstances. In some cases the benefits of co-operation could only be partially obtained. Wherever Friendly Societies or Benefit Clubs exist, the members would do well to form themselves into associations for reaping the advantages of this plan. In some cases it might be merely practicable to unite a portion of their earnings for the purchase in the best markets, certain articles of provision or clothing; while in other cases where the parties inhabit contiguous dwellings, some of the advantages resulting from the sub-division of domestic labour might also be secured, and erections adapted for the purposes of cooking and washing be made at the back of one or more of the dwellings at a small expense. If men can be brought seriously and earnestly to consider how they can unite their talents, experiences, and pecuniary resources, to attain advantages in which each should equitably participate, they will assuredly succeed in improving their condition; and if by any economical arrangements the earnings of individuals in question can be made to produce a greater quantity of articles of consumption than is to be obtained on the plan of each individual catering for his own family, the effect will be the same as would follow an increase of wages or a decrease of taxes."

The Home Colonization Society, of which Mr. William Galpin was the chief promoter, and to which Mr. Frederick Bate was the chief subscriber, was formed in London twenty years later, 1840-1. The first Central Board of the Society had offices in the metropolis for some years in Bloomsbury Square, and the "New Moral World" was printed by Ostell round the corner in Hart Street.

After the fall of Queenwood no action of moment was made in London until the Christian Socialists took the field on behalf of co-operation, 1848-9. Some important services of theirs are recorded in the chapters on "Parliamentary Aid," "Famous Promoters," and elsewhere in these volumes. The higher aims they put before and kept before co-operators* have made their influence the most fortunate which has befallen the movement. It was in Charlotte Street, which Mr. Owen has previously made famous, that the barristers' and clergymen's co-operative movement commenced, the said Christian Socialist organization of a Central Co-operative Agency and Working Men's Associations. Having fortune, learning and influence, they attracted important attention to the subject; and issued publications explanatory of their intentions. With what generosity and zeal, and at how great a cost the work was conducted, will never be known until they themselves tell the story. Those who had been connected with former movements knew well that the scale on which they worked must involve great loss; and had they not been men of high character, caring for the principles of industrial reform they espoused, and believing in them, they would have abandoned a cause which had been so expensive to them, instead of continuing to this day to sustain and promote it.

From 1850 to 1855 attempts were made in London to establish a Wholesale Supply Association, under the name of the Universal Purveyor, for the manufacture, preparation, and sale of food, drinks, and drugs, guaranteed against adulteration and fraud, and just in purity, quality, weight, measure and price. The commencing capital was £10,000 in 1000 shares of £10. The project lasted in force but a few years. M. Jules le Chevalier St. Andre, formerly a Fourierite enthusiast, but not at all an enthusiast in London,

* See Lecture to the Guild of Co-operators, Exeter Hall, London, by Thomas Hughes, Q.C., 1878.

but a very obese and accomplished projector, was concerned in both these schemes. The chief supporter of the Purveyor was the Rev. C. Marriott, who at that time was Dean of Oriel, Oxford. He was certainly a clergyman of great disinterestedness, who ran great pecuniary risks, and incurred several losses to serve others. M. St. Andre had a masterly way of putting a case which would interest a man like Mr. Marriott. It was not until after much money had been lost in Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, and the business there was ended, that M. St. Andre commenced his "Universal Purveyor" at 23, King William Street. In one of his last circulars he said, "The most obstructive difficulty was inherent to the state of the English law, whereby it was not possible to take part in any enterprize, admitting of some risk, without being entrapped, as it were, into *unlimited* responsibility. The unalterable faith in God, which has supported me all through the apparent hopelessness of a righteous cause, strengthens in me every day more and more the belief that by coming forward personally as trustee, and financially with every means he could place at my disposal, the Rev. C. Marriott has laid the foundation of an institution pregnant of important results. The Rev. C. Marriott was perfectly aware that as a trustee he would have been made responsible with us. But there was no other means of doing what he thought his duty, and he did it. Thank God he has come out safe, after enabling us to reach the time when the principle of limited liability has been introduced in the English law."

All that relates to Mr. Marriott was true and most honourable to him. What it cost him to "come out safe" is not stated. Gentlemen more experienced in the world, and more in it than Mr. Marriott, had found that "an unalterable trust in God," while very well in its place, may be very costly in business, unless accompanied by secular qualifications. St. Andre well knew this: and also well understood what a Wholesale Agency should be:

and his description of it is worth preserving. Its conditions were these:

1. An extent of operations embracing the supply of all articles for domestic consumption. 2. Making the guarantee of purity, quality, quantity, and fair price, the special duty and responsibility of the establishment. 3. Selling on commission only, and not making any speculative profits. 4. Extensive warehouses for examining and testing the goods before packing and delivery. 5. The most perfect machinery for weighing, packing, and labelling large quantities of parcels of every description. 6. Organization of a Commission of Referees, composed of professional men of the highest standing. 7. Appointed buyers, morally responsible to the public. 8. A strong body of respectable servants as clerks, travellers, packers, warehousemen, pledged to certain modes of dealing, thoroughly impressed with the fact that they are on public duty.

Years after the disappearance of the Working Men's Associations founded by the Christian Socialists, I and Mr. E. R. Edger held meetings at The Raglan (Mr. Jagger's coffee-house), 71, Theobald's Road. The object of these meetings was to suggest a plan of combined action for all the London stores, and to invite their co-operation in circulating an address to the people, with the object of increasing the members and custom of every store. There were then some twenty or thirty stores in London scattered and isolated. Mr. Edger and I published the "Social Economist" for the purpose of promoting organization among these stores, and Mr. Edger wrote a wise series of tracts for circulation among the members. By the generous aid of a munificent friend of co-operation—always nameless, but incessant in service—Mr. Greening and I established in London the "Social Economist," which for a considerable period sought to inform co-operators the nature of continental thought, as respects the organization of social life and labour. It was subsequently discontinued

on behalf of the "Co-operative News" that there might be unity and greater interest in the new journal then projected. A "London Association for the Promotion of Co-operation" was for some time in operation in 1863. Mr. J. S. Mill, Professor F. W. Newman, and Mr. E. Vansittart Neale, permitted their names to be announced as honorary members. The committee was composed of officers of these existing co-operative societies. It was stated by this body that there was at that time "forty societies in London and its vicinity."

The establishment of the Agricultural and Horticultural Co-operative Association in London devised by Mr. Edward Owen Greening; Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., and Thomas Hughes, M.P., the Hon. Mr. Cowper-Temple, M.P., and other gentlemen, being Directors, gave practical co-operation position in the metropolis. The progress of this association is as remarkable as that of any society extant, considering that it occupied an entirely new field, and sought members among the farmers of England who do not take readily to new ideas. Mr. E. O. Greening, the manager, being possessed of real co-operative knowledge, skilled in devising new applications of the principle, and of unquestionable zeal and capacity in advocacy, has exercised considerable propagandist influence in London. This Agricultural Association has maintained a standard of co-operative principle which has been operative upon the Civil Service societies in some instances. Mr. Greening and others have caused to be carried on for some time a Co-operative Institute in Castle Street, in a large building formerly the Concert Room of the Princess's Theatre, Oxford Street. The names of Thomas Brassey, M.P., the Earl of Rosebery, and Arthur Trevelyan appear among the promoters in addition to other well-known friends of Industrial organization, as Walter Morrison, Charles Morrison, and the Right Hon. Cowper-Temple, M.P. The "Daily News" has given a comprehensive account of it, saying:—
"This Co-operative Institute is not, as might be inferred

from the name, a store or a trading company, but a Society formed to organize the means of pure and elevating enjoyment, the revenue arising from members' subscriptions being applied to educational or recreative purposes. . . . . It provides the combined advantages of lectures, concerts, the use of Mudie's books, a reading room, and, as far as possible, the usual adjuncts of a club. There are occasionally social evenings for dancing, but no intoxicants are permitted, and admission is limited to members." It ought to be added that the Central Co-operative Board and some societies have made subscriptions to it. If it had an assured revenue from the great societies it might become an important institution of representative propagandism.

A Central Co-operative Agency Society, Limited, was established in London some time ago, for the sale of co-operative manufacture and provisions, wholesale and retail. The object of that part of the agency, devoted to the sale of manufactures, was intended to provide a market in London for the sale of the produce of manufacturing societies elsewhere. It unfortunately entrusted its operations to a manager, supposed to have good intentions, but not known to have anything else. A fire occurred among the goods, which did not much increase the confusion in which the affairs of the agency usually were. It did not need a fire to destroy the concern. With a manager of this world it might have become a profitable and useful agency. The want of London is a few men who can be assigned to each special undertaking, and who will attend to it personally and exclusively. An excellent thing is at times set going, and none devote themselves to seeing it go and taking care that it does go. The chief leaders of co-operation engage in too many things at once.

Since the Agricultural Association built a council room in Millbank Street, the Central Board of the Southern Section has sat there and has devised a Metropolitan Co-operative Society, one object being to open stores in suitable districts

on the plan which experience in the provinces has warranted. These stores are to be efficiently superintended and supplied with provisions from the Manchester Wholesale, which can uniformly be depended upon. So comprehensive a scheme was impossible before the Branch of the Manchester Wholesale was opened at 118, Minories. This step has brought with it the advantage of stationing provincial men in London, who are practically acquainted with co-operation. Mr. Benjamin Jones, the Manager of the Wholesale Branch, possessing a minute knowledge of co-operative procedure and great judgment and resource in methods of organization, is an addition to the co-operative forces of London.

Since 1875 the proceedings of the Annual Congress has been regulated by the laws of a Co-operative Union adopted at the London Congress in that year. This Union prescribes the conditions under which societies may become members of it, and send delegates to it. It appoints a Central Board which officially governs the proceedings of the united co-operative body, seven members of which meet in the midlands, seven in the northern, eleven in the north-western, nine in the southern, five in the western division of England, and ten in the Kingdom of Scotland. Delegates from each of these district Boards meet periodically in Manchester to transact the general business of the Union under the name of the United Board.

"This Union is formed to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice, and economy in production and exchange—

(1) By the abolition of all false dealing, either—

a. Direct, by representing any article produced or sold to be other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be; or

b. Indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor material to be known by the purchaser, to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased.

(2) By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as *Profit.*

(3) By preventing the waste of labour, now caused by unregulated competition.

[The Union does not affect to determine precisely what division of this fund shall be considered *equitable*, believing that this is a question admitting of different solutions, under different circumstances, and not to be concluded by any hard and fast line. But it insists on the recognition of the principle.]"

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, a ceaseless worker for social improvement, not merely doing with zeal what routine work may come before him in the movements he assists, but assiduously devising new methods of advancing the objects in view—has projected a Co-operative Guild for the purpose of creating an organized propagandism of principles of Industrial Association. At the Glasgow Congress of 1876, it was first agreed to form a Guild on the plan of the ancient societies of that name. It was proposed by myself to give effect to a striking paper on Propagandism read by Mr. Joseph Smith, secretary to the Manchester Board. The draft of the Guild was signed by G. J. Holyoake, A. Greenwood, W. Nuttall, J. Smith, E. V. Neale, J. Crabtree, J. M. Percival, H. J. Wiley.

This "Guild of Co-operative Pioneers" was intended to comprise a Master of the Guild, and (1) Associates examined in Co-operative Principle; (2) Companions examined in Methods of Co-operative Procedure; (3) Administrators examined in the Government of Societies; (4) Members of Court examined in the Policy and Debate in Societies and Congress. The object of this Guild was to train a body of persons in every town who should possess usefulness and authority by reason of their known devotion and ascertained qualifications.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt's scheme was originated quite

independently and is of wider range and comprises more popular features. It commenced in March, 1878, a series of four lectures in Exeter Hall; the first being delivered by Thomas Hughes, Q.C., on the History of Co-operation, Mr. Hodgson Pratt presiding.

As spurious co-operation became the fashion, in London it raised its impudent head in many streets, which it defaced with pretended "Co-operative Shops." A single adventurer multiplied himself into a Firm, and announced himself as a "Co-operative Company." Fictitious "Co-operative Banks" made their appearance, and treacle and calico, boots and money, were offered ostentatiously in the name of "Co-operation." The tendencies of these impostures was to invest co-operation with suspicion; and often when an honest co-operative store really appeared, it made no way through being distrusted. Mr. Richard Banner Oakley, of pestilential repute, failed in the many specious attempts to get the Co-operative Congress to recognize him, or the Central Board, or "Co-operative News" to countenance in any degree his operations, which were so effectually explained in co-operative journals as dangerous, that no single store ever had dealings with him, nor was a single person, professing to be a co-operator, found to be a depositor in his pretended bank. The outside public, from treating co-operation with ignorant distrust, at last believed in it with an ignorant credulity, and these were the creatures Oakley caught. When he invented his Co-operative Credit Bank, the papers spoke of it as an instance of "Co-operative credulity," whereas the co-operators were the only persons who had no faith in it. His victims were persons seeking dividends, not knowing, or not caring, how they were to be made. So late as 1876 the newspapers reproached co-operators for having sometimes "ruined a society because the uneducated members refused to allow the manager due discretion." Nothing was probably known to this writer of the cases in which societies in England, and even in Scotland, had lost very

large sums through allowing unregulated discretion to managers. There is a medium between discretion and absolute irresponsibility.

There is a Co-operative Coal Society in Chancery Lane, London, managed by Mr. Julius Forster. In this climate life without fire is precarious in winter, and to the old insupportable. Deficiency of fuel means sickness, increased contagion, premature death to the old, and sharp pain and privation in many ways. To help to avert this, in the days of the coal famine, the Co-operative Coal Supply association held a conference in Millbank Street Hall, to promote co-operative coal mining. In the North of England the working miners had then taken some coal royalties, and, with secured orders from London, they could work them with profit and avoid many costs of administration. The chief Civil Service stores connected themselves with the Coal Supply Society; and all who were not afraid of co-operative coal could get that article cheaper than their neighbours. There are a good many people in London who do not care one whit on what principle they are warmed, if warm they can be kept in winter.

The Manchester Co-operative Fire Insurance Society (which has shown a growing prosperity for some years), of which Mr. James Odgers is secretary, has offices also in Chancery Lane, London. There are many signs now that real co-operation will attain substantial ascendency in London in a few years. This Society, commenced in 1872, also issues Guarantees of Fidelity of Servants of Co-operative Societies. It has now added a Life Department.

It is one of the pleas for the incapacity of London to co-operate that the population is transitory. This is true of visitors; still householders remain pretty constant. And this sufficiently explains the possibility of even metropolitan co-operation. Population, which seems fluctuating under facilities of transit and emigration, yet resembles the deposits at a bank. Though withdrawable on demand

a profitable proportion of money always remains on hand. It is the same with workmen. Great numbers expect to live in the place in which they were born or have settled; as witness the statements made at the meeting of "The British Association"* at Bradford in 1873, that the following building societies, † composed mainly of working people, had these members and income in 1872.—

Title of Society.	Members.	Funds.
Bradford Second Equitable ...	6,277	£265,000
Bradford Third Equitable ...	7,200	537,000
Leeds Permanent	12,020	365,000
Leeds Provincial	5,250	200,000
Halifax Permanent	6,167	174,000

These masses of membership do not look like a flying population. Here, too, is capacity for co-operation clearly shown by them. If as much interest was taken in co-operative as in religious propagandism, and 100 members of any congregation were to guarantee to buy not less than £1 worth of goods from any good store, the store-keepers might undertake to contribute £1000 in four years to the income of the Church.

* The association of the eight-worded name "for the advancement of science."

† The five societies are those cited by Mr. A. Binns at Bradford.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOCIAL POLICY OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

He neither power or places sought,
For *others* not himself he fought.
He might have been a king,
But that he understood
How much it was a meaner thing
To be unjustly great—than honourably good.
The Duke of Buckingham's Epitaph on Lord Fairfax.

THE noblest and most perfect scheme of liberty or set of rules in the world, will be dead letters unless men with sense and a passion for the right carry them out. The right men are known by the policy they pursue. Some men profess not to know what policy is. Yet they know that if a man wishes to appear superior to his neighbours without trouble, his policy is not to work. If his intention is not to work, his policy is to live by borrowing as less dangerous but not less dishonest than stealing. But if a man intends to live by industry and to get on by good sense, he adopts certain rules of probity and usefulness, and these are his policy.

Co-operation implies a training in an entirely unknown art, the art of association. The earlier advocates of industrial equity had everything to learn, and to fight their way step by step in the shop, in the market, on the platform, and in the press. The instructed seldom befriended them, and adversaries never gave them quarter. In this solitary contention they discovered the policy of their success.

1. Never to conceal what ought in business honestly to be made known, nor communicate to assailants outside business what is no business of theirs.

Catlin tells us that the astute American Indian always

keeps his mouth shut, until he has some purpose in opening it; and the Indian mother watches her boy while he sleeps, carefully closing his lips, if apart, that he may acquire the habit of keeping them shut night and day, as audible breathing may one day betray him in his lair. There are men in every movement who always have their mouths open. It may be owing to mere labial deficiency, or to their having had parents who knew nothing of the importance of educated habit; but to the spectator it seems a sign of vacuity or foolishness. The early socialists mostly had this peculiarity, not from physical but intellectual deficiency in the power of reticence. Speech escaped from them without calculation of its relevancy or use. Co-operation still suffers from a dangerous publicity of its purposes. If some rival firm refuses to sell to them provisions or materials they go to the expense of printing a circular about it, or put it in a paper and circulate the fact that they are disabled from carrying on their business. Everywhere they warn powerful capitalists to combine against them, and then squeal out when the pressure is put upon them, although they alone have informed their own limited connection that they are distressed, disabled, and excluded; thus ministering to the personal triumph as well as business success of their clever and reticent adversaries, who know better how to close their mouths and work in the shade. A manufacturing society will proclaim its disasters when applying for more capital. Co-operators know that competition is a battle in which there are few scruples and no quarter, and yet many of them chatter as though it was a tea party. It is the same in Radicalism, where publicity is a disease instead of a purpose. It is the malady of inexperience. Conservative working men are as bad when they are allowed to speak. What matters it to co-operators if the enemy close the markets where they must purchase provisions to distribute, or materials with which to conduct productive manufactures? This can be overcome in commerce and trade

by establishing wholesale societies, and entering the markets with means of making large purchases. But no machinery can be devised to counteract erroneous speculative impressions. Theological alarm is far more implacable than that of business. Welcome defamation is conveyed down a thousand electric and devious lines of prejudice, where deliberate, stately, and friendless truth is too proud, too scornful, or too poor to follow it; and there it lives till Time starves it, or the contempt of a second and better instructed generation kills it.

2. The co-operator, therefore, gives no information as to his religious opinions, and treats any demand of the kind as a social outrage.

Religion in the sense of reverence for God as the Author of nature, or reverence for truth as showing what that nature is, is confined to a few persons in every generation. With this religion of the understanding co-operation is wholly coincident. But to the literary religion which prevails, and strange to say is believed in mainly by the mass of persons who have no literary knowledge, discernment, or capacity whatever—co-operation is often found to be repugnant. The most human and gracious parts of the Bible are those which express sympathy for the poor. Co-operation respects but declines this sympathy. It objects to being poor, and holds that there is neither need, nor use, nor good in being poor; yet while it is my belief that frankness alone is force, and concealment is shabbiness and weakness when persons have a right to information, it would be mere folly and harm; if from covetousness for the credit of boldness, a writer should make more of religious divergence than really exists. There is no serious divergence in the opinion of those in whose minds passion has no power to exaggerate facts. Divergence does not apply to nature, it only relates to man. Divergence does not mean that nature varies, but that man does. Divergence is only a term which indicates that we have

Sympathy with the right of dissent confounded with identity of opinion.

not yet got the measure of truth. There is no difference of opinion among those who see a fact exactly as it is. When one man discovers that the established measurement is wrong and announces one more accurate, men put him down as being no better than he should be, which merely means that he is nearer to the real dimensions of the truth than his neighbours.

3. Self-helping in all things, the co-operator chooses his own principles, and answers for them himself.

The poorer sort of persons with new ideas are eager to have them discussed. It is their only chance of getting attention. To accomplish this, they must uphold the principle of free discussion. Yet discussion once sanctioned in any party, all sorts of questions are raised, and the responsibility of the opinions advanced is, in a manner, diffused over the whole party who uphold the principle. Hence co-operation, in its early days, was charged with complicity with every utopianism of the hour, discussed in its halls, or advocated by its supporters. Of course this mistake would not be made about it, if the public discriminated; but the public is a creature which never does discriminate. Not only do parties, unskilled in managing the unmanageable, suffer from this misconception, but philosophers suffer from it. John Stuart Mill was a memorable instance of this; because he wrote letters on behalf, or on some occasions gave support to, persons whose views the public did not like, it was assumed that Mr. Mill did like them. This did not by any means follow. Mr. Mill believed that progress needed to be promoted. He believed that it was retarded in two ways—by persons not saying what they thought right, and by not acting upon it when they had said it. He, therefore, encouraged this being done, without at all implying that he agreed with the particular views of each individual, or his mode of carrying them out.

The men who inspired the co-operative movement, who believed in it when no one else did, who stood by it when

others once attracted to it deserted it, and whose intrepidity and persistence have been the cause of its success, were men who held no second-hand opinions, but debated out for themselves what they sought to know, and had to depend upon. So vigilant were they that they never suffered any speaker to address an audience in their name, unless he submitted what he said to criticism and opportunity of refutation. They regarded as a deceiver or a traitor any who sought to impose upon them opinions he did not invite them to verify and enable them to do it.

4. To regard every member as actuated by veracity and right intentions, and in case of difference of opinion to reason with him as being in error—not as being base.

So solicitous were the early co-operators for neutrality in imputation that they prohibited all praise or blame, in order that the mind being kept passionless, might move in the equable plane of simple truth. Certainly this discipline kept a speaker quiet but it made him dull. He never knew whether he was a fool or a wit. He might as well have addressed so many bales of cotton as an audience of social improvers. Other and wiser exactions—still less agreeable to the fervid and loose-tongued orator, were made. Whoever spoke among them was strictly forbidden to be imputative. He was told to pity the vituperative assailant to whom nature nor culture had given neither sense or taste—not to imitate him. Thirty years before Mr. Matthew Arnold pointed out that Paul when he called his adversaries "dogs" and "vain babblers" had no chance of convincing them, nor had Christ any chance of gaining the Scribes and Pharisees by the invectives He launched at them, when He abandoned His mild uncontentious winning mode of working. "*He shall not strive or cry*" was his true characteristic, in which all his charm and power lay. Thirty years ere this was said, co-operators were taught consideration in speech, and it was known among them that denunciation of persons was

the cheapest, easiest, most popular and most unwholesome use to which the human tongue could be put—and that the wanton imputation of evil motives to others was an abuse of free speech. Defamation of motives assume an infallibility of discernment which no man is endowed with, and denotes utter ignorance of the duty of exposition and of the art of persuading the minds of men. Those who seek the truth, and care for the truth, are traitors to it when they employ unfairness of terms. He who is imputative and unjust of speech turns men from him for ever, and is not long credited himself with purity of motive. So sharply should consequence be connected with conduct, that a brutal sincerity should be held as much a betrayal of the truth as the denial of it; for he who denies it merely hides it, while he who makes it offensive makes it to be hated. The moment an unjust imputation is made ill-feeling begins, the wisdom or error of any step is at once lost sight of. The moment personalities are permitted, the tongue of every fool is loosened, and floods of resentment and rancour drown all harmony and arrest all concert.

Mr. John Holmes, who has published some wise conditions of co-operative success, errs in one where he prescribes, "Forbearance towards each other's *disinterested* opinions." Now co-operators have nothing to do with the question whether the opinions of their colleagues are *interested* or "disinterested," but simply with the truth and value of their opinions. Any question as to the motives or "disinterestedness" of the opinions is the beginning of disunion and of imputation which disgraces and kills the society.

A hearty geniality is of great value in co-operative societies. A business watchfulness which never sleeps, and a pleasantry of manner which never fails, are qualities above all value in a co-operator in office. His smile is a public gift, the tone of his voice is an act of friendship. A hard man, with a sharp tongue and a short temper, is a

local misfortune, diffusing discomfort wherever he treads. I know entire towns which never had a genial man in them—where every speech is an attack, every suggestion a suspicion, and every meeting a conflict. Co-operation in these places is always rheumatic and unhappy—labouring under a sort of suppressed social gout. Not that I object to grumblers; if they have any sense they are an uncomfortable kind of benefactors. No English society would do without them. They act as a sort of Spanish muleteer—they prick slow animals with long ears over rough places. It must be confessed they are rather apt to overdo it, and make the patient, steady-working, good-natured animal bolt, and then they ruin everything.

5. To constantly remember that there is no one not a fool who would not be wiser and better than he is, had he the choice; and that the disagreeable, the wrong-headed, and the base, are to be regarded as unfortunate rather than hateful.

Leigh Hunt well expressed this when he said, "Let us agree to consider the errors of mankind as proceeding more from defect of knowledge than defect of goodness." Those who learned this, and those alone, have given permanence to the co-operative movement. Those who never knew it, or who, knowing it, have forgotten it, flounder for ever between hatred and hopes.

Long before the Welsh reformer was born, Goldsmith had said, without censure, that "had Cæsar or Cromwell exchanged countries, the one might have been a serjeant and the other an exciseman." Owen did but suggest the undeniable conclusion that in such case Cromwell would have been a Pagan and Cæsar a Puritan; and therefore co-operators should meet in stores or communities men of every sect, without hostility or dislike—since particular faiths are to be honoured as far as they make men into brethren, and are to be accepted by all who deem them true; while their special varieties are to be equally

regarded as arising in geographical or chronological accidents, and not to be ascribed to sin. Co-operation would be impossible if its disciples stooped to sectarian antipathies and spoke of each other with the bitterness with which Sir John Bowring found the Chief Priest of the Samaritans of Sychar speak of the Jews after eighteen centuries of dislike. It was the knowledge given them of the human burden of inherited incapacity that imparted to co-operators that great strength of patience and charity of judgment which enabled their societies to endure, while the retaliating and fiercer political parties around them fought themselves out. Those who look may see that the same nature is master of us all; that individual man and diversified races, every sect and every opinion, every passion and every act, are the product of a tireless destiny, which went before, and of circumstances which follow after, besetting us at every step—now inspiring the lofty, anon inflaming the base, making men objects of gladness or pity; saving the high who know it, from pride; protecting the low from scorn and despair; striking or serving us, just as we are wise, to study the ways and observe the methods of nature. Those who learn this know no more haste or apathy, foolish hatred or foolish despair.

Co-operators will never remain leal and true to their society unless a foundation which never gives way is laid in the understanding. You cannot command unity, no exhortation will produce it. By mere business sense a member will put up with some failure or loss, or inferior commodities at times for the advantage which can be had in the main, by holding together. By mere business sense he will not expect too much; he will know that success comes little by little, and generally arrives late and takes disagreeable caprices on the way. By mere business sense a man may be found in his place on dividend day. But more than this will be wanted to make him a pleasant, ardent, and continuous associate. If he is made aware that wrong-headed people mostly had that twist before they

were born—that the querulous man has vinegar nerves, which he would be glad to exchange and cannot—that a conceited associate has gas on the brain which inflates all his faculties and makes him think they are solid because they feel big—he will be tolerant and steadfast when others turn aside offended. Half the irritation we feel at the errors and angular ways of others arises from forgetting that we ourselves are not infallible, and have stupid and ungracious intervals like others.

6. A fool cannot be a co-operator, and since those who know every thing do not remember it always, every one should be instructed and kept instructed in what he is expected to act upon.

Co-operators have made money by their method of business, they have won honours by being the first of the working class who cared for self education as a higher form of property. Aristipus having counselled a father to see for a good tutor to his son, he was asked what would that amount to? He answered, "A hundred crowns." The father, thinking the sum large, replied that "such a sum might buy him a slave." "Well," said Aristipus, "bestow your money so and you shall have two slaves, the one your ill-bred son and the other he whom you buy for your money." *

The Church for a long time disliked education as tending to make the lower orders unmanageable and the Dissenters feared it as making them carnal-minded—not seeing that the intellectual must always be more spiritual than the ignorant: but the co-operators had no dislike of it, no misgiving about it. It was to them a means of self defence. In 1835 Mr. Owen announced that he had received £500 for the purpose "of commencing a school on the most scientific principles for the children of co-operators and £2000 more were to be had to extend a knowledge of sciences among the people." The co-operators made schools

* Thoughts on Education by Bishop Burnet.

for mechanics popular. Sixty years ago they were in advance of the nation now, in proposing the best instruction for the humblest.

Knowledge is the same thing to the understanding as the eye is to the body. Knowledge is the sight of the mind. A man may get on without seeing, but while he halts and stumbles others will pass him on the way. All knowledge which throws light on what a man has to do, or on the men or circumstances existing where he has to act, is of the nature of outside help to him. A mind of few ideas may be compared to a short lever: it can move only little things; while a mind of many ideas has a longer leverage, and can move larger obstacles out of the way. Thus knowledge of the right kind and of the necessary quantity is plainly a good investment.

Every human society in which life and property were in daily peril has found law and order worth paying for, as soon as they could be got. In these days society everywhere and all individuals in it, are threatened by a longer and further insecurity not yet provided for, that of the assault by the millions who are poor against the thousands who are rich. Those who believe that things will last their time still have misgivings for their children. It is therefore the acknowledged interest of all persons to provide against this last form of civilized insecurity. If, however, it can be shown that the art of association, on the principle of industrial equity, will secure competence to the many without any war upon the opulent classes, that knowledge is worth a high price and will be a good investment. There will be many who have not given the subject much thought, who think they can do better than by incurring expense on this account. We know that in the old state of society in which rapine prevailed, there were many who could take care of themselves, and objected to be taxed for the preservation of general order. But they found in the end that their welfare depended in the long run on their neighbours and

on the country being secure, and they found that to contribute to the common fund for the general protection was a good investment. In the same way there are many employers who calculate that it is cheaper for them to take the loss occasioned by strikes than enter upon labour partnerships. This may be true until the day comes when all gains are jeopardized by the revolt of unrequited industry. It is therefore that the knowledge of the art and advantages of equity is a good investment.

It was one of Mr. Owen's practical merits that he foresaw this, and it was the object of his great industrial experiments to demonstrate that considerations for the security of society in the future paid in the present. He was persuaded that even expenses which introduced art and refinement into the lives and households of the common people was a sound investment for gentlemen to make, whether they regarded personal wealth or personal security and honour. Mr. Owen had not, like Fairfax, the opportunity of being a king, but he might have been known as the richest of manufacturers, had he not preferred something higher; and distinction greater than that of any king came to him, and riches also. Co-operators knew that it was the want of intelligence that keeps up ugliness in life. Beauty in art, order in cities, grace of action, good manners, all pay; only few persons know how to appreciate them as things of value in life, or to estimate them at a price. One reason is that the majority of persons are born poor and die so. They never have the means of buying perfect things, or using them. They are obliged to do without them, and naturally do not regard them as otherwise they would. But persons who have anything to spend and only spend it in buying mere sensual pleasure, have the minds of animals, not the minds of men. Scientific knowledge, and literary knowledge is now provided more or less. Board Schools, Art Schools, Science Classes, in Technical and other colleges are now open to working men. But education in probity, in self-possession, in courtesy, in pride

of workmanship, in public spirit, in public duty, in citizenship, that co-operators can only acquire by keeping Libraries, News Rooms, Lecture Halls at their own command, and for their own use. A recent writer has shown that in Civil Service Examinations none are examined in manliness,* good sense, or the elements of personal character. Mr. Brudenell Carter has proved that there is no over work within the limits of daily strength. Within those limits work is a condition of health. The idle die of idleness. Many more than are imagined die of acquired stupidity. Of course there are a good many people who do not need to acquire stupidity. They always have a stock on hand. He is base who, having principles he knows to be useful to others, does not endeavour to diffuse them; and since co-operation becomes more profitable the more persons engage in it, it is want of sense not to extend it.

Co-operation is liable, in one place or other, to be overrun by the vermin of competition, who see with selfish eyes an escape from misery to money in the new system, and see nothing else in it. Co-operation, like the corn-laden caravans of merchants in the desert, is seized upon by marauding bands, who carry off treasures intended for honest sale. Once it is discerned that co-operation creates wealth, swarms of mere mercenaries swoop down upon it, to avail themselves of it as a means of gain, caring nothing for the social education and equality it was intended to promote.

There are towns now, where there stands a noble pile of buildings, the co-operators who own it are counted by thousands. No educational fund was devised in the infancy of their society. Now, no will is strong enough, no reason can prevail, to retrace the deplorable step. Ignorance grows upon a society, as age upon an individual. It stiffens its limbs, it bows its head, it dims its sight, it enfeebles its mind, until it retains nothing but the courage

* Essay on Commissions by John S. Storr.

of cupidity; and to gratify that, it walks in ignorable ruts all its days. Such a society may grow, but it has neither suppleness nor soundness; its largeness is puffiness, and a shock of adversity brings it at once under the hands of the fiscal coroner who sits in the Bankruptcy Court. Timely information might avert this imbecility, for since you cannot make co-operators out of simpletons, it is prudent to take care that they do not overrun the society.

Cæsar, we are told, lamented that he could proceed no faster on his victorious march than the asses who carried his baggage could travel. The progress of most societies is often retarded by the same kind of animals. The best directors are always hampered by want of more intelligence among the members. The ignorant do not understand their own interest, nor how to support those who do. Stores whose members are unvaccinated with business intelligence are sure to break out with the smallpox of ignorance sooner or later; some have it in a very bad form, and some die of it. Lectures and literature must be supplied for general information. The brain like the body is starved if not fed with ideas. The thought is thin, the language is lean, the logic is limp, the illustrations rheumatic, and can hardly stand upright.

The co-operator cannot, like the theologian, increase the income of the working class by prayer. He works by human arrangements, economy and sagacity, and it is only those who have confidence in these means that have enthusiasm in extending co-operation. It was the first murderer, Cain, who asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The co-operator cannot keep his brother, but he has a strong interest in enabling his brother to keep himself, and he knows the way, and knowing it, if he does not exert himself to make it known to others, who may be lost through not seeing it, he is a murderer by his neglect.

CHAPTER XV.

INDUSTRIAL PARTNERSHIP.

"It is a natural and not an unreasonable wish for every man to form that he should have some interest in and some control over the work on which he is employed. It is human nature, I think, that a man should like to feel that he is to be a gainer by any extra industry that he may put forth, and that he should like to have some sense of proprietorship in the shop, or mill, or whatever it may be, in which he passes his days. And it is because the system introduced of late years of co-operative industry meets that natural wish that I look forward to its extension with so much hopefulness. I believe it is the best, the surest remedy for that antagonism of labour and capital; for it is not in any way necessary to successful co-operation that the capitalist should be turned out of the concern."—EARL DERBY (then Lord Stanley) *at opening of the Liverpool Trades Hall, October*, 1869.

AN Industrial Partnership is a business in which the employers pay to the hands a portion of profits made in addition to their wages, on the supposition that the men will create the said profit by increased interest and assiduity in their work. In an industrial partnership capital employs labour. In a co-operative workshop labour employs capital.

M. Le Comte de Paris, the author of the wisest and most readable book on Trades Unions which has appeared, describes "Co-operative Societies for production as transforming the workman into a capitalist by securing to him a *share* of the profits of the undertaking, in which he has invested the capital of his labour." This relates merely to the arrangements of an industrial partnership and is quite distinct from Co-operation. A co-operative workshop divides not a share but *all* the profits among the producers.*

* Trades Unions of England, p. 214. Edited by Thomas Hughes, Q.C.

Earl Derby, distinguished among public men by the faculty, not at all common, of seeing a question from which he may dissent from the point of view of those who accept it: and such is his clearness of statement that those who listen to him find their own case put as it were by themselves, when they see it most completely and state it best to their own satisfaction. Thus if dissent is expressed it has the force which belongs alone to the words of one who knows all about the subject, and if it be concurrence which is announced, men regard it with pride as that of a new authority in favour of a struggling truth. The whole question of industrial partnerships is contained in the following passage from the same speech mentioned at the head of this chapter:—

"It seems to me desirable, no matter by what particular agency or mechanism it may be secured, that the men who give their labour to the concern shall to some extent share in the profit that it makes. But in participation there are losses as well as gains; but the very fact that these occur will make the men who share in them understand and feel better than they ever did before the responsibilities and the difficulties of the employer, and if, as is quite possible, many having felt its difficulties, prefer the certainty and security of fixed wages, they, at least, have had their choice between the two systems. I am well aware that such a state of things as I have pointed out is one which cannot be brought about in a day. It is quite probable that there are some trades, some kinds of businesses in which it cannot be brought about at all; but it seems to me that it is in that direction that the efforts of the best workers and the ideas of the best thinkers are tending, and we are not to be disheartened by a few failures, or disappointed because we do not at once hit on the best way of doing what has never been done before."

Industrial partnerships seem to have entered the Irish mind before it did the English, if regard be had to legislative evidence. In Dublin as early as 1788 there was

"printed by George Grierson, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty" (there has been a good deal of Majesty since 1788 which has not appeared "Most Excellent" to anybody) "an Act to promote Trade and Manufacture by regulating and encouraging partnerships." The words "Chap. XLVI." were annexed thereto. Its preamble set forth that "whereas the increasing the stock of money employed in Trade and Manufacture must greatly promote the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom, and many persons might be induced to subscribe sums of money to men well qualified for trade (but not of competent fortune to carry it on largely) if they (the subscribers) were allowed to abide by the profit or loss of the trade for the same, and were not to be deemed Traders on that account or subject thereby to any further or other demands than the sums so subscribed." This is excellently put. The whole theory of industrial partnerships is here. Mr. Scholefield, M.P. for Birmingham, when he carried his Bill in the English House of Commons eighty years later, could not have constructed a more relevant preamble. But the Irish always were a lacky people. Ireland has no Established Church, it has a better land tenure and better tenants rights than England has. The English Parliament never gives half the time nor half the tenderness of consideration to the affairs of the English people it does to those of the Irish. Mr. Gladstone has given Ireland real pre-eminence. Ireland is the real "Land of the Free" to which emigrants from England ought to direct their steps. If some one would make a statement of the Statuary advantages of Ireland over England, many would be surprised at English inferiority.

In Great Britain it was Mr. Owen, at Lanark, who first showed masters what they might, with honour and profit, do by acting on voluntary understanding of partnership with those they employed. The English law did not permit participation of profit with workmen in those days. It could only be done in the form of gifts. Mr. Owen

made these in the form of education, recreation, improved dwellings and increased wages. All these were revocable —the law forbade contracts of participation with workmen. Industrial equity bore the name of benevolence, and dividends of profit reached workmen in the form of a discriminating charity.

Great discoveries and comprehensive schemes of change, oft include other ideas which society afterwards better comprehends, or finds more practicable, and they are carried out. At the same time the virtual originator of them scarcely perceived them, or appreciated their value. Thus Mr. Owen, through his great advocacy of co-operation in public life, certainly drew men's attention to the use of the principle in workshops. As to industrial partnerships: he neither foresaw them nor believed that any thing of the kind would be necessary. He had as great faith in his new system superseding all the "worn out systems of the world" which he continually called ameliorative devices—as the apostles had that the end of the world would arrive in their time. There were industrial partnerships among men successfully conducted by them, long before Mr. Owen's time; they were, however, widely scattered, few in number, and little known: while at the same time there prevailed a general belief that such partnerships were entirely above the capacity of the working class. Besides Mr. Owen was a Paternalist. He believed in the general goodness of humanity, and that goodness could guide it; but he had no strong conviction that it should guide itself.

Industrial Partnerships owe to Fourier the principle of making labour attractive instead of repulsive, and of distributing the profits in proportion to the capital, skill and labour, contributed by each: that is, Fourier made definite the idea of labour becoming the partner of capital, instead of merely its servant.

It is, however, to the practical genius of an Englishman, Mr. Charles Babbage, that we owe the earliest distinct and

The first scientific statement of them made by Mr. Babbage.

practical proposal, made by a writer of repute in England, in favour of workmen being associated as participators in the profits of a manufactory. He held it to be of importance that in every large manufactory a mode of payment should be arranged under which every person employed should derive advantage from the success of the whole, and that the profits of each individual should advance, as the factory itself produced profit. Mr. Babbage recalls the fact dear to traditionary Englishmen that what he proposes had really been done before. On the south coast of England it was known that one half of all the fish caught belonged to the owner of the boat and the net, the other half being divided in equal portions among the fishermen using the net and boat, they being bound to make repairs when needed. Among Cornish miners a system of participation of profits had long existed. The miners were paid in proportion to the richness and produce of the vein worked. Thus they naturally became quick-sighted in the discovery of ore, and in estimating its value, and it was their interest to avail themselves of every improvement in bringing it more cheaply to the surface; Mr. Babbage therefore argued that if some joint participation of profit in manufactures was devised, the result of such arrangement would be :—

1. That every person engaged in it would have a *direct* feeling in its prosperity; since the effect of any success or interest off would almost immediately produce a corresponding change in his own receipts.

2. Every person concerned in the factory would have an immediate interest in preventing any waste or mismanagement in all the departments.

3. The talent of all connected with it would be strongly directed to its improvement in every department.

4. None but workmen of high character and qualification could obtain admission into such establishments, because when any additional hands were required, it would be the common interest of all to admit only the most

respectable and skilful; and it would be far less easy to impose upon a dozen workmen than upon the single proprietor of a factory.

5, And by no means least, that there would be removed, by common consent, the causes which compel men to combine for their own separate interests.

Clearly Mr. Babbage proposed the removal of the causes which compelled workmen to combine for their own separate advantage. Happily an English soldier never knows when he is beaten, but a workman of any sense does know when he has won, or whether the spirit of fairness in an employer has conceded to him the opportunity of equal benefit in the trade in which he is engaged. So that there would exist a union between employer and workman to overcome common difficulties and promote a common interest. And such workman would be quite free to aid with his increased means, unions of their fellow workmen elsewhere to attain similar advantages. Lieut. Babbage, in a letter which I had the pleasure some time since to receive from him, points out that his father advised co-operative manufactories as the chapter in his work shows, entitled "A New Manufacturing System."

Mr. Babbage's wise scheme met with very scant co-operative recognition in those days. The editor of the "New Moral World" saw no good that was likely to come of industrial partnerships. The scheme which has attained ascendency and rendered great service to the industrious class, and made co-operation possible, as it was never possible before, was dismissed with these discouraging editorial words, "As a temporary expedient we are very doubtful of the value of Mr. Babbage's plan, while as an adequate amelioration of the condition of the industrious classes, we can have no faith in schemes that render them dependent for subsistence on the chances of employment."*

* "New Moral World," p. 197, Vol. III.

The Radicals among the working class thought it a Whig scheme to deceive them; workmen suspected it as a contrivance to get more work out of them. Indeed those the most concerned and best informed gave small heed to the far-seeing device. Not the slightest attention was paid by any manufacturer to this sensible and well-put plan. Mr. Babbage might as well h ve spoken down a well, as far as any response was concerned. There is more attention paid now to a plan of establishing a balloon traffic between England and America than was then given to Mr. Babbage's wise scheme. Nobody then had any real confidence in establishing industrial communication between capital and labour. But it remains an honourable fact that a great mathematician should give the actual details of the industrial policy of the future as exact as the calculation of the appearance of a new planet.

Pure co-operation—that in which the purchasers and servants take all the profits of the store, and in which the workmen and the customers take all the profits of the manufactory—is quite a distinct thing from an industrial partnership, where the employer shares a portion of his profits with his workpeople, who contract on their part to render an equivalent in zeal and skill. In some businesses this kind of partnership might be impracticable. In some cases it may involve more trouble than the result would be worth. In some cases employers pay the largest wages they are able from pure good will to their men, or provide news-rooms, or dining-rooms, or schools for their children, or provide them with good habitations at low rents, or pension old workmen, or contribute to Provident or other Societies for their personal advantage. Such employers do virtually establish an industrial partnership, though not in a formal way. A direct industrial partnership in which the workmen calculate upon a certain dividend of profits in addition to their wages, could only be carried out where the employer himself has the time and disposition to act as a "Captain of Industry" (to use Carlyle's phrase) and

establish personal relations with his workpeople. It can only be done by personal attention, by special devices; such trouble is never continued save where the employer has much sympathy with the well being of all about him.

Mr. Brassey, M.P., evidently takes more even than his Father's interest in the commercial welfare and industrial security of the working class. He has pointed out in his Halifax address, how it comes to pass that "the rich," who happily are always getting richer (that shows there is greater hope for the people when the art of equitable distribution is improved) "gathering themselves together in the most eligible situation in every town, the price of land becomes so enormous that it is impossible to erect houses at rates, which, while not exceeding what workmen can afford to pay, will be remunerative to the owners and builders. Hence the working class are compelled to occupy more remote suburbs. They live in daily contact with no other class but their own, and a consequent danger is incurred of social disunion. This state of things is practically inevitable under our existing system." Then the existing system requires altering. This seems one of the cases in which the interference of Parliament would be warrantable. In the town of Leicester, the wealthier portion of the population have taken possession of all the higher and salubrious parts, and the poor have no choice but to live in the lower and unhealthier. Mr. Stansfeld, it was said, had in view to introduce a Bill to enable corporations to acquire land, in the vicinity of large towns, so as to secure the poorer population some opportunity of healthy existence. Undoubtedly "the tendency of modern industry," as Mr. Brassey remarks, "has been, and will continue to be, towards the concentration of capital in large corporate or private establishments." There must be contrived some participation of these inexorable and unhinderable profits among the artizan class; else the many will have no choice but to combine against the few, and stop in some disagreeable way that which stops them from existing endurably.

Common people increasing in intelligence cannot be expected to perish in the sight of ever increasing affluence, and die gratis.

The saying that "it is liberty which is old, and it is despotism which is new," oft recurs to a writer on industrial welfare. It seems a new thing to propose now, that employers, whether capitalists or workmen, should be studious to provide for the welfare of those who labour. In Egypt, the pyramids endure; the huts of the Fellahs, of the makers of bricks, have been destroyed and renewed a thousand times since Pentaour watched their misery. But other ancient nations showed noble regard for workmen. At Mocke, the great pyramid of the Chimus remains built by the ancient Peruvians. The mighty Peruvian pyramid still stands imposing in its decay, and by it equally remain no less permanent, the dwellings of the masons and metal workers "organized," says a recent explorer, "with an order and a system which a socialist phalanstery might despair of rivalling." * In all the dominions which the Incas ruled as monarchs or suzerains, this combination of love of display and care for the well-being of the humblest subjects, speaks of a wise and noble consideration for the people.

Though on the side of those who maintain that the workman and the consumer are to be rightfully included in co-operation, I divest all co-operative argument in this direction, of sentimentality; not that I deride it, but because it is above the level of the average of our societies, and gives the common thinkers in our ranks the idea that all participation of profits voluntarily conceded, is not business, but benevolence. This is their mistake, which we have to prevent them falling into. They do not understand sentiment in trade. A "sentimental" man is one who does what is right because it ought to be done. A "prac-

* Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the land of the Incas. George Squiers, M.A. See Art. in "Saturday Review."

tical" man is one who does what is right because it pays. The practical man I respect because he raises co-operation into the region in which it can live. The sentimental man I honour, because he raises co-operation above the region of dividends into the nobler region where the indispensable pursuit of gain is purified by the loftier feeling of duty. There are those who think a man "practical" who gets dividends anyhow. I do not. I define the "practical" man as one who does "right" because it pays. He who willingly does wrong because it pays, is a fool or a rascal. He may profit by it, but he fills his little money bag with a scoundrel shovel; and the executive business of perdition will be very badly managed if there be not somebody's janissary on the other side the grave waiting for these knaves. It is a great thing to keep up the interest of the merely practical men, who do right according to the light they have. Sentiment is as yet unmacadamized ground, and unwise men stumble thereon. There is all the difference between light and twilight, of pursuing equity from a sense of justice and pursuing it from a perception of gain. Since the many can see gain, and the few only see justice, I invite the many to look at what they can see.

Political economists with a perspicacity unexercised until lately, now discern that "all extra remuneration that is awarded to labour in excess of the wages that are earned by labour of the lowest or most ordinary kind, is, in reality, given, not for the pure or simple labour itself, but for the greater skill, ability, knowledge, or intelligence with which it is accompanied; and these additional qualifications which accompany labour, are regarded by Adam Smith as a species of capital that is fixed and realized in the persons of those who possessed them, and the value of which is to be estimated by their worth in simple labour." *

"Some years ago," says Dr. Doherty, "it was reported

* Certain practical questions of Political Economy, by a former member of the Political Economy Club. Simpkin & Co., 1873.

in the public press that a great saving of coke had been effected by the managers of the Belgian railways; the work formerly done by ninety-five tons now being accomplished with forty-eight tons. And this is the way in which the saving was made. It was known that the men who used the coke to heat the locomotives on the line were not careful of the fuel; but how could they be trained to be careful? Ninety-five kilogrammes of coke were consumed for every league of distance run, but this was known to be more than necessary; but how to remedy the evil was the problem. A bonus of threepence-halfpenny on every hectolitre of coke saved on this average of ninety-five to the league was offered to the men concerned, and this trifling bonus worked the miracle. The work was done equally well, or better, with forty-eight kilogrammes of coke, instead of ninety-five; just one-half, or nearly, saved by careful work, at an expense of probably less than one-tenth of the saving. We say less than one-tenth at a guess, because we do not know the relative proportions of weight and value between a hectolitre and forty-seven kilogrammes of coke."*

Mr. Thomas Hughes, writing to the "Pall Mall Gazette," in reply to an article which suggested that if no profits were made at Methly there would be no means of paying the labourers, who while they would share the profits would not stand to any of the losses, remarks that:—"In the first year of the partnership a very considerable surplus profit may be made. By the articles the board of directors, consisting of the former employers and several of their foremen, have the power of setting apart and investing a large proportion of these profits as a reserve fund, which may be used at any time in aid of wages or in making up the fixed interest on invested capital in future years. If this power is exercised, and the first year or so is profitable I think the danger is overcome. I believe that as a rule

* Philosophy of History, Dr. Doherty, Fourierist.

the periods are not long during which a properly managed business does not return enough to pay the average rate of wages and the interest on capital usual in the trade, be it 7 or 10 or 15 per cent. The reserve fund once established may fairly be looked to to enable the partnership to tide over these slack times without a reduction of the wages of labour or the fixed interest on capital."

Lord George Manners, who projected an industrial partnership on his farm, answered a similar objection. He said, "True, I may have to pay wages some years when there has been a loss, but I do not forget that the best work the labourers could do may have decreased that loss and in other years have increased my profits materially." This implied a generous feeling and perfect perception of the question.

In Leicester, at a "Treat" given by Messrs. W. Corah & Sons, hosiery manufacturers, to 450 of their work people, one of the Firm said: "Masters were making profits and it was nothing but right that those who worked for them should enjoy as far as possible their share of the profits (cheers). He took it that there were respective duties for employers." In the same town there are other employers who equally exemplify the sense of industrial equity. In the North capital as a rule bites. In Midland England it is friendly in tone to the workman. In Leicester Michael Wright and Sons made a deliberate effort to introduce the principles of Industrial Partnership into their Elastic Web Works; but did not find their efforts supported by their work-people. In the same town Messrs. Gimson and Co. introduced it into their large Engine Works. They adopted the wise plan of first intrusting its operation to a selection of their leading workmen to whom they offered the advantage of a share of the profits after the attainment of a fair dividend upon their capital. To these selected workmen was left the power of nominating other workmen whom they discerned to be capable and willing to increase the prosperity of the company by zeal and judgment in the

discharge of their duties. This plan had the advantage of limiting the division of profits to those who showed increased efforts in increasing them, and left the responsibility of excluding the indifferent with their fellow workmen. Thus the opportunity was fairly given and it depended upon the men to make the arrangement permanent by making it profitable.*

Before an employer takes this step he values his entire plant and prescribes the interest it ought to yield him on the average. It is the surplus that may arise above this that he proposes to share with his men. Whether he will do this is a matter of calculation and good taste. He knows that if a workman has no interest in the business, beyond his stipulated wages, he requires to be timed and watched; he adopts the easiest processes; he cares nothing to economise material; he has small pride in his work, and little concern for the reputation or fortune of the firm in whose employ he is. He changes his situation whenever he can better himself, leaving his master to supply his place as he may by a strange hand, who loses time in familiarising himself with the arrangements of a workshop new to him, or blunders, or destroys property for the want of special local experience. If the workman has no chance of changing his place for a better, he engages in strikes, perils the capital and endangers the business of his master. If his strike succeeds, his master dislikes him because of the loss and humiliation he has suffered. If his strike fails, the workman is poorer in means and sourer in spirit. He works only from necessity; he hates his employer with

* Women were often the best friends of the Store, and persuaded their husbands to become members when they had not the sense to do so themselves. In promoting industrial partnership plans, they often show quicker wit than their husbands. I heard one say at a partnership dinner of Messrs. Gimson's men at Leicester, that he had no faith in getting anything that way. His wife said, "Well don't be a fool. You join and give me your share of profits to buy a new gown with." He made the promise, and found that she had enough the first year to buy her three gowns, and then he added, laughingly, he "was sorry he had made the promise."

all his heart; he does him all the mischief and makes all the waste he safely can. He gives his ear to alien counsellors, and conspires and waits for the day when he can strike again with more success. If an employer has a taste for this disreputable conflict he can have it. If he does not like it he can prevent it. The newly made middle class gentleman is prone to say, "What is my neighbour to me?" It is enough for him that his neighbour does not annoy him or does not want to borrow anything from him, nor create any nuisance upon his premises which may reach to him. Beyond this he thinks very little about his neighbour, and will live beside him for years and never know him, nor want to know him. A co-operative thinker has a much clearer and more practical mind. He sees in his neighbour a person who pays and whom it pays to know. He has a social idea in his mind, and which is not merely kindliness, it is worth money; and money can be made of it. Charles Frederick Abel became chamber musician to the Queen of George III. because none but he could play upon the viola de gamba (a small violoncello with six strings) with equal perfection. Afterwards came Paganini, who entranced nations by the melody concealed in a solitary cord. It was genius in him to discover and display it. We have not yet explored all the mysteries of cat-gut; yet capitalists would assure us that they have sounded all the compass of the most wonderful of all instruments—man; whereas the employer of labour, as he grandly calls himself, chiefly knows man as a slave who trots under the whip, or as a hired machine—a sort of self-acting wheelbarrow. The workman has skill and goodwill, contriving, saving, and perfecting qualities, which are never enlisted where one man is a mere instrument bound to fidelity only by the tenure of starvation—designing to desert his employer, and the employer intending to dismiss him the moment either can do without the other. Industrial partnership is a policy of buying the skill and will of a man—his genius and his self-respect, which elevate industry into a pursuit

of art, and service into companionship. All this is a matter of bargain, not of sentiment. It is a scheme of reciprocity not of benevolence on one side or the other. An industrial partnership is but a better business arrangement.

But it would be a bad sign if co-operators went supplicating for these partnerships. They can make better for themselves by establishing workshops of their own. To supplicate for them would simply give employers the idea that some charity was sought at their hands. Better far to exact partnership terms than beg them. They can be obtained by combination. Trades Unions are the available means for this purpose. At the Social Science Congress held in Leeds in 1871, I said in the Economy Section over which Mr. Newmarch presided, that the working classes should be in that position in which they should neither supplicate nor depend upon the will of their masters. What they had no right to, no entreaty should obtain for them. What they had a right to, they should be in a position to command. The conception of working a mine, the French express by the word exploiter. By the phrase l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, is meant that a capitalist uses a man and works a man as he works a mine, he gets all he can out of him. There is no great objection to this so long as the man likes it. Where, however, these partnerships are volunteered, that is a different thing and too much regard or honour cannot be paid to those whence the offer comes. A speech quite as important as that of Lord Derby's, considering the rank of the gentleman who made it—is of this nature, I mean the speech which the Right Hon. Mr. Brand, Speaker of the House of Commons, addressed to his labourers at Glynde. He said "We shall never come to a satisfactory settlement of the relations between employer and employed until the employed, according to the amount of labour and capital he has invested in the concern, is interested in the good conduct of that concern."

One merit of this speech was that it was followed by a plan for practically enabling his labourers to become shareholders in the estate at Glynde. The language and the example are alike important. To admit labourers as part proprietors of the Glynde estate confers upon them a position of pride and self-respect as valuable as it is new. Such admission, rightly used, would produce more advantages than many agitations such as are within the means of labourers to conduct. To have it admitted by a gentleman so eminent and influential as the representative of the House of Commons, that labourers had a social right to share in the profits of the estate, which they contributed to cultivate, was an admission of more service to the working people than many Acts of Parliament passed in their name, and professedly for their benefit. For an humble villager to be able to say that he was a shareholder in the Glynde estate, however small might be the portion which his prudence and frugality enabled him to acquire, however small might be the profits thus accruing to him, his position was entirely changed. His forefathers were slaves, then serfs, then free labourers. He becomes in some sort a landowner. He henceforth stands upon what Lord Cockburn would call a "colourable" equality with the proprietor himself. If he had any cultivated spirit of independence in him, such labourer would have more satisfaction in the idea, than many a tenant farmer is able to find in the position which he holds. It must follow in a few years, that the wages of such a man must increase, his political inconsideration must be recognized, and by prudence, temper, and good judgment, the relation between this body of small proprietors and the chief owner must be the most pleasant and honourable in England. That these labourers were wanting in the disposition or were ill-advised by those to whom they would naturally look for counsel, and neglected to act on the unusual offer made by Mr. Brand, detracts in no way from the value of it. Men may be taken to the steps of Paradise, and

decline to ascend, yet he is not the less meritorious who gives them the opportunity. A man may not have the sense to ascend—he may not understand his opportunity—he may even distrust it through his own ignorance, he may have the humility which makes him doubt his own fitness to advance, he may have the diffidence which makes him distrust his own power of going forward, he may even prefer to remain where he is, content that he may advance on another occasion; but he is no longer the same man, he stands higher in his own esteem. He has had the chance of better things, and the old feeling of discontent and sense of exclusion, and bitterness at his precarious state, are for ever killed within him, and an inspiration of manliness, and equality, and undefined satisfaction takes the place of his former consciousness. A man may have a great opportunity, and not embrace it. For some purpose or preference, or infatuation of his own he may go past it, he may regret it, but he is a happier man by far ever after, than he who never had the chance of bettering himself. So every manufacturer, and every landowner who makes overtures of industrial partnership to his men, raises the character of mastership and proprietorship; sooner or later men will accept the offers, and be grateful for them, and turn them to fortunate account. In the meantime, the whole temper of industry is being changed by these overtures; the mighty doors of conciliation and equality are being opened, through which, one day, all the workmen of England will pass.

In the mean time the mere dream of this invests the order of industry with new interest and hope. This will seem sentimental only to those who know human nature second hand. We all live in ideals. Those who deny the ideal of others live in one of their own—lower or higher—although they may not know it. The true artist, solitary and needy though he may be, paints for the truth, the thinker thinks for it, the martyr dies for a principle, the glory of which only his eye sees. Progress is the mark of

humanity, the seal of its destination; and the aspiration even of the lowest is the ideal which carries him forward; and when it fails manhood falls back and perishes. Whoever or whatever presents men with a new opportunity of advancement, brings it near to them, and keeps it near to them until they understand it, inspire progress.

This is what Co-operation has done. It has filled the air with new ideas of progress by concert. When these Utopian ideas were first revived in industrial circles men thought they were the mere flashes of lightning which play upon the fringe of a coming tempest. They may be rather compared to the rainbow arch which denotes a permanent truce between the warring elements, a sign that the storm is passing away.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDUSTRIAL CONSPIRACIES.

"In these times when there is so much talk about the rate of wages, you will hardly think I am doing my duty if I do not say something in reference to it. My opinion is, we shall never have a satisfactory settlement of the question until the labourer receives in some shape or other a share, though it may be a small one, of the profit of the business in which he is engaged I refer not only to those employed upon farms, but to those engaged in mining, in manufactories, and in trades of all kinds."—*The Right Hon. Mr. Brand's (Speaker of the House of Commons) Speech to labourers at Glynde* 1876.

HAD declarations of opinion like that of Mr. Brand, above cited, been made and acted upon by leading employers fifty years ago, industrial conspiracies, the "conflicts of capital and labour," and the confusion and discredit they have brought, had never existed in England.

A conspiracy is a secret scheme for attaining certain advantages by coercion. Modern trades unions have been mostly of this kind, the advantage being, in their case, increase of wages. Co-operation is not a conspiracy, it is a concerted industrial arrangement, open and legitimate, with a view to place moderate competence within the reach of workmen and—keep it there. The end sought by Unionists and Co-operators being practically the same, the means of its attainment being different, is no intrinsic ground of antagonism between them. Because two companies of excursionists to the same place choose to go, one on foot and the other by railway, is no reason for their hating each other on the road, and not associating at the end of their journey. Nor if any of the walking party become foot-sore, is there any reason why they should not

be invited to come into the train at the first convenient station.

The co-operators imagine themselves to have adopted the easier, cheaper, and speedier way of reaching the pleasant territory of competence. They lose no money on the way, they even make what money they expend productive. They do not annoy masters, nor petition them for increase of wages, nor wait upon them, nor send deputations to them, nor negotiate with them—they make themselves masters. They dispute neither about capital, nor wages, nor profits. They supply or hire their own capital, they fix their own wages, and as has been said, divide the whole of the available profits among themselves. Thus they attain increase of income without consuming precious time on strikes or incurring absolute loss of money by paying men to be idle. I am not among those who consider money wasted, or entirely lost on strikes. It is an investment in resistance to inequitable payment, which brings return in increased manliness if not in increased wages. At the same time it must be owned, there is loss of the capital of the community. The masters' profits and men's savings spent in strikes, disappear as though they were thrown into the sea. A strike is war, and all war is a waste of the material means of the combatants. Therefore the co-operator, whose mind turns mainly upon the hinge of economy, holds that employers, when unfair, or inconsiderate, or aggressive, or harsh, are to be superseded, not combatted. The superseding process has more dignity and costs less. If a gentleman has cause of complaint against a neighbour, an associate, or a stranger, he explains the matter to him, asks for what in reason he has a right to ask, taking care himself neither to be impatient nor give just cause of offence in his manner of putting his case, and if he fail to obtain redress he avoids the person and takes what steps he can to render it impossible that he shall be treated in a similar manner again. This is the co-operative plan of dealing with too exacting middlemen or incon-

Conciliation impertinent where justice is evaded.

siderate employers. Nobody quarrels but the bully who has an object in it, or the incapable who do not know how to put themselves right, except by the primitive expedients of the savage or the washerwoman, by the use of the tomahawk or the tongs.

Just as there would be a good deal of reverence in the world were it not for theologians, so there would be more peace and better understanding between adversaries were it not for conciliators. Conciliators are often disagreeable persons who having no sympathy with either side, see "faults on both," or having a predilection for one party lectures the other upon the good sense of giving way. Conciliation is like charity, it is irrelevant where justice is needed—it is offensive where justice is refused. Many papers better intended than conceived have been written to prove that unionists and co-operators ought to be united. This assumption of antagonism encourages a suspicion of a state of severance which never existed. All workmen have one interest and one object, which is to get by honest means reasonable competence out of their industry.

Industrial conspirators have not been very intelligently treated. A combination of workmen to advance their industrial interests is called "a conspiracy," while a similar combination of employers passes under the pleasant description of "a meeting of masters to promote the interests of trade."

Trades unions, regarded as offsprings of the guilds, came first, but their modern revival was the work of men who knew little of what had gone before. It grew by a sort of political instinct. It came to be seen that it was not by revolution that the poor could fight their forlorn and frantic way to competence, nor could they in isolation alter the constitution of society. That big, unmanageable thing could not be changed by them. The custom of service for wages offered was too strong for them. They might be glad if service was open to them on any terms. If their wages were low and they could only starve upon

them, they might thank God they were not so low that they died upon them. In some faint and perplexing way it was discovered to them that by combination they might acquire power. Many could resist where the few were crushed; and combination did not require money—only sense. The poorest could unite. They who had nothing could agree to act together. It cost nothing to cohere, and cohering was strength, strength was resistance, resistance was money, for thus higher wages came. True the gain to one set of workmen often proves a serious cost to others, as when masons compel higher wages they put up the house rents of all the poor in the town, and make it more difficult for an artizan to build a house. Yet it was an advantage to the feeble to learn that combination was power, its right use is the second step. Union teaches strength, co-operation economy.

So little attention has been given by historians to projects of the people for protecting their industrial interests, that it is difficult to tell how early Trades Unions, such as we now know them—began in England. Ebenezer Elliott told me he believed that the ancient Industrial Guilds arose in efforts of workpeople to forefend themselves and dignify labour, by creating for it rights and privileges which might enable it to raise its head under the contempt of gentlemen and insolence of the military spirit. Dr. John Alfred Langford who has himself helped to raise the character of the industrial class, by the persistence with which he, a member of it, has acquired knowledge and the ability with which he has used it—relates in his "A Century of Birmingham Life" curious particulars of an early conspiracy of needlemen in that active town. The needlemen of Birmingham always knew how to sow ideas together as well as fabrics. If their strike of more than 100 years ago was the first one—strikes came to perfection very early, for this had all the features which we meet with to-day; besides it is a remarkable instance, as Dr. Langford observes, of Unionists turning to co-operation in self-defence,

showing a mastery of resources not common to this time. In Dr. Langford's pages we learn, that in "Swinney's Chronicle" of February 13th, 1777, the master tailors of Birmingham advertised for 100 hands who were sure to be able to earn 16s. a week. They were to apply to William Moyston, 130, Moor Street, in that town. As the war with America was then about over, many thought that a nude tribe of Red Indians had arrived in Birmingham and needed clothing at a short notice. Four days later the mystery was explained by a notice to "Journeymen Taylors" signed by George Hanley, telling the public "The statement of the masters was false" and that "the prices were stipulated so that he must be an extraordinary hand to get 12s.," and for that reason they were "all out of work." The masters rejoined by asking for "40 or 50 journeymen taylors to work piece-work, holding out prospects of 16s. to 18s. per week." The applicants "were not to be subject to the House of Call, as none would be employed but such as called at the masters houses and are free from all combinations." It appears therefore that "combinations" must have been common then and the masters' restrictions were precisely what we hear of to-day. The journeymen in their turn appealed to the public whose sympathy was with the men. They said they "objected to piece-work on the ground of their late suffering by it." They defended their "House of Call as an ancient custom both in London and all other capital towns" and announced "that they had joined together in order to carry on their trade in all its different branches and that good workmen and those only who applied at their House of Call at the Coach and Horses in Bell Street, would meet with good encouragement." By "hunting the country round" all the masters obtained were "inexperienced lads," whereas they were able to serve gentlemen well. Thus in Birmingham a hundred years ago a co-operative workshop was devised as the natural sequel of a strike. It is the first instance known. Trades Unions in England as this

century has known them were not the device of policy but the offsprings of instinct and courage. There were splendid Trades Unions in the days of the English Guilds. But of them the very tradition had died out before modern unions arose. Nor would they have arisen save that men enraged by poverty, were inspired with boldness by political teachers, and began to combine to offer some resistance. They little thought of demanding higher wages—they thought it a great triumph to prevent their being lowered. The fable of the bundle of sticks struck them as it did the poor co-operators as a very original story. As one set of workmen after another faggotted themselves together, the humble and familiar symbol of the tied-sticks appeared in their trade journals, and was soon carried on their banners. Then combination laws were passed against the struggling unionists. Those who did not get imprisoned or transported like the Dorchester labourers, were told that what they sought was all of no use: supply and demand had been discovered, and in case these failed, the labourer could not be sufficiently grateful that a poor-house had been provided for him, and as the workhouse master admonished the dying pauper for his presuming to want to see the clergyman—that "he ought to be glad that he had a hell to go to."* Still the workman clung to his union, feeling, but not knowing how to explain it, as Mr. Roebuck has subsequently done. This is the unionist case as put by that master of statement:—

"The working man, single-handed, as compared with the master, is a weak and impotent being. The master has him in his own hands, can do with him what he likes, give him what wages he pleases; for there are a large number of persons outside wishing to be employed—labour is cheap and plentiful; and the master decides that he will give the men low wages. There are 200 or 2000 men working together and they say one to another, 'Let us

* A story related by Mr. Frederic Harrison.

act as one man.' They bring the whole body of workmen to bear as one man on the master. Let there be equality on both sides, the working man having the benefit of the only capital he possesses, viz., his labour; and the master having the benefit of that which is absolutely necessary to production—his capital."

Now everybody admits the right of the workman to combine; but those who admit the right deny its utility, and contend that the workman had better leave things to take their course, and wages would rise of themselves. Since, however, employers and merchants who say this are observed never to wait for prices to rise of themselves but combine to help them upwards, the workman came to the conclusion that he had better continue to combine to quicken wages in their laggard movement towards elevation.

Any one can see that combination is a distant power, only reached by many steps; confidence, organization, and discipline are some of them. The working people have conspired in many ways, according to their knowledge. The reason why political philanthropists have always made it their chief object to promote the education of the poorest class in the State, was their perceiving that workmen would one day expect the exhortations to frugality and prudence, given them by their "betters," to be followed by them, and insist upon it being followed. When Mr. Malthus and the Political Economists began their protests against the large families of the poor, wise and friendly protests as they were, the day was sure to come when the poor in turn would protest against the large families of the rich, whom the indigent would infer had in some way to be provided for at their expense. If the labourer is to be frugal, and live upon his small income without debt when in health or need of charity in sickness, he will be sure to wonder, one day, why those who admonish him should need mansions, parks, carriages, and footmen. Unless the poor are kept absolutely ignorant and stupid,

no man can advise frugality to poverty without those who receive the advice expecting that he who gives it will follow it. If knowledge and admonition are given together, all monitorial improvement of the lower class must end in enforcing a corresponding improvement in the upper classes. These ebullitions of sense on the part of the working classes are very infrequent in their history. I have met with only two or three instances, long forgotten now and buried in the obscure pamphlets of 1832. Their relevance, however, is not gone, and the vigour of the argument, forcible beyond the defamatory invective on which feebler agitators so commonly rely. When Mr. Joseph Pease, one of the firm of Pease & Co., worsted manufacturers at Darlington, one of the Society of Friends, and a strenuous member of the Anti-Slavery Society, was a candidate for the southern division of the county of Durham, he issued an address to the electors, in which he said, "In all measures for the amelioration of our kind in striking off the chains of slavery and mental darkness, in restraining the oppressor, and in turning the attention of a Christian Legislature to Christian principles I would be ardent and exertive." Whereupon a little piecer in his factory was sent to him, with this little infantile speech in his hand :—

Good master, let a little child, a piecer in your factory
From early dawn to dewy eve—relate her simple history.
Before I came to work for you, my heart was full of mirth and glee ;
I play'd, and laugh'd, and ran about, no kitten was so blythe as me.
But just when I was eight years old, poor mother, press'd with want and woe,
Took me one morning by the hand, and said, "To factory thou *must* go."
They thrust me in and shut the door, 'midst rattling wheels and noisy din,
And in the frame gait made me stand, to learn the art of piecen-ing.
I often hurt my little hands, and made my tender fingers bleed,
When piecing threads and stopping flys, and thought 'twas very hard indeed.
The overlooker pass'd me oft, and when he cried—"An end down there"
My little heart did tremble so, I almost tumbled down with fear.
When at the weary evening's close, I could not keep myself awake,
He sometimes *strapp'd* me till I cry'd as if my little heart would break.
Oh, master! did you know the half that we endure, *to gain you gold*
Your heart might tremble for the day, *when that sad tale must all be told.*
Ah, then I thought of days gone by, when far from spindles, din, and heat,
I deck'd my little giddy brow with buttercups and violets sweet.

The Poor Man's "Dead Body Bill."

From year to year I sigh in vain, for *time* to *play*, and *time* to *read*.
We come *so* soon, and leave *so* late, that nought we know but *mill and bed*.
They tell us you grow very rich, by little piec'ners such as me,
And that you're going to Parliament, to guard our laws and liberty,
They say you *pity* Negro Slaves, and vow, oppressors to restrain
To break the chains of ignorance, and *Christian Principles* maintain.
Oh! when you're there remember us, whilst at *your* frames we labour still,
And give your best support and aid, to Mr. Saddler's Ten Hours Bill.
The poor, we know, must work for bread, but master, are not *we* too young?
Yet if such little ones *must* work, pray do not work us quite so long!
Your "Christian Principles" now prove, and hearken to the piec'ners prayer,
Soon Christ in Judgment shall appear, remember, *you must meet us there*.*

The other instance occurred in 1833, when Mr. H. Warburton had introduced what was known as the Anatomy Bill, called in Yorkshire, the "Paupers' Dead Body Bill," which provided subjects out of the poor-house for doctors to cut up. As the wives and families of workmen in those days, had no prospect before them but that of ending their days in the poor-house, they did not like this Bill, which they believed was intended to bring them all to the dissecting-room. At the same time Mr. Wilson Patten, instead of supporting the Ten Hours Bill, which the poor people believed would render pauper subjects scarce, had proposed a commission to enquire into Factory labour, but that subject they thought had been enquired into enough, and they thought the Commission a trick intended to delay passing the Bill. It is a custom of Parliament when people are mad and perishing for lack of some long denied amelioration, to appoint a "Royal Commission" to enquire whether they want it. The young girl Piecers, or the "Pieceners," as they sometimes called themselves, addressed a letter to Mr. Wilson Patten, M.P. It was shorter than the previous address, somewhat more lyrical, but quite as much to the purpose in its way. It ran thus:—

Have you no children of your own,
Cold hearted Wilson Patten?
We wish you'd send Miss Pattens' down
All decked in silk and satin.

* The italics are given as I find them.

The Factory Girl's Letter to Wilson Patten, M.P.

Just let them work a month with us,
And "doff" their nice apparel;
And "don" their "brats" like one of us—
We promise not to quarrel.

We'll curtsy low—say "Ma'am" and "Miss,"
And teach them how to "piece," Sir;
They shan't be *strapt* when aught's amiss,
They sha'n't be treated rough, Sir.

We'll call them up at "five o'clock,"
When all is dark and dreary;
No *miller* rude, their tears shall mock,
Nor vex them when they're weary.

We'll guard them home when work is done,
At seven or eight at night, Sir,
We'll cheer them with our harmless fun,
And never show our spite, Sir.

And when they've wrought a month at mill,
If *they* do not petition
For us to have the Ten Hour Bill,
THEN SEND US YOUR "COMMISSION."

In "Fraser's Magazine" at this period, attention was called to the evidence of Mr. Gilbert Sharpe, the overseer of Keighley, Yorkshire, who was examined by the Factory Commission. He was asked whether he had any reason to think that any children lost their lives in consequence of excessive work in the mills. He said he had no doubt of it, and he gave this instance. Four or five months back, there was a girl of a poor man's that I was called to visit; it was poorly—it had attended a mill, and I was obliged to relieve the father in the course of my office, in consequence of the bad health of the child; by-and-bye it went back to its work again, and one day he came to me with tears in his eyes. I said, "What is the matter, Thomas?" He said, "my little girl is dead." I said, "When did she die?" He said, "In the night, and what breaks my heart is this: she went to the mill in the morning; she was not able to do work, and a little boy said he would assist her if she would give him a half-penny on Saturday; I said I

would give him a penny." But at night, when the child went home, perhaps about a quarter of a mile, in going home it fell down several times on the road through exhaustion, till at length it reached its father's door with difficulty.

Verse writers with more or less skill put these facts into song. Here are two of the stanzas enforcing the argument of contrast of condition :—

All night, with tortured feeling,
He watch'd his speechless child;
While close beside her kneeling,
She knew him not—nor smil'd.
Again the factory's ringing,
Her last perception's tried;
When, from her straw-bed springing,
"'Tis time!" she shriek'd and died!

That night a chariot pass'd her
While on the ground she lay;
The daughters of her master
An evening visit pay;
Their tender hearts were sighing,
As negro wrongs were told,
While the white slave was dying,
Who gain'd their father's gold.

This is true of another factory child, who just before died of a consumption, induced by protracted factory labour. With the last breath upon her lips, she cried out, "Father, is it time?" and so died.

The true ground of resentment is not that employers should take children into workshops, for many workmen when they become overseers, and derive a profit on child labour do now the same thing, it is that any workmen in England should be so base or so indigent as to send children into a workshop, and were not to be restrained save by an Act of Parliament. If unable to protect their children it showed a humiliating weakness, and it was high time that the better sort of them sought power by combination to prevent it. This at least is to their credit. These dreary facts of factory life recounted, were told in every household of workmen in the land, and no one can understand the fervour and force with which industrial

conspiracies were entered into, who does not take them into account. Mr. Lucas Sargant, of Birmingham, has stated that "though his interest as an employer might lead him to deprecate trades unions and strikes, which have often caused him losses, he had declared in print his opinion that mechanics were wise to enter into such unions, and occasionally to have resort to strikes."

A sense of right and sympathy always connected co-operators with the industrial conspirators, allies, or advisers. It was on March 30, 1830, that Mr. Pare delivered his first public lecture in the Mechanics' Institution, Manchester. He appeared as the corresponding secretary of the first Birmingham Co-operative Society. It was Birmingham that first sent co-operation officially to Manchester. The editor of the "United Trades Co-operative Journal" wrote of Mr. Pare as being "A young man who impressed his audience by his earnestness and wide information," but objected to his tone as to trades unions. Mr. Pare did not speak in a directly hostile way of them, but suggested the inability and uselessness of combining to uphold wages. Mr. Pare had caught Mr. Owen's indifferent opinion of everything save the "new system." But at that early period co-operators were intelligent partisans of trades unions. The Manchester "United Trades Co-operative Journal" of May, 1830, justified Trades Unions by the memorable saying of the Right Hon. Robert Peel in the House of Commons: "I wish the people would see their own interests, and take the management of their affairs into their own hands." "Such is the advice," said the editor, "which Mr. Peel, the Secretary of State, has given the working classes. It is rare indeed that public men, especially ministers of State, offer such counsel, and it is still more rare for those to whom the advice is given to act upon it." It is a remarkable thing and a very honourable distinction that Sir Robert Peel should have conceived and advanced such advice. Trades Unions and Co-operation are two of the matured answers to it.

Famous answer of Dr. John Watts to "Cogwheel."

No advocate can influence others, who is devoid of sympathy with them, and is not scrupulous in doing justice to their best qualities. Most co-operative advocates talk to unionists in as heartless a way as political economists, and attempt to change their policy of action by holding it up to ridicule as financially foolish. They seem not to see, or do not own that money spent in resistance of wrong or fancied wrong is never wholly lost. Education in independence which men pay for themselves is a lesson those who learn it never forget, and is worth a good deal.

The difference between the Trade Unionist and the Co-operative way of dealing with a strike is capable of historic illustration. In 1860 a famous strike took place in Colne, Lancashire. The weavers were out for fifty weeks and kept 4,000 looms idle. Cogwheel, one of the weavers, put their case very neatly thus: He said, In Colne there are 4,000 looms. In East Lancashire there are 90,000 looms. If the Colne Strike had not taken place the prices all over East Lancashire would have been reduced to the Colne standard, and therefore, East Lancashire saved money by contributing £20,000 to the Colne Strike. Dr. Watts put the Co-operative view of the strike not less concisely thus: If the Colne people, instead of going on strike for fifty weeks had kept at work and lived on half wages, as they had to do during the strike, and had saved the other half, and if the East Lancashire people had subscribed £20,000, as they did towards keeping the Colne people on strike, the result at the end of fifty weeks would have been £54,000 in hand, and at £15 a loom that money would have set to work in perpetuity for the hands themselves 3,600 looms out of the 4,000 in Colne! The self-same effort which threw them into beggary would have raised them into independence.*

Next to the wastefulness of their methods the weak point of unionists is their coercion of their own order and

* Dr. John Watts, Lecture, 1861.

limiting their freedom of working. Of course it is a necessity of trade war—but at that point the union action becomes a tyranny. No one has explained this in fewer words or with greater clearness than Lord Derby. Free from any imputation the argument has unimpeded force. "I know it is sometimes said, 'We are getting, or trying to get, advantage for the whole trade, and it is not fair that those who had no part of the cost or trouble should reap the benefit.' Well, to that my answer is, If what you are doing is for your own interest and for that of your fellow workmen, be patient, and in time those who now stand aloof will join you. In the meantime, 999 men out of 1000 have no more right to control the single dissentient, than the one would have, were it in his power, to control them. There is hardly a despotism since the world began that has not founded itself on the same plea that it would carry into effect more surely than free citizens the recognized will of the majority. To refuse to recognize the freedom of your neighbours is the first step towards losing your own.*"

The hasty acts and imputations of ignorant workmen have often provoked employers to high-handed injustice. Yet any one conversant with the literature of strikes must be well aware that the tone and language of men has been far more moderate and deferential to masters, than that of masters has been fair and considerate to the men. The "United Trades Co-operative Journal" of Manchester relates that in 1830 the dressers and dyers of Manchester and Salford formed a Co-operative Society, the master spinners having a private Trades' Union of their own had turned out simultaneously all their hands owing to a dispute about wages, and the master dyer had turned all his men out because they wanted an hour for dinner and he would only give them half an hour. The men fearing all

* Earl Derby *Opening of Trades' Hall, Liverpool, October*, 1869.

their comrades would be turned out by a general conspiracy of their masters they resolved to begin working for themselves; but as all the premises suitable were in possession of masters, they were driven from Ancoats to Pemberton before they could commence operation. The masters being holders of all suitable property or able to influence others who held it, pursued their hands with malevolence.

Hundreds of strikes would have been averted, years of sullenness and bitterness would have been avoided, had employers reconciled themselves to the admission that workmen were so far equals as to be entitled to conference and explanation. Middle class masters, less assured of the dignity they aspired to, than the born gentleman whose superiority lay in inherited consideration for others, have been the most repellent. They would not condescend to confer. They would receive no committee, they would admit no delegates to their counting house. It was co-operators who first taught working people how to respect themselves and to cease entreaty. They said, "Do not discuss with employers, dispense with them." None but co-operators could give this proud counsel.* The great Newcastle-on-Tyne strike of 1866 had been avoided, if employers concerned, who were known to have good feeling towards men, had had ordinary condescension.

In Newcastle-on-Tyne the "Daily Chronicle" did more than any other newspaper to prevent loss to employers, by a generous and considerate advocacy of the claims of workmen. Where it could not approve their claims, it conceded them free publicity of their case and the grounds on which they have rested it. Thus many conflicts, where violence was probable, were prevented there, which has occurred in other places where workmen have been denied access to the press and treated with contemptuous

* Mr. William Nuttall. Speech in the City Hall, at the opening of the Glasgow Wholesale Society, Sept. 19, 1873.

exclusion, or subjected to contemptuous criticism which they were not allowed to answer.

Nor have the arguments oft employed by capitalists to restrain union action been well chosen.

Intelligent workmen were intimidated by being told that they would drive the trade of the country out of it. This consideration did cause many of them to hesitate. In time some of them came to the conclusion that if they could not get living wages at home, they would be driven out of the country themselves, and, therefore, if they did "drive the work out of the country" there might come this advantage to them—that they would know where to find it when they were driven out after it. Indeed it was obvious that if trade could not be kept in England except by workmen consenting to accept starvation wages, it could not be kept in England at all. For men on low wages would emigrate sooner or later, and so soon as the labour market was reduced below the needs of business, wages would rise again and trade be driven out as before. So they concluded that to insist on good wages at once might make things better for them and could do no harm to trade.

Few writers upon the working class can be aware of what has been the experience of living men, else some would be less severe in the judgment they pronounce upon them. One bit of real life is more conclusive than many arguments on this point. The president of the Rochdale Co-operative Society in 1847, Mr. George Ackroft, told me to-day (Oct. 3, 1877) that when he worked in the pit, men got coal without even a shirt on. They worked absolutely naked, and their daughters worked by their side. This was forty years ago. It was the rule then for the men to be kept at work as long as there were waggons at the pit mouth waiting to be filled. He and others were commonly compelled to work sixteen hours a day; and from week's end to week's end they never washed either hands or face. One Saturday night (he was then a lad of

fifteen) he and others had worked till twelve o'clock, still there were waggons at the pit mouth. They at last rebelled—refused to work any later. The banksman went and told the employer who came and waited till they were drawn up to the mouth and beat them with a stout whip as they came to the surface. Despite the lashes they clambered up the chain cage, got hold of the whip and tried to kill the master. Negro slavery was not much worse than that. Mr. Adcroft states that a man who had worked the long hours he describes would not earn more than 17s. or 19s. a week, and half of that would be stopped for "tommy," on the truck system. Living unionists who have passed through this state of things have not been well trained for taking a dispassionate and philosophical view of the relations of capital to labour.

Though Mr. Carlyle holds some absolute views as to government, workmen ought not to forget he has been the most valiant and influential defender of the dignity of honest labour of our time, and has done more than any other writer to bespeak for it that importance and respect and position which it is acquiring. It was in their interests that he exclaimed, "Now all England, shopkeepers, workmen, all manner of competing labourers awaken, as if with an unspoken, but heartfelt prayer to Beelzebub:—'Oh help us, thou great lord of shoddy, adulteration, and malfeasance, to do our work with a maximum of slimness, swiftness, profit, and mendacity.'" Trade unions might command regard, and exercise influence unforeseen, did they treat labour as a dignity as well as a question of wages. It is quite time this occurred.

The condition of the mere working man was so poor and helpless at the time when the discovery of steam gave rise to the manufacturing system, that he may well be excused if he thought of nothing but peddling and coercing methods of increasing his wages. He is not to be despised because his views were low and his ambition was not to

be a great craftsman, but to keep himself from the poor-house. He could not be expected to think much about the pride of an order which had nothing to eat. The invention of the spinning jenny superseded the small spinning rooms by which so many lived with some control over their humble fortunes. The jenny drew thousands into mills, where they were at the mercy of capital and panics. Manufacturing by machinery put an end to most of the little workshops and pride in handicraft which a man felt when the credit or discredit of his work was connected with himself personally. Any reputation he was enabled now to acquire passed to the credit of the firm who employed him. He became merely a machine, a little more trouble to manage than those patented, and he sank as an artificer into a little more consideration than a man in a large prison, who is known by his number instead of his name. He had no longer a character to acquire or to lose. He was only one of the hands in a large factory or mill. Hand work, into which a man could put his skill and his character, has become so much the exception in every trade that it has deteriorated for want of recognition and encouragement. When the feudal system was slowly superseded care for the labourer or workman, thought for his health, his subsistence, or his recreation, naturally died out also. Being poor he had no power, being ignorant he had no sense, to insist upon such laws and such advantages as would give him the opportunity of freedom and competence by the exercise of his industry. The commencement of the trades unions of the modern kind was the first evidence he gave of understanding that he must do something for his own protection. That he blundered in the method he adopted—that his experience was marked by waste, coercion, and retaliation, were small things compared with the great merit that he struggled at all for some elevation. In late years he has had information enough, opportunities enough, to improve his methods of action. Yet no unionist leaders have arisen until the time of Mr.

Burt, M.P., who have comprehended, or comprehended in the same degree as he, the new possibilities of their day. Ever since mechanics' institutions were established by Dr. Birkbeck and Lord Brougham, Francis Place, and others, these institutions have mostly languished. The class rooms have more or less been tenantless, the teachers have had few pupils, the funds subscribed have afforded small satisfaction to those who generously supplied them. Had trades unionists understood what knowledge would do for their children, had they taken note of the inferiority of their sons compared with the educated sons of middle class masters under whom they worked, they would have crowded the mechanics' institutions with their own sons. The higher manners, the preciser speech, the greater capacity, the more disciplined mind, the tone of intellectual authority shown by the sons of their employers, should have taught them once and for ever that education was the only equality in their power, and they should have insisted that the sons of every member of the union should be sent to the mechanics' institution. They should have held meetings of insistence in every town, and remonstrated to Parliament if provision was not made for their instruction. The leaders of the people who first devised mechanics' institutions surely expected that this would be done. The enemies of the people who disliked "institutes," and distrusted them, and feared them, thought this would be done. Church dignitaries, Conservative politicians, alarmed employers and country squires, united to condemn the dangerous innovation of knowledge which would make the people discontented with "the position to which it had pleased God to call them." All those fears were as foolish as they were wicked. The workmen had unhappily no sense of their own interests, and needed no restraining from using the means of power placed at their disposal. They were without the intelligence even to see their opportunity.

The great trade guilds of London have mainly sunk into

private dining societies.* They do not represent the great traditions of industrial pride. They are the mere degenerate inheritors of traditions which are dead, and the modern masters of guilds are without even the capacity to feel the inspiration which made their forefathers the leaders of art in industry. To-day, indeed, we hear of the Turners Company of London, awakening from their long ignoble sleep, offering prizes to young handicraftsmen for skill at the lathe; and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, distinguished for discerning generosity, has given the largest sum to be expended in this way. This is what trades unions ought to have done long years ago, they should have given prizes to the best workmen in each trade. They could have had the money for asking. The first persons in the State would have done them the honour of distributing their prizes. The character of English workmen would have stood the highest of the world in skill and in the self-respecting dignity of labour. No man should be admitted into a trade union unless he was a good workman, or willing to be made one, and his being allowed to remain a member should be a guarantee to the public that he was a good workman. Now, a man being a unionist, is no guarantee to anyone that he will not scamp his work or do the least for the most he can get. Some of the first workmen of the day, and men of character and good faith in work, are members of trades unions, but good skill and good faith are nowhere made the conditions of membership. A trades union council are not leaders of art in industry, they are, with a few exceptions, mere connoisseurs in strikes. All a union does is to strike against low wages, they never strike against doing bad work. It will be a great thing for the reputation of industry in England when they do this. Now they cover themselves with the excuses that their employers want bad and cheap things made. There is conventional but no moral difference

* See "City Companies," by Walter Henry James, M.P.

in doing bad work and picking the purchaser's pocket. A bungler is but a thief with a circumbendibus in his method. Trades unions ought to resent the demand that their members should do bad work, as an affront upon their skill and character as workmen. A few well devised strikes on this principle, would raise wages as no union has ever done it yet, and, what is not less important, raise the whole character of industry in England in a few years. This is one form of the organization of labour wanted. Let us hope that if trades unionists do not do this before long co-operators will.

It is only fair to own that trades' unionists are beginning to recognize the importance, in an indirect way, of increasing the reputation of their members for efficiency as workmen. Several Congresses of Trades have passed resolutions applauding the attainment of technical knowledge by workmen. The Society of Arts at the Adelphi, London, which does so much for the advancement of popular knowledge, issues yearly now, a programme of technological examinations, in which mechanics of leading trades, and men engaged in agriculture, are offered an opportunity of proving their practical knowledge of the nature of their employment. When they have done so, certificates of three degrees of proficiency are awarded them, various prizes in money, and even scholarships. Mr. George Howell transmits the necessary documents to different trades to induce workmen to enter into these wise competitions. This, however, is only approval of knowledge, not insistence upon it. At the same time he would be an unobservant writer who did not perceive that there is more original artistic thought and pride among the artizan class than they are credited with. The Matsys and Cellinis are not extinct. The famous blacksmiths and gold workers have merely had their genius turned in other directions by science. The old artists who worked for fame in their obscure chambers are succeeded by men who expend genius and devotion in

devising wondrous machinery. They are Pygmalions of invention who impart to inanimate metal the miraculous action of living intelligence. They think in poverty—they die neglected, and their splendid ingenuity enriches the nation. The acclaim of their genius never reaches the dull cold ear of death. In later generations the tardy monumental bust is erected over their forgotten graves. The Patent Office is the record of their fine patience and unrequited skill. Mr. George Wallis has discerningly pointed out that the originality of the artizan class is expressed in machinery in these days. Living men comparatively unnoted see hidden things in mechanics which would have made Archimedes famous.

The character of trade conspiracies naturally varies with intelligence and opportunity. The co-operator strikes as well as the trades unionist, but the co-operator makes a silent strike, not a noisy one, an economical, not a wasteful one. He does not expend the money he has earned by hard labour to obtain an increase of wages which he may never get. The co-operator holds that the right thing to do is to prepare for self employment before striking, and when he does strike it is not against the master, but against the system.

A Trades Union strike is a contest of starvation. It is the siege of capital with a view to its reduction by famine, in which the besiegers are more likely to suffer than the enemy. It is a waste of wealth in order to increase it. It is the maddest device known in war, in which the belligerents who have little strength render themselves helpless in order to fight. The Comte de Paris happily compares a strike and lock-out to a Japanese duel, in which each combatant is under obligation of honour to put himself to death with his own hand.

Some people are manifestly born before their time; some are born after—a very long while after; and in any well-regulated system ought to be put back again. There are others apparently born for no time in particular; they

are neither offensive nor useful, but chiefly in the way of other people; while there are others who belong to the age and know it, who comprehend very well the opportunities of the hour, who employ them and mean to put them to account All of this class regard unionists as allies in constructive progress. Among co-operators there is an instinctive repugnance to be mixed up with schemes of industrial redress so ill devised, so wanton, and wasteful in the use of means as ordinary strikes. This is well understood, and the ablest unionist leaders have always seen that co-operation should be their chief resource. The alliance between co-operators and trade unionists has been honourable and of long standing. On the 21st April, 1834, Mr. Owen headed the great procession to Lord Melbourne to ask the release of the Dorchester labourers. The unionists assembled in Copenhagen Fields. Lord Melbourne agreed to receive a limited deputation of leaders at Downing Street. On the list of names handed in to him Mr. Owen's name was not included, it being probably thought that Mr. Owen being known to Lord Melbourne would be admitted. His Lordship, preferring to see the men alone, refused to see any one not on the list he had assented to. Thus the interview took place without the assistance of their most important advocate.

During the early period of this co-operative movement the Socialists and Unionists might be heard from the same platform advocating their respective principles.* At Salford the society opened a subscription to support a strike.† In London Mr. Owen was elected the Grand Master of a lodge and he permitted the trades to use his Lecture Hall.‡ The "Crisis" added to its title that of "National Co-operative Trades Union and Equitable Exchange Gazette." Mr. Owen specially charged himself

* Crisis, Vol. III. p. 58. † Ibid p. 191.
‡ New Moral World, Vol. I. p. 403.

to effect the release of the Dorchester convicts, but the demonstration which took place on the occasion is said to have exercised an unfortunate influence by increasing the severity of the Government* But that was not Mr. Owen's fault. It rested with those who devised a demonstration which could only increase the alarm which led to the severity the procession sought to stop. Mr. Owen must have depended on other influence than that of the streets to effect the release of the men.

Trades Unions are simply fighting powers on behalf of Labour, just as Employers' Unions are fighting powers on behalf of Capital. Masters' Unions do not concern themselves with the improvement of manufactures, with excellence of material, or equitable charges to the public. So far as their action appears they consult only the preservation of profits. On the other hand Workmen's Unions, as such, do not charge themselves with promoting a high standard of skill among the men, and honesty of work or education of the workers, so much as the protection or increase of wages. Nevertheless as fighting powers they can render supreme aid in the emancipation of Labour. They can more effectually than any other organized bodies of workmen, encourage co-operative manufacturing founded on the principle of Labour buying capital and dividing profits on work alone. They can issue advice to workmen to refuse, as far as possible, to work except for employers where a partnership of industry exists. It is quite as legitimate for them to strike against employers who refuse this, as to strike against those who refuse increase of wages. Indeed strikes for partnerships would be fairer than strikes for wages, because in partnerships the profits must be earned before they can be had; whereas in strikes for wages, the employer is simply plundered if he is forced to yield where he cannot really afford it, just as the public are plundered when unions of capitalists or merchants combine to raise

* Crisis Vol. III. p. 253. See Mr. Booth's Life of R. Owen.

at will the price of commodities which the public must have.

Even at Co-operative Congresses now, we hear from leaders who are making profits in joint stock companies, vigorous arguments against conceding to workmen a share of profits. They say, just as competitive employers have always said, capital takes all the risks and the workman has his share of the profits in his wages. To ask for what they are pleased to denominate a "bonus" on labour they represent as demanding a gift, and if it is granted they describe it as proceeding from the "benevolence" of the employer. It is time this chatter of charity on the part of capitalists was ended. The workman should never prefer his demand as a "right." He has no "right" to anything save his wages, unless he contracts for more. If he desires a portion of the profits of the undertaking he can prefer a "claim" to them, and refuse an agreement to work unless it is conceded. A co-operative store, or a co-operative workshop, where capital is only admitted as an agent, and the profits belong to the producers, is a mutual arrangement. But competition is not an arrangement, it is hostility—it is war. The interests of capital and labour are in conflict; and the demands for participation in profits after capital, management and expenses have been paid, is no more an hostile act than a demand for the highest wages a workman thinks he can get. Capital as a rule gives the least it can, and labour as a rule exacts the most it can. If an agreement is come to it is merely an armed truce until the next opportunity of contest arises, when both parties fight again. In co-operation mutual arrangement renders the equitable divisions of profit a right, and "bonus" and "benevolence" pernicious and offensive terms. Outside pure co-operation there is no right; it is all claim and contest. The capitalist has no right except to what he can keep—the workman has no right save to what he can get.

When at the Amsterdam Exhibition, a few years ago,

How Dutch workmen stipulate for Schools for their Children.

I went one day, at the invitation of Baron Mackay, to see the great works of the new canal out in the Zuyder Zee. Far away on the sands mid the North Sea I found what I took to be a Dutch chapel. Its pretty overhanging roofs and quaint desks and seats within, all out there, surprised me. On asking what it was, I was told it was the School House for the education of the children of the Dutch workmen, employed in cutting and building the mighty canal through plains of sand lying out in the North Sea. "Why do you erect a School House out here?" I enquired of the chief contractor, who was a Scot, "You do nothing of the kind in your own country. Contractors do nothing of the kind in England." "Oh," was the reply, "it is a convenience for the workmen's families." "Yes, I understand all that," I answered, "but what sets you upon consulting their convenience in Holland when you never think of it elsewhere?" "Well, the truth is," he at last admitted, "that the Dutch workmen having good secular schools in every town where their children can be educated, and knowing the advantages of it, having profited themselves when young by it, will not work for any one who does not provide schools where their families can be trained." This shows what intelligent workmen can do who have sense to understand their own interests, and this is what English workmen might do, with respect to education and participation of profits, if they had as much wit and determination as the drowsy, dreaming, much-smoking, but clear-minded, resolute Dutch.

Adjoining the school house was a large co-operative store exactly on the plan of the one first devised by Robert Owen at Lanark. It consisted of a large wood building containing large stores of provisions, lodged there by the contractors and put in charge of a storekeeper, who sold them at cost price—less his wages as salesman. This was a further economy for the men, it made their wages go farther, and was an additional source of contentment to them, costing the employers nothing save forethought and

good feeling. This was the only co-operative store I ever found on the ocean; it lay in mid-seas.

Thus conspiracies for obtaining a larger share of industrial profits than has usually fallen to the workmen have been conducted both by unionists and co-operators, and the unions and stores have been the diversified contrivances of the Constructive Period.

* The conflicts of Labour and Capital—a History and Review of Trades Unions, by George Howell, may be mentioned as the ablest book yet produced by an English Unionist leader: as the work of Nadaud is the best produced by a French workman. In point of weight of authority and exhaustive treatment Mr. W. T. Thornton's volume on "Labour" stands next to the writings of Mr. J. S. Mill. The philosophy and practice of Unionism and Co-operation are dealt with by Mr. Thornton with a completeness and impartiality not elsewhere to be found.

CHAPTER XVII.

CO-OPERATIVE FAILURES.

If thou wishest to be wise,
Keep these lines before thine eyes;
If thou speakest—how beware!
Of whom, to whom, and when and where.
BYRON.

THE principle of industrial partnership makes progress. If in some places it is adopted by workmen among themselves, and is afterwards discontinued, it is superseded rather than abandoned, for co-operators create confidence in their undertakings. Outsiders come in as shareholders, and not understanding or caring for co-operation, they seize the society as soon as they are able to outvote the co-operative members and convert it into a joint stock business, which they believe to be more immediately profitable to them. This was the way the Mitchell Hey Society at Rochdale fell. Though these instances are perversions, they do not involve entire reaction. The outside shareholders are mostly working men and the business is conducted by working men. This implies that a larger number of working men are acquiring the skill of masters—and are themselves taking the position of masters. This is a progress after its kind, though wanting in the principle of equity and equality, which co-operation aims to introduce among workmen. There have been no co-operative failures save from errors into which com-

mercial men, of greater experience, occasionally fall. Dr. John Watts has given an account of the failure of the Queenwood community. As he was one of those concerned in it, his evidence has weight. As communities will be attempted again in England, his statement will be instructive. He says "the failure of the Hampshire community was attributable, amongst other causes, firstly, to the extravagant price paid for very poor land; secondly, to the large amount of capital sunk in buildings which were not profitably occupied; and, thirdly, to the attempt to convert skilled artizans, used to good wages, into agriculturists upon bad land; and to satisfy them with agricultural labourers' fare, and no money wages."*

The tone of the press is greatly changed from what it was forty or even twenty years ago, toward the failures of working men in their manufacturing enterprises. In days of the limited and dear press newspapers mostly represented the interests of masters, and when a working class enterprise failed the matter was mentioned with contemptuous derision, and was treated as a warning to men not to exhibit the presumption that they could be masters. All this is changed now. When a failure occurs to working men it is thought to be a misfortune that they are not able to better their condition by honourable attempts at industrial enterprise. If their failure has arisen through unforeseen rise in prices, which made their contracts unprofitable; or, through the bankruptcy of customers owing them money whose solvency they had no reason to doubt when they took their orders,† or if the losses of the men have arisen from unexpected decay of trade, the same allowance is made now in the judgment of their failure as is made in the case of other manufacturers or merchants who conduct business on competitive principles.

When the Ouseburn Engine works failed, the "Eastern

* Co-operative Societies, Dr. J. Watts.

† Both these causes operated greatly in producing the failure of the Ouseburn Engine Works, at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Daily Press" remarked that "Mr. Holyoake would have to chronicle that in his History," which he certainly intended to do; but in justice to the "Eastern Press" I record that that failure was judged in that journal upon its merits. It was not, as formerly would have been the case, set down as a failure of the co-operative principle, but regarded as arising from errors in business management, and the outside causes of the loss were fairly taken into account. The main source of failure was a series of contracts made by an agent (£30,000 under their values) which no manager who understood his business should or would have permitted.

The co-operators are the most open creatures who ever entered into business. So far from concealing a failure, or desiring to conceal it, their fault is they proclaim it too loudly, and make too much of it, their desire being to learn all about it from friend or adversary, that all may take note of what to avoid in the future. When the Ouseburn Engine Works had lost the £30,000 mentioned through the manager not knowing how to make contracts, the fact was publicly proclaimed. The manager was not dismissed, nor did he resign, so that the co-operators remained the pity of all the Tyneside, for remaining under the management which had brought the great disaster upon them. Incapacity is of the nature of a crime when it meddles with the fortune of a struggling cause, or does not take itself away when its incompetence is plainly perilous. The Ouseburn workmen behaved admirably. When they were informed that false contracts had been taken, involving the enormous loss cited, it was open to them to avenge themselves by badly executing the work; but they honestly resolved to execute it to the best of their ability notwithstanding, and they did so; and no engine works on the Tyneside ever won higher credit for honest and perfect workmanship. They got through their great and unjustifiable losses. It was by failure of subsequent creditors that the concern fell into liquidation.

Since then the Wholesale Society in Manchester have taken in hand the business, and are likely to conduct it profitably. The Wholesale Society thought that for the credit of co-operation these engine works ought to be put through their early difficulties. All this is highly creditable to the Wholesale Society, and they will well earn the success which is likely to befall them.

People who hear now and then of the failure of co-operative engine works, or mines, imagine they forbode the end of the system and do not take into account that other persons who are not workmen, and who are experienced in business, sometimes fail also. At the time of the Ouseburn difficulty the "Daily Chronicle," at Newcastle-on-Tyne, published a list of the failures which had occurred in Cleveland in the course of twelve months, giving the amount of the liability in some cases. The following is the list:—

Sivert, Hjerlid, ironfounder, Middlesbrough.
North Yorkshire Iron Co. (Limited).
W. A. Stevenson, iron merchant.
Eston Grange Iron Co., Eston.
Thomas Richardson & Sons.
Nicholas Raine, South Hylton Ironworks.
R. Jaques, Richmond Ironworks, Stockton.
J. H. Garbutt, coal owner, Darlington.
E. Watteau, bolt and nut manufacturer, Middlesbrough.
Erimus Iron Company, Middlesbrough.
F. Ireland, iron merchant, Middlesbrough.
Middlesbrough Cut Nail Works.
Stockton Rail Mill Co., Stockton.
The Britannia Iron Company, Middlesbrough.
Ross, Willis, & Co., Middlesbrough.
Thos. Vaughan & Co., Middlesbrough.
J. B. Walker, shipowner, Middlesbrough.
Swan, Coates, & Co, Middlesbrough.
Raylton, Dixon, & Co., shipbuilders, Middlesbrough.
Thos. Charlton & Co., coal and ironstone mine owners, Middlesbrough.
South Cleveland Iron Co. (Limited).
The Lackenby Iron Co., Middlesbrough.
R. H. Charlton, Stranton Ironworks, Hartlepool.
Messrs. Thomas & Co., ironfounders, Middlesbrough.
J. W. Thomas, Acklam Refinery.
West Hartlepool Iron Co. (Limited).

	Liabilities.
Thos. Vaughan & Co.	£1,200,000
Swan, Coates, & Co.	280,000
Lackenby Iron Co.	200,000
R. Dixon & Co.	175,000
Messrs. Charlton	270,000
	£2,125,000

Only one of these firms was expected to pay more than 5s. in the pound. The dividends to be declared by the others were likely to be below that amount.

Within a recent period the Wholesale Society of Glasgow lost £10,000 by an investment made without their formal authority. There was, however, no doubt that the investment, though irregular, was made in good faith, and had it turned out fortunate it had been applauded. The Society remembered this, and quietly provided for the loss, and took precautions that the same thing should not occur again. Not long ago the Halifax Society lost £60,000 by injudicious investment in Foreign Securities. The members behaved like men of business. They knew that had the large profits they calculated upon accrued, they would have thought their Directors "smart fellows." They did not break up their Society as a few wild members stimulatedby shop-keepers proposed; and as their predecessors did a generation earlier, on the loss of less than 160th part of that sum. They simply arranged to repair the loss from future profits and made a note to invest more prudently in future. Working men who have acquired this kind of good sense will very rarely stumble into failure.

If a series of failures disproved a principle, what must be said of the failures of competition where twenty men fail for one who succeeds? Had any one invented competition, it would have been hooted out of the world long ago, as an infernal contrivance of spite and greed. To use a phrase, made picturesque by Mr. Henley in the House of Commons, competition is an "ugly rush"—an ugly

rush after bones, which every body is equally ambitious to pick. As to failure, what are the failures of banking? Let those hideous, criminal, calamitous, and not unfrequently idiotic failures be catalogued; and banking must be pronounced unsound in principle. Co-operation, in its most unfortunate days, will bear comparison with banking.

Messrs. Fox, Head, & Co., of Middlesbrough, proposed, with fair intentions, a partnership of industry with their men; but stipulated that the men should give up their trades unions and sign a contract to that effect. The company on their part agreed to withdraw from the masters' union. They were at liberty to please themselves in this matter. But the condition they exacted from the men was a degrading condition. What was it to them, to what purposes the men put their earnings so long as they fulfilled their contract with them? The proceeding of this company was an abuse of industrial partnership, and calculated to bring it into disrepute. It had been better far had they never touched the question.

The Messrs. Briggs of the Whitwood Collieries brought their scheme to an end in a similar spirit. Their partnership with their men brought them great gain while it lasted. Some years several thousands of pounds were divided among their workmen, being merely the half profits made by the increased exertion and care of the men; apart from the exceptional profits of the years when the price of coal rose greatly. But the total, made in the way of profit while the precarious partnership lasted, has never been declared.* The Messrs. Briggs appear to have taken advantage of their men attending a certain Trades Union

* The most remarkable statement is that given by the Comte de Paris, who says:—"In 1867, Messrs. Briggs realized a net profit of £20,417 after paying all outlays and allowing for wear and tear. A portion only of this sum was divided. £8000 was laid by in order to secure a bonus to the men in the bad years that might come. In Mr. Briggs' opinion, the old system would not have yielded equal profits under similar circumstances. "Trades Unions of England." By Co .te de Paris, p. 219.

meeting, which they had forbidden them to attend, to exclude them from the partnership, and even to withhold from some the money they had ostensibly earned in the partnership. This dictation to their men in matters outside their duties to the company, was a disastrous lesson to set the men. It has been inferred that the company find strikes less expensive than fulfilling, what was regarded by the public as an honourable and mutually advantageous partnership. They may have terminated it because it was more troublesome to them, than their interest in the welfare of their men induced them to take. They have given no satisfactory explanation of the facts, financial or otherwise, involved in the case. The failure, so far as it is known, has not been on the part of the men but on the part of their employers.

When the Messrs. Briggs first proposed to adopt some plan of co-operative partnership in their colleries, I received from them several letters explanatory of their objects, and of the difficulties which presented themselves. With a view to promote their wise intention, to diminish obstacles which the prejudices of trades unionists might naturally entertain towards the project, and to support the Messrs. Briggs in their views, to justify them in the eyes of other employers, and to increase their public credit for taking a lead in so useful and honourable a design, I solicited the opinions of the project from Mr. John Stuart Mill, Professor Fawcett, Louis Blanc and others to whom I explained the possible industrial advantages of it. The letters I received were published, and the words of honour spoken of these employers by such friends of equitable industry, continue to be repeated in their praise to this day. In any way I could I was glad to strengthen their hands; but the letters I received at that time from the Messrs. Briggs did not make me very sanguine that they would carry their plan through, or persevere in it from conviction of its public advantage. They manifestly inherited a distrust of workmen. They imputed venality and self interest to leading

unionists, who advised their men. They thought too much of disparaging and destroying trade unions. They spoke too much of the proposed participation of profits as a "bonus" to the men, as though it were a largess or gracious gift to the workmen arising from their employers' goodness of disposition and depending for its continuance upon the good behaviour of their hands. Their plan was complex, there were too many conditions, and even the conditions were conditional. It would, however, be unfair to make much of these peculiarities. The project was new in their business. They could not foresee to what administrative inconvenience it might lead. Conflicting claims, interest and prejudices, are always called into play, when any new plan is adopted among the working class more or less uninformed, or unfamiliar with it. These were real difficulties which might well render the best disposed employers uncertain as to the measures to which they would commit themselves. Besides the Messrs. Briggs were not themselves co-operators. The principle and definite line of thought which co-operation implies, must have been strange to them. It therefore remains a credit to them that they entertained the idea of establishing co-operative relations in their works, and actually attempted it. It would be scant encouragement to other employers to try the same thing if those who do try it, and do not succeed in carrying it forward, or turn back discouraged, were to be treated with less consideration than those who never made any attempt of the kind. What Mr. J. S. Mill thought of their attempt he stated very strongly in his letter to me from Saint Veran Avignon (Nov. 21, 1864). "The Messrs. Briggs have done themselves great honour in being the originators in England of one of the two modes in co-operation which are probably destined to divide the field of employment between them. The importance of what they are doing is the greater, as its success would make it almost impossible hereafter for any recreant Co-operative Societies to go back to the old

plan of paying only fixed wages when even private capitalists give it up." Unfortunately they have returned to fixed wages and given comfort thereby to others besides "recreant Co-operative Societies."

The failure of Co-operative Stores have been so infrequent in the Constructive Period as not to be worth counting. Their success as a rule is so overwhelming, that any failures have been due to common neglect of well-defined precautions which experience has established. Mr. J. C. Farn has relevantly pointed out that "the art of organization was in its infancy thirty years ago; now, if it is incomplete in practice, it arises from neglect, and not for want of models. Popular intolerance in days gone by was a hundred times more powerful than it is now. Without tolerance societies cannot permanently succeed. The co-operative ship of thirty years since had to sail over the sea of difficulty without chart or compass. Now the rocks are known and marked dangerous, none but unskilful or neglectful pilots need allow the ship to strike upon them. Finally, with more members, more money, more experience, more support, more protection, more confidence, more encouragement, more tolerance, and sounder views, there is no reason to believe that the disasters of former times will be repeated."

One source of distrust to which co-operative enterprises are subject, arises in the enthusiasm in which they are often commenced. The projectors of a new company, conscious of the purity of their own intentions, behave just as knaves do, when they set floating a fraudulent scheme. They deprecate all inquiry into it, and regard any one who points out objections or difficulties, to be encountered, as a disagreeable person who wants to damp the enthusiasm of others, and destroy the prospects of a company which he does not intend to help. The enthusiastic promoters are so strong in the honesty of their intentions, that they imagine their wisdom to be as obvious as their integrity, and regard doubts of their success, as

imputations upon themselves; they do not perceive that just objects, and noble aims, though necessary to the success of an unusual enterprise, do not necessarily make it successful. There must be fair business prospects and fair business sense in addition, in order that great interest may be taken in any project. There must be confidence in the capacity, as well as the honour of those who promote it; and confidence depends upon the knowledge of the persons and purposes of those with whom it is proposed to work; and it is wisdom in the promoters of any new company to furnish this information, without waiting to be asked for it. It is good policy to solicit all the objections that can be made at the outset of a concern, so that they may not come when it is too late. The objector is a very valuable person, if enthusiasts knew how to profit by him. Enthusiasm, desire of personal distinction, or hope of profit, is apt to blind the understanding, and the wise objector (if he can be found) is the oculist who opens the eyes of the company, and enables the members to see what the facts of the case really are. It matters not how strong or peculiar the points urged in opposition may be, the general soundness of a sound scheme can always be shown, and shown to far greater advantage when the objector has given his evidence against it in open court, than it could before he was heard. If the soundness of the project cannot then be made clear, it is better for all concerned, that the difficulty should be apparent. Objections may be disallowed, or over-ruled, but they should be heard, and considered as far as their relevance seems to warrant. When this is done, the shareholders find themselves well advised and candidly informed, and they go into the undertaking with their eyes open; and if it does not answer they have nobody to reproach but themselves. They feel none of the bitterness of men who have been misled by others, and they even feel respect for those who afforded them so fair an opportunity of profit; and the failure involves no loss of self-respect to any one, since a fair measure of prudence had

marked the proceedings. But if critics, suggestors, or objectors, who do the society the service of volunteering advice upon its affairs, are put down as offensive or suspicious persons, the interest of members is foolishly jeopardized. If the promoters of a doubtful or dishonest company succeed in obtaining the money of the shareholders, everybody can see that it is as criminal a thing as though their money had been taken by an act of burglary, and is more irritating to those who lose by it, because insidious professions have made them parties to their own loss. The wrong done by honest, earnest projectors of schemes is not less serious in its results, because unintended. But their honest intentions do not absolve them from criminality, if they have incurred risks without the fullest inquiry possible into them, and without communicating the results of that inquiry to all whom they invited to share those risks with them. Of course there are projects continually started upon which the principle of profits depend upon celerity and secrecy of action. In these cases it is obvious that to solicit objections from outsiders, would betray the purpose. In these cases, only a few persons are ever concerned, and they know perfectly what they are doing, and do not go about complaining if their money is lost. It is in public companies where shareholders are sought among persons of large and small means alike, and who invest money and trust in the honour and capacity of the directors of the company, that a scrupulous and complete information should be furnished, as a matter of fair precaution and good faith. It should be a matter of pride in co-operators that no failure should take place among them. Their aim should be to acquire the reputation not only for honesty, but for soundness of judgment, and sureness of procedure. In the days of Harry Clasper and Robert Chambers, it was known that when Newcastle oarsmen rowed a match upon any river, they would win if they could—they were never to be bought. They contested for the honour of the Tyne side; and co-operators should

always be known as contesting for the honour of co-operation.

A frequent source of failure arises from a cause which, when fairly true, involves no imputation upon the honesty of those concerned, that is "commencing a project with too little capital." Though this implies merely want of judgment, the effect of failure is the same upon the outside public. The public never trouble to notice why a thing fails. The failure itself is enough for them, and the cause with which it is connected is damaged in their eyes. "Insufficiency of capital," is so vague a cause, and is so often used as an excuse for graver errors, that nobody accepts it for much. It depends upon whether the scale of expenditure has been prudent and cautious from the beginning, whether the capital is really too small. Deficiency may be produced by imprudent and disproportionate expenditure. Deficiency of capital is of course a distinct and determinable cause of failure, and should be guarded against like any other. It often arises through enthusiasm which impels premature action. A meeting is called to consider whether a new scheme can be undertaken. Good and approving plaudits will soon be heard, if the proposal be popular. Some generous person is inspired by the hearty applause to make a liberal offer of support. He probably mistakes the enthusiasm for intelligent, well-considered purpose. Professor Tyndall has proved that heat is a source of motion. Mr. Crookes has proved that light is a source of movement, and delicate machines have been contrived for estimating these forces. But no one has invented a machine which will denote the peculiar force of applause; some men applaud because they are impulsive, some because they approve of the proposal, some because they intend to help it—when it succeeds; a few because they intend to aid it; but the greater part applaud because they think somebody else is going to aid it; and it frequently comes to pass, that experiments are commenced under the contagion of chequeless enthusiasm, which only considerable capital can carry out.

There are always sanguine and dangerous people, who think a right thing will get support if it is once begun. But wise promoters should never permit action to be taken till reasonable means of carrying it out are secured.

A man who has had much experience in popular movements, becomes a connoisseur in enthusiasm, and is disposed to analyze it, before he counts upon it as an element of action. When Mr. Forster was proposing his 25th clause to the Education Act, in the House of Commons, he stretched out his arm before the Opposition, and informed them he had Puritan blood in his veins. I begged a member who happened to be in the Speaker's gallery at the time to go down and ask Mr. Forster to put a drop of that blood into his Bill. The Nonconformists said "the blood would do no good, it was of a degenerate quality." I asked Professor Huxley whether he could analyze one of the globules that we might know whether the quality was pure. This is what has to be done with popular enthusiasm, it must be tested before it can be trusted. If this were oftener done failures of co-operative enterprise, though small in number now would be fewer still.

In a considerable number of cases manufacturing and productive societies of various kinds have been formed, which have included in their rules the principle of partnership with labour, or trade, or both; which have scarcely gone beyond the publication of rules. In some instances, capital has not been subscribed sufficient to enable the undertaking to be commenced, or not sufficient to carry on business long enough for success, when the business has begun. In other cases the accession of new shareholders who joined for profit mainly, not knowing, or not caring about improving the general relations of labour to capital, have in due course, when profits were low, voted against sharing them with workmen. Sometimes they have done this because the profits were great, and they became covetous of obtaining all for themselves. Such shareholders being shrewd, and not animated by any principle of con-

sideration for the advancement of workmen, have calculated that the cost of strikes was less than the loss of profit, through conceding a share to the men, and have deliberately elected to take the risks of strikes, and rescind the rule of participation. In the formation of a new business, depending for prosperity upon sales in the competitive market, greater capital often becomes necessary than was at first calculated upon; and this capital being exigent it becomes necessary to take it from any subscribers of shares who may offer, without regard to what industrial views they hold, and without any inquiry, or examination, as to whether they are co-operators or not. In the early days of co-operation every society instituted a propagandist department, for winning co-operators to join them, or of educating them afterwards. Where this is not done, and shareholders are received without conditions, or precaution, or preparation —the co-operative principle of the society is left at the mercy of new members, and often drifts and disappears. In this way the principle was cancelled very early in the Rochdale Co-operative Manufacturing Society of Mitchell Hey. In this way it was lately attempted to be destroyed in the Hebden Bridge Fustian Co-operative Society, but happily resisted successfully, by the loyalty of a sufficient number of the members. The "Fustian" had not got into their brains.

It is no matter of wonder or permanent discouragement that even co-operators turn back after proceeding for awhile along the new path of co-operation. Many make their way badly along an unaccustomed road, and they naturally return again to the old trodden path with which they are familiar. All men must live somehow, and industrial or commercial fighting is the only general way in which men have hitherto been able to sustain themselves, and until adventurous co-operative pioneers persevere in showing how the needs of life can be better commanded, competition will be the resort of all who are timid, or rapacious, impatient, or distrustful.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMERICAN SOCIETIES.

As wine and oil are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues be imported into our minds from foreign writings:—we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise.—MILTON'S *Hist. of Brit., Book III.*

SOME brief account of co-operation in America is really part of its English history. The English students of this science found hospitality for their ideas in that country, when they found none in England. No English journal of the importance and character of the "New York Tribune," founded by Horace Greeley, ever accorded the attention to it, the hearing to it, or the vindication of it which he accorded there. He himself promoted co-operation and wrote upon it with that practical clearness by which he was distinguished. As a journalist he aided whoever assisted by thought and art the improvement of social life. From sentiments of public admiration, not less than from the regard inspired by his personal friendship, I inscribed to him my "History of Co-operation in Halifax." While schemes of social life have originated with philosophers and theorists, co-operation has been generated by the pressure of competition in over-populated cities. In new countries, whether America or Australia, where there is wide range for individual enterprise, ordinary persons are content to accept the chances before them, careless of pacific methods of advancement.

As to moral scepticism in America there is no more of it than there is in England, while there are certainly ten

Moral scepticism less prevalent in America than in England.

people in America for one in England, measured by population, who sacrifice time, money, and, what is more, personal repute, to try and carry out social schemes and individual plans of life, which can never benefit themselves. This honourable, because useful, form of moral trust has a good deal died out in England. Since the early days of the co-operative dreamers, a race has succeeded who dream not so much of new modes of higher life as of dividends, but men of the old mark at times re-appear, and will, let us hope, increase.

America owes its chief co-operative inspiration to English socialist emigrants. Its communities have been mainly originated by European world makers. The societies meditating the improvement of industrial condition in large towns have been chiefly stimulated by British co-operators. The late Mr. Bellamy Hoare, of New York, possessed the most authentic information as to the earliest efforts to establish co-operation there. But the narratives he is said to have left, have not yet been obtained.

A former member of the Socialist Branch 16, Hall of Science, London, Mr. B. J. Timms, was concerned in the affairs of the Sylvania Phalanx and the Co-operative Bakery of the City of New York, which are deemed the original societies of this kind there. The date of their operations cannot be at present determined, as Mr. Timms so little foresaw that any persons might one day be curious about them, that he sold as waste-paper, the printed and manuscript documents relating to them. Both these projects were failures. They were succeeded by what was known as the organization of Morrisania devised to purchase land for a village. The few actual socialists in the society could not induce the majority to unite further than in buying the land collectively; so that the only co-operative feature in the scheme was the joint effort to obtain land without loss by the competition of each making a separate purchase, and every one searching the original title. Mr. Timms reports that subsequently they attempted to apply the prin-

ciple of co-operation to colonize public lands, but that after spending 5000 dollars of other people's money that scheme also failed. These facts show how in America (as used to be the case in England) the one story of co-operation is that it is always failing—everybody who engages in it is disappointed—all who furnish money to it lose it, and those who relate their experience of it do it in the language of discouragement and warning. Still the efforts go on, as though there were some industrial destiny in co-operation. So long as many who have failed live, very few new workers around them have the courage to approach the question; but no sooner do the pioneers who have failed die, or the memory of their disaster fades, than fresh conspirators against competition resume the old work—and succeed. In other cases the fresh adventurers are fortunate enough to meet with some old and brave compaigners who, though they lost their money, never lost their faith, and who never cease to proclaim that others may win though they were beaten. Indeed, it ought to be observed what is very true and well known to any one accustomed to examine co-operative correspondence from other countries, that the co-operator abroad is very much like the Irishman—a very different person from what he is at home. In Ireland he is sluggish and despondent; in America he is active and enterprising. In like manner the discouraged co-operator at home stoutly predicts and stoutly promotes co-operative success abroad, and counts those ignorant who do not understand the principle, and those of an inferior order of mind who do not believe in it.

Dr. Hollick informs me, that Morrisania, the First Co-operative Village as it was called, is now a large town. Dr. Hollick, writing in New York, says, "Co-operative affairs of all kinds here, as far as I can see, went on this plan: some man of money was elected treasurer. No money was paid *to* him, and as long as he honoured all drafts made *on* him the thing prospered; but when he discontinued this obliging arrangement the thing 'bust up.' Horace

Greeley was treasurer to two or three schemes, and his official duty consisted in paying the expenses."

One of the few co-operative societies of America, English in its vicissitudes, un-English in its mode of working, is one at New Bedford, Fall River. Provisions being high, and other things, as in England, being costly, a few persons, who had been connected with co-operative societies in this country thirty years ago, bethought themselves of setting up one there. Certain dressers clubbed their money, bought goods at wholesale prices, and at first divided them at their private houses. Their business soon grew, and they had to open a store. Then the grocers of Fall River—storedealers, as they are called out there, did as we have found them do in London and in our provinces, went in a body to the wholesale traders, telling them that if they supplied the co-operators they, the storedealers, would no longer buy of the wholesale traders. The dressers were consequently rejected as customers, and they went to Providence, a town fourteen miles away, and tried to buy there. The storekeepers of Fall River attempted to terrify the wholesale traders of Providence; but intimidation in business is not so easy in America as in England. Some of the Providence traders were men of business, and told the storekeepers of Fall River "to go home and mind their own business; for so far as they were concerned they should sell to whomsoever they pleased." The dressers were customers worth having, and Providence dealers sold to them, and the dressers obtained goods and triumphed. Shortly the spinners, weavers, and other trades joined the dressers, until twenty-one trades were united, having sixty members each; and the Co-operative Store soon did a business to the amount of 2,500 dollars a month. This evidence of success brought the intimidated Fall River dealers to their senses, and then they came and offered to supply the co-operators whom they had rejected, and so the co-operation conquered in Fall River. The plan of working the society here, which is new or not common in

English experience, is this: a committee manage its affairs at a cost of 4 per cent. for rent, buying, and selling. On the second Tuesday in each month they receive orders which are copied out on to a large sheet, with printed and descriptive headings. From the 12th to the 13th they receive money which cover all the orders. Then their buyer goes to the wholesale traders (who now raise no objection to his visits), to them he gives his orders, paying cash therewith, and on the four following evenings men appointed for the purpose, serve out the purchases to the accredited applicants. The society buys nothing save what is ordered—orders nothing but what is paid for—it keeps no stock—has no bad debts—no paid storekeepers—and having no provisions on hand to keep, a small place is sufficient for its business, and that is open only four or five nights in the month.*

From Lombard Ville Stark Co., I learn on the testimony of one who has been for 35 years a socialist, that the fortunes of industry are hampered by combinations and monopolist "rings" out there. There seems to be no place where these cobras of competition do not crawl around the resources of the poor.

At the Glasgow Congress (1876), greetings were received from the Grangers of America. Mr. J. W. A. Wright, who represented them, gave me this extract from the published proceedings of those bodies:—"That, having examined the plan of the co-operative societies of Great Britain, popularly known as the Rochdale plan, and the history of the humble beginning, the most remarkable success, and present grand proportions of business enterprises begun and conducted under this plan, we heartily recommend it to the careful consideration of our State and Subordinate Granges, and to the members of our order, and advise such action on the part of the executive committee of the several States as may be necessary to the organiz-

* Letters to Author, from Peter Sidebotham, Fall River, Massachusetts, formerly of Hyde, and Thomas Stephenson, formerly of Blackburn, England.

ation and operation of such co-operative associations within our order."

It appears that we were once nearer than we ever shall be again to having a history of American communities. We learn from what Mr. Noyes relates, that a Scotch printer and a disciple of Owen, who had settled in New York, devoted himself between 1840 and 1854 to personally collecting materials for the history of the communities in the United States, social and co-operative, their origin, principles, progress or decline and causes of failure. Little is known of him save that he was a person of small stature, black hair, sharp eyes, and a good natured face. In any circular to the societies he signed himself A. Je Macdonald. He wisely went himself to the sites of the various communities. Mr. Noyes, who believes in the immortality of nothing but Oneida, says unhopefully, "He was the Old Mortality of socialism, wandering from grave to grave, patiently deciphering the epitaphs of defunct phalanxes." He collected particulars of sixty-nine associative schemes, and portraits and sketches of founders and places; but unfortunately died of cholera in New York about 1854, before he had time to state in a book the results of his investigations. From the good sense and moderation with which what he wrote was expressed, his work would have been readable and valuable. Mr. Jacobi was another investigator who spent several years in visiting the chief communities, but his journeyings also are barren for the purposes of history. Mr. Jacobi knew the state of these establishments in 1858.

Some business-like account of all the known social schemes which the hospitable soil of the United States has received or nurtured, would be curious if not profitable. Under this impression I took up Mr. Noyes' History of " American Socialisms " with interest, and laid it down without any. Mr. Noyes is an Oneidaite merely, and has no appreciation for forms of social life, except as they approximate to that peculiar creation of criticism and eccentricity, known as

Oneidaism. It is allowable that he should applaud his own theory, but not that he should disparage every other that does not accord therewith. Lately there has appeared a new book on "American Communities," by William Alfred Hines. It is Oneidan in tone, but written with great freshness and vigour. It is next to Nordhoff's work in force and interest.

Mrs. Ann Stanley, known to the public as "Ann Lee," has proved a most successful community maker. She was practically the foundress of the Shakers of 1774. Eighteen societies exist at this day. There is a small compendium of Shaker principles, and a life of Ann Lee, by F. W. Evans, published by Auchampaugh Brothers, of New Lebanon. The brevity of the book is a recommendation, for it is as much as most persons will be able to bear. As this body of communists are the best known and the most frequently referred to, because they have made communism a bye-word in the world by fanaticism and eccentricity, Mr. Evans's book is worth consulting that the Shakers may be judged in the fairest way by their own professions. Ann Stanley, the foundress or chief prophetess of the order, was a Mrs. Abraham Stanley, but her people never called her by her husband's name. She appears to have had strange and disagreeable conversations with her mother on marriage, previous to her own. However, her reasons for joining the Shaker Society were creditable to her as she considered them distinguished for the clearness and swiftness of their testimony against sin, a very great merit if they knew what sin was; and if the Shakers of 1878 retain the characteristic which Mrs. Stanley believed the first Shakers to possess in 1758, they would be very useful, could they be diffused over Europe, where people of that quality are very much needed. "Mother Ann," as Mrs. Stanley came to be called, held that it could not be wrong to imitate Jesus the wifeless.

Shaker is an uncomfortable name, and gives most persons the idea of a lean, shivering enthusiast, but their

conduct is that of comely, hospitable, warm-hearted persons. One acquainted with them tells me that once he met an Englishman in Alleghany. He was an old man, dejected, broken in spirit, altogether a pitiable and hopeless object. My friend advised him to make his way to a Quaking Shaker Society, of which there were then (and may be still) two in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati. He was not much inspired by the recommendation, but his abject condition overcame his scruples. A few years later he was seen on his way to Europe in search of his son, whom he desired to bring to the society in which he had found refuge. On his way he called upon the friend who had sent him to the Shakers. His object was to leave a well-stocked trunk in Alleghany until his return. He said the society had supplied him with two, and one was more than enough. No longer dispirited or abject, his countenance beamed with happiness and gratitude as he spoke of his Shaker friends, and his hope was to place his son among them, who else probably had no future, save some Poor Law Union in England. Mrs. Stanley appears to have had good reasons for disliking marriage. But her successors give Catholic reasons in defence of it. The community is the bride they are advised to wed, which receives all the more attention from the affections of the members not being diverted in any human way.

The Rappites, though they have a disturbing name, have certainly proved that even religious and restricted forms of co-operation conduce to economy. Their riches are celebrated by the friends of competition. They have acquired the name of Economites. They began in Pa in 1803. These were they of whom Robert Owen bought New Harmony town, and 35,000 acres of land in 1824. The term "Economites," which describes their habits, is derived from the town of Economy, which they built 18 miles below Alleghany. My correspondent, who resides near them, says they are counted as millionaires, being reputed to be worth 20 millions of dollars, or about five

millions English money, not much for a community to possess, seeing that individuals of the commercial octopus class often obtain more. But regarded as the surplus wealth of a people who have all enjoyed complete prosperity —among whom no one has been a pauper, no one poor, no one having cause of care for the future, it would be difficult to find any nation so wealthy. The Economites have been extensive manufacturers of woollen goods and some silk goods. At present they manufacture nothing. The few death has left of them are past the time for labour, and unless they take in new members their wealth will probably go eventually to the State.

The Icarians under Cabet began their community in 1854. It had 60 members and 1829 acres of land. The Cabettians were French Socialists. Cabet, had no illusions like other social leaders among his countrymen. His ideal was industrial. He sought to improve life by labour and equity. Cabet made marriage obligatory in Icaria.

Of disciples of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews, who have written to me to testify the growth of labour emancipation ideas in America—one proclaims himself a two-meal-a-day convert, which does not of itself point to prosperity. Whether this is an economical persuasion depends of course upon the quantity eaten, and upon this point no data has been forwarded to me. If the limitation of meals arise from pecuniary scarcity it is to be hoped that co-operation would supply him with the means of trinitarian repasts. In England, Co-operative Stores are favourable to those who eat as often as it is wise, and awards its highest premiums to those members who do not neglect their meals. As a rule, fat reformers are found to be more congenial than lean ones; and they look better at quarterly meetings. The idea that mankind are to be saved by preaching merely, appears to be waning in America, and the conviction is growing that criminals are made by bad social institutions, which ought to be superseded.

There is no reason for naming these communities, such

as they are, here, except to show that co-operation is capable of being applied to life as well as to shop-keeping. Co-operation in England is mere peddling, compared with the larger applications to which it is susceptible. Mr. Nordhoff, a Russian writer, has published an illustrated volume on these peculiar schemes of social life in America. America has merely been the experimenting ground. The schemes themselves have been nearly all of European origin. It is only in old, over-crowded cities, or countries where competition is nearly used up, or has nearly used up the mass of the people, that new schemes of social life are thought of, desired or devised. Though caricatured by celibacy and defaced by religious and sexual eccentricities, American communities show that wealth, morality, and comfort can be had in them. The day will come when men of good sense will arise, who, seeing through the social crotchets and religious ignorance by which these social schemes are overlaid, will add intelligence and art to the material philosophy of co-operation on which they are founded, and attain results that the people of many a careworn town will gladly imitate. Mr. Nordhoff relates that many of the established communities obtain a higher price in the markets for their commodities than any other firms—because their commodities can be trusted. Whether seeds of the ground or work of the loom, they are known to be honest and good products. They are the only dealers in America who have known how to make honesty pay. Some say they are the only tradesmen who have attempted it. Utopianism makes money—a thing not believed in in England. We are so "practical" here. Dr. W. B. Richardson has shown in his plan of a Healthy Town, that if capital should take to moral ways, and put itself to scientific uses, communities can be self-supporting, and made to pay in Great Britain, without going to America to try them. The career of the Amanes or Ebenezers show abundantly that the crotchetteers of communism in America beat the "practical" co-operators of this country.

A Community 200 years old

The "Ebenezers" are a colony of religious Socialists, who consider themselves under the guidance of an invisible spirit, who, however, seems to possess good business ability. Marriage is regulated by its consent; but the spirit is prudent, and is like Malthus in favour of deferred unions. This settlement is of German origin, and numbered 600 when they arrived in Buffalo from Hesse Darmstadt, in 1842. They date their origin 200 years back. It would be curious to know what they did, and why they did it, and how they succeeded during the 200 years of their German career. Their success could never have been what it has been in America, else we should have heard of them in Europe. Their social scheme must be as old as that of Bellers, yet no social reformers of this century have been aware of it. Their distinction, if they had any, at home would have been a fine illustration of the practicability of social theories. They must have realised what must have been "contrary to human nature," according to the authority of those who are "set in authority over us," or who have put themselves over us—for our good. America, however, is the land where social theories have room to grow, if there be any vitality in them. These "Ebenezers," a somewhat nasal name, call themselves in lucid intervals by the prettier term of "Amanes." When they went to the United States they settled upon an old Indian reservation of 6000 acres, near Buffalo, New York. They found it too small for their numbers; about 1857 they moved west. They have now 30,000 acres at Amana, on the banks of the Iowa river, about seventy miles from the Mississippi—woodland and prairie pleasantly diversified. They have made progress in agriculture and other industries. The colony now numbers about 1300. They have everything in the way of property in common, but recognize the accepted form of family life, and each family has a separate house or apartment. Those who join the community contribute their property to the common stock, and, if they become dissatisfied, they receive

back just what they put in, without interest or wages, and leave. Property, therefore, is no bone of contention, and no one can regard himself a prisoner when he is free to go where he pleases. The objects of the Amanes society are, religious association, industrial and domestic co-operation, and the special advancement of the useful arts. The members dress plainly, live plainly, build plainly, but substantially. They have extensive vineyards, make and drink wine and lager beer, but drunkenness is unknown among them. They appear to have no talent for vices, commit no crimes, and have no use for courts. There is, however, a committee of arbitration, to settle minor disputes when they arise. The government is administered and the whole business of the community is supervised by a board of thirteen trustees, who are elected by the votes of all the adult population, and hold the common property. Each department of industry has its manager, who is responsible to the board of trustees, by whom he is appointed. This is what they have done in sixteen years: They found wild lands, and have bridged the rivers, made good roads, planted hedges of white willow, built a canal nearly nine miles in length, to supply their needed water power. They have erected flourishing mills, woollen factories, machine shops, starch, sugar, and vinegar manufactories, all fitted out with fine machinery made by their own machinists. They have built five villages on the tract, and two of them are stations for the Rock Island and Pacific railroad, which come to their doors. They have good school houses, and plain churches, and two grain elevators at the railroad stations, each of a capacity for storing 80,000 bushels of grain. The children are kept at school until they are fourteen; and then they are taught a trade or agriculture, and their education is continued in night schools. English is taught, but German is the medium of communication in business and social life. Their religious services are very simple, consisting principally of reading the Scriptures, prayer, and singing,

and they have some good voices, and no "School Board difficulty," and no Mr. Forster. The women assist in light outdoor work, especially in the vineyards. Early marriages are discouraged, and men are not considered of suitable age for wedlock until they attain the maturity of thirty-five years. There is a great deal of intelligence in this community, but no brilliancy of any kind. They have no "population question," no impecuniosity, no misery such as develops such fine virtues among us, and no calamities, from which English moralists deduce the salutary lessons of responsibility. Having no ecclesiastical expounders to teach them the grounds of duty, they are reduced to the necessity of doing right by good sense, and have hitherto achieved no higher distinction than that of having attained to a state of reasonable enjoyment and tame happiness, deprived of the civilized excitement of great crimes; and their monotonous security is not even variegated by murder. They affront the philosophical connoisseurs of pleasure by being satisfied with satisfaction, and contented with content.

In 1844 there appeared in America the "Social Pioneer," representing the New England Social Reform Society. Mr. J. P. Mendum, of Boston, was the publisher, and Mr. Horace Seaver was the corresponding secretary,—the same two gentlemen who have been long and honourably known as Editors of the "Boston Investigator." In that year a conference was held in Phillip's Hall, Boston, with a view of promoting social re-organisation. This conference represented the pioneer community of Skaneateles, New York. One of the persons present was Dr. Charles Knowlton, of Ashfield, Mass., the gentleman whose name has frequently occurred of late in this country. He took no part in the convention, and it is the only time I have met with his name in the reports of public proceedings in America. The most frequent and eloquent speaker at the convention was Mrs. Ernestine Rose, of New York, a Polish lady well known in this country. Mention is made then of her

delicate health, which "prevented her speaking with her wonted effect." It is pleasant to report that more than 30 years later she is still a speaker of remarkable power. Origen Bacheler, of Rhode Island, famous as the opponent of Robert Dale Owen in the best expressed discussions of modern times, appeared as an opponent in this conference. Another adversary appeared who refused to give his name, except that he was a disciple of Christ. The Chairman (Captain Taylor) accordingly announced that "the disciple of Christ had the floor." The resolutions submitted to the conference amounted altogether to the amazing number of nearly fifty. It would be wonderful, therefore, if they did not contain some expressions to which some one could object, but they were remarkably wise, temperate, moral, secular, and social in their purport. They mark the progress of popular opinion. Christians in America and England would be found now generally claiming to agree with the spirit of them. Just as our co-operative colony at Queenwood was disappearing, the most comprehensive conference ever held in favour of new forms of social life was held in America.

The Indiana Store of America will always have interest to the co-operative reader. New Harmony, Posey County, Indiana, is the old seat of the famous co-operative store which existed there in 1826. One who knows—an intelligent correspondent out there—informs me that there is no store there now and that it is the last village in the United States in which it might be expected one might be found. New Harmony is now very much like other places in the industrial, social, and intellectual character of its inhabitants. Mr. Noyes, in his History of "American Socialism," conveys a very wrong impression when he says that it is probable that New Harmony is a semi-socialist village to this day, representing more or less the spirit of Robert Owen, and that after the failure of his attempt to establish a community fifty years ago, the village has continued to be flourishing, rather peculiar, and

the centre and refuge of Socialists and Innovators. Mr. Noyes has drawn this conclusion from "inspiration" and in opposition to the facts regarding New Harmony, which he has derived from Macdonald's MS. History of the social and co-operative experiments made in that country. Macdonald arrived at New Harmony in 1842, fifteen years after Owen's departure; he resided there two years as a bookbinder. He says after Owen's departure the majority of the population removed and scattered about the country and that the remainder, like them, returned to Individualism, and settled as farmers and mechanics in the ordinary way. Macdonald tells us further, that, on his arrival he was cautioned not to speak of socialism as the subject was unpopular, and that an enthusiastic socialist would soon be cooled down at New Harmony. In the preface to his unpublished work, written shortly before his death, in 1854, he says, he "imagined mankind to be better than they are, and was sanguine that communism would speedily produce brilliant results, but that years of experience in mingling with the world have shown him the 'stern reality' and he hopes that his work will help to awaken dreamers." The fact is Macdonald was one of those capricious enthusiasts who were hopeful when social schemes were incohate and doubtful, and distrustful and despairing when they were really succeeding around him. He was a Scotch emigrant, who began by having too much fervour for socialism and ended, like most persons of that class, with having too little. He was, however, a man of original ways; he was, as the reader has seen, a sort of Old Mortality of Co-operation, who visited the grave yards of communities in America, and wrote their epitaphs. Living by his trade as a bookbinder he obtained work in the neighbourhood of a communistic settlement, and spent some time in learning the particulars of its history. He wrote his account of it; but he had no skill in arranging his materials, and died leaving them in confusion. Mr. Noyes, into whose hands they fell, has not

printed them. They deserve publication as they must contain curious facts unknown to any other author. Mr. Noyes, who has a very mean opinion of social life, save the semi-spiritual and semi-sexual one of the Oneida pattern, is not a trustworthy reporter of Macdonald's MS. The account given me by my correspondent of New Harmony Society, is probably true. Every place in which schemes of undisciplined enthusiasm have been put in operation, always prove reactionary in later years. The residents are ashamed of the failure associated with their place, and in their endeavours to repudiate it, deny the existence of any liberalising influences which must have been left behind; or find some other paternity for them. All the persons I have known who have lived to repudiate their early socialistic faith—have always remained more liberal and enlightened in some respects than they would have been if they had never held it. It is singular how men of eminent experience take a partial view of the qualities of a nation, because it falls short of their ideal in a particular respect in which they look for perfection. We know from Madison's Report, "of the convention that framed the famous Constitution of America," that Washington said, that "he believed *all* the virtues had left the land." Since, however, modern Americans have put down slavery in it, at such a cost of blood and treasure, let us hope that some of the virtues have come back. Had slavery existed in England for as long a time and to as great a proportional extent, it would have found abler advocates among us than it found in America, and have cost a fiercer struggle to extinguish it. The population of New Harmony in the year 1877, was but about 1000. It had neither market nor railroad, though one was expected to be formed. The place is not what Americans call a "flourishing village." Tradesmen in it fear that the railroad (the great bringer of business) may injure them, which shows that England is not the only place where antiquated notions can nestle.

CHAPTER XIX.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING.

"Parson do preach, and tell we to pray,
And to think of our work, and not ask more pay:
And to follow ploughshare, and never think
Of crazy cottage and ditch-stuff's stink—
That doctor do say breeds ager and chills,
Or, worse than that, the fever that kills—
And a'bids me pay my way like a man,
Whethar I can't, or whether I can:
And, as I han't beef, to be thankful for bread,
And bless the Lord it ain't turmuts instead:
And never envy the farmer's pig,
For all a'lies warm, and is fed so big;
While the Missus and little 'uns grows that thin,
You may count their bones underneath their skin:
I'm to call all I[gits 'the chastening rod,'
And look up to my betters, and then thank God."
"Punch."

SEEING that social schemes of life are as old as Society, and that the first form was that of communism, which meant of co-operative uses of the land, it is singular that the first idea should be the last in realisation.

The greatest and most needed application of co-operation is to agriculture. England has always been backward herein. It is odd that the most important application of it occurred in the restless land of potatoes and whiteboys. Amid the bogs of Ralahine, an experiment of co-operative agriculture produced great results. The reader has seen the story of its singular success in the chapter on "Lost Communities." Mr. Craig has written upon it. The most complete account of it was that published by Mr. William Pare.

Early interest in co-operative Farming.

Mr. Craig's often published testimony as to the success of Mr. Vandeleur's co-operative farming experiment at Ralahine, Ireland, half a century ago, shows that in the most unlikely country in Europe, and at a time when murders of farm stewards was rife, and in a place where martial law existed, and was inefficient to prevent lots being drawn for shooting Mr. Vandeleur's steward, who was accordingly murdered with impunity in open day—that co-operative farming could put savings into the pockets of shoeless, shirtless, desperate labourers, and form habits of persistent and contented industry.

Mr. James B. Bernard, who dated from King's College, Cambridge, wrote in the "New Moral World," November 29, 1834, in favour of a scheme of raising the status of the agricultural labourer as well as the mechanic. A committee of twenty-two Members of Parliament published a small twopenny monthly paper at 11, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, in promotion of this object. Mr. E. S. Cayley, M.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire, was chairman of this early project. Mr. Bernard was a Fellow of Cambridge. It was not often that the "New Moral World" had so respectable a contributor. We are apt to think in these days when we hear of a baronet or a lord contemplating setting apart 300 acres of land for the purposes of co-operative farms, that the agricultural millenium is arriving by an express train; but we may read in the "Morning Herald" of 1830, that a peer had several years before set off 500 lots of land, consisting of about 5 acres each for a similar purpose.

The testimony of Lord Brougham as to what might be accomplished by uniting agricultural and other industries with instruction and culture was very explicit. Mr. Fellenberg, of Hofwyl, in Switzerland made a famous attempt to prove this. In the beginning of this century Mr. Fellenberg's agricultural college was the talk of Europe. Robert Owen sent his sons to it, and Lord, then Mr. Brougham, went to see it. He declared that the

habits of common labour are perfectly reconcilable with those of a contemplative and even scientific life, and that a keen relish for the pleasures of speculation may be united with the most ordinary pursuits of the poor. "All this," he said, "seems to be proved by the experiment of Mr. Fellenberg. His farm is under 220 acres; his income, independent of the profit he derives from breeding horses (in which he is very skilful), and his manufacture of husbandry implements, does not exceed £500 a year." . . . "The extraordinary economy," he observed, "is requisite to explain the matter: for although the academy and institute are supported by the richer pupils, these pay a very moderate sum; and the family, who are wholly supported and lodged at Hofwyl, amounts to 180 persons. These dine at six different tables, and their food though simple is extremely good." When Mr. Brougham was there he found seven or eight German princes among the pupils, besides several sons of German nobles, and the Prince and Princess of Wurtemberg were expected to visit the place to arrange for another young prince under their care. There never has been a doubt in modern days among men of observation, that the agricultural life of England is the dullest and most ignominious known as far as the labourers in southern and western counties are concerned. Mr. Mill has applauded the métayer system of other countries as including, as far as it goes, co-operative usages attended with many advantages. Metayage is a mode of letting farms in the south of Europe, where the landlord furnishes a proportion of the means of cultivation and shares the produce with the cultivator or métayer.

In the days when any relation between labourers and farmers in which the labourers did all the work and the farmer did not take everything, was called "co-operative" farming, Mr. John Gurdon's little paternal arrangements with certain labourers at Assington was thought much of. In 1862 the "Times" sent a commissioner to Rochdale to report upon co-operative proceedings there. In conse-

quence of what the editor said upon the subject Mr. Gurdon wrote to the "Times," giving his own account of what he had done, saying:—"About thirty years ago, upon a small farm in Suffolk becoming vacant, I called together twenty labourers and offered to lend them capital without interest if they would undertake to farm it, *subject to my rules* and regulations. They gladly availed themselves of my offer. In the course of ten years they paid me back my capital, so that I was induced to let another farm of 150 acres to thirty men upon the same terms. These have also nearly paid me back the capital lent to them, and instead of eating dry bread, as I regret to say many of the agricultural labourers are now doing, each man has his bacon, and numberless comforts which he never possessed before, thus the rates are reduced as these fifty families are no longer burdensome. The farmers are sure to meet with honest men, as conviction of crime would debar them of their share and the men themselves have become much more intelligent and present happy, cheerful countenances. If every country gentleman would follow my example, distress among the agricultural poor would not be known. I merely add I have no land so well farmed." At the same time the Rev. Mr. Banks Robinson, vicar of Little Wallingfield, Suffolk, living near Mr. Gurdon's place, wrote to the "Co-operator" to say he had visited Assington and wrote very highly of Mr. Gurdon's friendliness to the labourers and the kind intention of his plans, but they were not co-operative as the word was understood in Rochdale. Ten years later my colleague Mr. E. R. Edger visited Mr. Crisell, the manager of the farm whom the Rev. Mr. Robinson had found to be of "manly, open, and ingenious appearance," beyond what he expected of one belonging to the "depressed" class. Mr. Edger sent me this report:—

"I paid a visit to Assington; and had a little conversation with the manager Mr. Crisell (pronounced with i long, 'Cry-sell'). I can feel no enthusiasm at all about

the Assington Farm. There seems no 'co-operation' in the right sense of the term, but only *bounty* of the squire towards poor neighbours.

"(1.) It is limited to inhabitants of the parish.

"(2.) Each member can hold only *one* share.

"(3.) Members have no voice in the management.

"(4.) Wages to workmen same as usual.

"(5.) No special inducement offered to the workmen to become shareholders, or to the shareholders to become workmen. The manager remarked that they did not care particularly to employ the members, they found no advantage in it, this seems to me very significant.

"It has been in existence forty-one years, so it will take a long time to renovate society that way. Remember I only give my *impressions*."

Still they are the "impressions" any one has who looks at the matter from a co-operative point of view. Mr. Gurdon's merit was that he did something for labourers around him when few squires did anything: and his isolated example has served to call the attention of others to what may be done without loss by squires of ordinary good intentions. That what Mr. Gurdon did in this way should be the only notable effort of his class during 40 years in England is the most melancholy measure of the tardiness of thought for the agricultural labourer's improvement the reader will find anywhere.

What an honourable stride from Assington is that made by Lord George Manners at Ditton Lodge Farm, near Newmarket. Writing to the "Agricultural Gazette," in 1873, his lordship states:—

"At my harvest supper in August, 1871, I informed my labourers that, commencing from Michaelmas, 1872, I should take them into a qualified partnership, paying them their ordinary wages, but dividing between capital and labour any surplus above the sum required to pay 10 per cent. (5 per cent. as interest, and 5 per cent. as profit) on the capital invested in the business: or, in other words,

that I should take half such surplus, and divide the other half among those who had laboured on the farm the whole of the preceding twelve months. I have recently made up accounts for the twelve months ending Michaelmas, 1873, and I have a surplus, after paying capital 10 per cent., of £71 16s. 6d.; there will, therefore, be a sum of £36 18s. 3d. for division among the labourers, which will give each man a sum of £3. Many will shake their heads and say, 'All very well: but if the next is a bad year, you will have to bear the whole loss.' My answer is, 'Quite true; *but who can say that my loss may not be less than it would otherwise have been, owing to the stimulus which this system can scarcely fail to exert on the labourer in his daily work.*'"

The answer here italicised denotes greater knowledge of co-operation than many co-operators show. Mr. William Lawson, of Blennerhasset Farm, had a famous stallion which he named "Co-operation." Some Newmarket breeder would find "Industrial Partnership" a good name for the favourite at the Derby.

Lord Hampton, when Sir John Pakington, spoke in 1872 with great liberality upon the same subject. "He," he said, "supported the idea of co-operative farms and an extension of the system of co-operative stores into every village of the kingdom. He considered that those who entered upon a farm and cultivated it with spirit, and devoted his capital to its due cultivation, had a moral right to security for the capital invested. In his opinion, the best way to secure that was by the system of granting leases. Then came the question of compensation for unexhausted improvements, and he considered that such compensation was only simple justice. In the lease there should be covenants to protect the landlord in the concluding years of the term, and there should be equal justice to the tenant for unexhausted improvements."

Elsewhere mention has been made of the interest taken by the Speaker of the House of Commons in the improve-

ment of the condition of the labourers of Glynde. Mr. Walter Morrison has afforded the means for farm hands conducting a real co-operative farm at Brampton Bryan, in Herefordshire. As a rule, few landowners as yet know much, or think little seriously of the advantages of this form of industry, and labourers have fewer facilities of learning how to conduct farms, than artizans have of learning how to conduct manufactories, so that co-operative farming will make slower progress than co-operative workshops. For a farm to succeed in the hands of labourers, requires the presence and guidance of a good farmer, until they acquire the habits of independent management. The Assington labourers would not have made much of the facilities Mr. Gurdon kindly provided, had he not been near to countenance and control the results.

The most remarkable of all the experiments of agricultural co-operation, is that recorded by Mr. William Lawson (a brother of Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P.), in his "Ten Years of Gentleman Farming." Mr. Lawson spent more than £30,000 in this way. Though this large sum was spent it could hardly be said to be lost, since at any point of his many experiments he might have made money had he so minded. But he proceeded on the plan of a man who built one story houses, and as soon as he found that they let at a paying rent, pulled them down and built two story houses to see if they would pay, and when he found that they answered, he demolished them, and put up houses of three stories, and no sooner were they profitably occupied, than he turned out the inhabitants and pulled them down. What he lost was by the rapidity of his changes, rather than by the failure of his plans, for he had sagacity as great as the generosity of his intentions. His chief farm was at Blennerhasset, in Cumberland. He was the first to introduce the steam plough into the country, and every form of scientific farming matured at that period, between 1860 and 1870. He maintained for the use of his neighbours two travelling steam engines, which he named Cain

and Abel. He founded Co-operative Stores, supplying the capital himself, which ill-judged paternalism destroyed all self-helping effort in the members to subscribe their own capital. At Blennerhasset, he founded a People's Parliament, where all those employed upon the various farms, and all the villagers periodically assembled and discussed the management of the co-operative farms, and the qualities and characters of the managers. This was a dangerous feature borrowed from Oneida. The result to the farm was great variety of counsel, and some of the drollest debates and votes ever recorded. The effect upon the people was, however, very good. Mr. Lawson's plan of inviting miscellaneous criticism is not so silly as it looks. If you do not feel bound to take all the advice you get, and are strong enough not to be confused by contradictory opinions, there is no more economical way known of getting wisdom. Even disagreeable people have their value in this way. There must be education of some kind, since some social qualities are necessary to co-operators, such as good-will and a sort of neighbourly feeling, for it is easy to promote the welfare of those you like, but how about the people you didn't like? When quarrelsome people come into such a society they began to discuss, not the merits of the society, but of each other. It is a difficult thing for people to act together—neither people devoted to politics nor people devoted to religion can do it without training. Some years after the farms were sold, I found more intelligence and ready sense among the villagers than I ever met with elsewhere. On a plot of land at Aspatria, bearing the name of Noble, Mr. Lawson built Noble Temple, a public hall, always available for lectures. He also established medical dispensaries, schools, and newsrooms. No agricultural population were ever so liberally or generously cared for in England. Mr. Lawson's "Ten Years of Gentleman Farming" is the most interesting and amusing book in co-operative literature. Never was landowner more sagacious, inventive, genial, or liberal or

changeable—not in his generous purpose but in his methods. Had he been less paternal and taught his people the art of self-help, he had been a great benefactor.

The rise in late years of the Agricultural Labourers Union has had the effect of promoting distributive co-operation. Many labourers never heard of co-operation at all, others did not understand it, and more did not care for it or think much of it, though acquainted with it. The general impression was that it was a thing which might do very well for mechanics in populous towns. This kind of impression is not peculiar to agricultural labourers. Most people consider when any new improvement is proposed, that it may suit somebody else. The comfortable sense of self-perfection, with which many persons are endowed, leads to the complacent judgment we so well know. One of the co-operative stores recently set up by the members of the Agricultural Union, numbered sixty persons. Their business and profits being in considerable confusion, Mr. John Butcher was asked to look into their affairs. He saw at once that they needed an intelligent secretary. "Have you no carpenter among you," was his first inquiry, "one with a little skill in figures, who could keep your books?" The answer was, "We have no such person." "Surely," Mr. Butcher observed, "you do not mean to say that there is no carpenter in the village?" "O yes," was the answer—"we have several, but they are not members of the Union." "You do not mean to say that you require every member of the store to be a member of the Union?" The unhesitating reply was, "O but we do. The doctor and the parson would have joined our store, to have encouraged us to improve our position in this way, but we would not have them because they were not members of the Union." And it turned out that the lawyer would have joined the store, but did not see his way to becoming a member of the Union. It transpired that a noble earl, having property in the neighbourhood, and a seat hard by—would

have joined the store, from an honourable feeling of encouraging the poor men in efforts of social self-help, but he was refused because he had not qualified himself by entering his name as a member of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. Mr. Butcher explained to the exacting labourers that co-operation took no account of politics, religion, or social station, and regarded members only as they subscribed capital and purchased goods. Thus, some of these stipulating Unionists, whom exclusiveness treated as a caste, and whom isolation kept poor, came to see that it ill became them to imitate the narrowness which degraded them, and the jealousy which impoverished their order. Mr. Arch, when he has time, will be likely to confirm them in their wiser views.

In 1867 the Society of Agricultural Co-operation named previously, was formed under the title of the Agricultural and Horticultural Association, Limited. Its offices are at 47, Millbank Street, Westminster, where it has extensive premises extending into Church Street, where its seed warehouse is situated. It has depots at Liverpool, Hull, Southamptom, Totnes, Wolverhampton, and Newcastle-on-Tyne and other places. The following table shows the progress of the Society from 1868 to 1877 :—

Date	Membrs	Share Capital	Deposit Capital.	Sales.	Net Gain to Members.
		£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1868	174	1,066		10,342 0 5	493 2 3
1869	235	3,584		19,102 4 3	433 6 5
1870	315	4,256		21,521 2 8	1151 6 4
1871	430	5,275		29,351 0 11	1127 18 11
1872	578	9,045	1,165 18 0	47,490 2 5	2083 9 8
1873	783	12,153	3,958 4 8	56,336 15 2	2585 5 9
1874	892	13,542	7,793 6 8	64,676 15 8	2914 1 11
1875	978	15,352	6,515 18 2	64,428 2 3	1741 9 0
1876	1041	15,955	17,360 9 8½	66,405 1 0	...
1877	1113	16,495	14,279 15 8	89,334 4 11	3120 16 8

Some of the Northern stores possess farm property, but

agricultural co-operation has not made any distinctive way in their hands as yet. Some Manchester co-operators have entertained projects of commencing farming on a larger scale than has yet been attempted, and one day it will become a feature, as the Wholesale Society could find markets for abundant produce. Landowners, friendly to self-help among the people, are now disposed to encourage these attempts. Very lately, Mr. Arthur Trevelyan, of Tyneholm, always foremost where social improvement can be promoted, offered the Wolfstar and Wester Pencaitland farms for co-operative purposes. It is quite time, and quite worth the while of squires to efface the feeling Bloomfield described among the agricultural poor of his day, who were—

> "Left distanced in the maddening race
> Where'er Refinement showed its hated face."

CHAPTER XX.

ECCENTRIC AND SINGULAR SOCIETIES.

An obstacle to the co-operation of working men is the difficulty of getting good, sufficient and trustworthy instruments for giving it effect; but wherever that can be done, I commend it without limit. I cannot say what I think of the value of it. I hope it will extend to other things which it has scarcely yet touched. I hope it will extend to all the amusements and recreations of the working man. It fosters a strong sentiment of self-respect among working men. It fosters a strong sentiment of independence, and yet the sentiment of independence appears to me to be entirely free from all tendency to doing injustice towards anybody else, or of thinking injustice to anybody.—*The* Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone *at Hawarden, Speech to Leigh & Tyldesley Liberal Clubs, Sept.*, 1877.

No rapidity of narration, no compression of sentences, consistent with explicitness and instruction, can bring into two moderate volumes all the incidents and all the societies which now deservedly challenge notice. There is no choice, therefore, save that of noticing the salient features only of those societies which stand as it were upon the highway of co-operation. In this chapter some societies are mentioned because they are either curious for their period of origin, or their career, or remarkable for their growth and influence. At first I thought it possible to combine in this volume on constructive co-operation, brief sketches of all the stores of the country, that none might appear to be overlooked or undervalued. The story of the early efforts of all of them would have some features of novelty, interest, and merit. There are always unlooked for incidents, amusing or tragical, in beginnings by small means of the members' own subscribing, and in perseverance through difficulties until

success came by the economy of combination. But the story of a thousand stores would never be told within the dimensions of a volume which the public would be willing to buy and likely to read.

Including the societies which report themselves to the Registrar of Friendly Societies and those which do not (and are therefore not reported upon in detail by him) they may be taken as numbering upwards of a thousand. If they are fewer one day they exceed that number the next, for new societies are constantly being formed. The reader must therefore imagine himself the prolonged panorama on which these thousand stores might be depicted. All that I can do usefully is to describe the main means by which they have arisen, and the principles on which they can extend themselves. If stores now existing, or that may be started, adopt the principles of capitalizing profits, their growth, prosperity, permanence, and extension will be great beyond ordinary expectation.

Professor Masson tells us that Herodotus mentions 100, Aristotle 120 forms of diverse life: communal in some sort, all succeeding in their day. Co-operation relates but to one form of life—that by association, and society is plainly tending to that. It is hard if the moderns have not enough originality to make one thing answer. These pages are a record of slow but accumulating success in the application of the principle. The facts concerning the early societies here enumerated will at least show in what various towns the new method of progress seemed so desirable and feasable, that it was attempted. In hundreds of towns and places where co-operation has arisen again and had its flourishing stores and workshops—no tradition remains among the people that such stores existed among their forefathers long ago. Most of the stores mentioned in the following list, excepting three or four, are now deader than the Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee, for not a trace of them remains. But happily live co-operative cities stand on their ruins.

The six earliest Co-operative Societies.

The six earliest societies in England on the co-operative plan were the following :—

Birmingham (Tailor's Shop), 1777.
Mongewell Oxfordshire (Store), 1794.
Hull (Corn Mill), 1795.
Woolwich (Store), 1806.
Davenport (Store), 1815.
New Lanark (Store), 1816.
London Economical Society (Printers), 1821.

The following is a list of the London Societies existing in London and around of which mention is made in Co-operative publications of 1830-3. A few of later date are included from subsequent periodicals :—

LONDON SOCIETIES.

Societies Names	Place of Meeting.	Storekeeper.
First London	19, Greville St., Hatton Garden	W. Lovett.
Second London ...	6, Little Windmill St., Golden Sq.	W. Watkins.
First West London ...	33, Queen St., Bryanstone Sq....	W. Freeman.
New London	17, Plumber St., Old Street Rd.	—
London Branch A1 ...	... ...	C. Gold.
First Soho	27, Denmark Street, St. Giles ...	J. Elliot.
Lambeth and Sout hark	3, Webber Street, Waterloo Rd.	J. Booth.
First Westminster ...	37, Marsham St., Vincent Square	—. Jarrold.
First Pimlico... ...	8, Ranelagh Street	—
First St. James' ...	5, Rose St., Crown Court, Soho	—
Pimlico	.. ..	—
First Finsbury ...	69, Old Street Road	Committee.
Somers Town... ...	22, Great Clarendon Street ...	—
Islington	"White Horse," Back Road ...	—
Islington Methodists ...	6, High Street, Islington Green	—
Hampstead	"Duke of Hamilton" ...	Not trading.
Pentonville	Chapel Street	
First Bethnal Green ...	9, South Conduit Street ...	J. Bredell.
Second ,, ...	17, West Street, North Street...	—
Third ,, ...	"Norfolk Arms"	—
Fourth ,, ...	Wilmot Grove	—
Fifth ,, ...	School, Sydney Street, Twigg's Folly	R. Oliver.
Sixth ,, ...	10, Thomas Street, Buck Lane	T. Riley.

Names and addresses of the London Societies of 1830.

LONDON SOCIETIES, (*continued*).

SOCIETIES' NAMES.	PLACE OF MEETING.	STOREKEEPER.
Seventh, Bethnal Green...	"Well and Bucket," Church St	—
Middlesex ..	22, St. Ann's Crt., Wardour St.	—. Basset.
Do. Second ..	8, Berwick Street, Soho ..	Not trading.
First Southwark ...	"Gun," Joiner Street, Westminster Road	—
Southwark	"Black Bull," Bull Ct., Tooley Street	—
Cooper's, Ratcliff ..	75, Heath St., Commercial Road	S. Sennitt.
North London ...	"Duke of Clarence," Pancras Road	—
Second West London ..	11, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields	—
	"The King's Head," Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road ...	—
Hand in Hand ...	"The Crown," Red Cross Street	—
First Hoxton	"The Bacchus," Old Hoxton ...	—
Kingsland	... ...	—
Bow...	... .	—
Whitechapel	... ...	—
First Stepney... ...	... ...	—
First Bloomsbury ...	"Bull and Mouth," Hart Street	—
Metropolitan	Eagle Coffee House, Farringdon Street	Committee.
First Kennington ...	The Union, Vassal Road ...	—
First Chelsea	36, Regent St., Chelsea Common	Committee.
Knightsbridge ...	... ...	—
Kensington	Birch's School Room... ...	—
United Christians ...	74, Leonard Street, Shoreditch	G. Richardson.
Methodists	Newel, Baker, Wardour St., Soho	—
St. George, Hanover Sq.	"Portsmouth Arms," Shepherd Street	Not trading.

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD SOCIETIES,

EXISTING IN 1829 AND 1830.

FIRST CHARLTON ROW, Evan Street, Charlton Row, established May 3, 1829—18 members—weekly subscription 1s. 1d.—capital £100—weekly dealings £20—principle to divide at four years' end.

ECONOMICAL, Frederick Street, Salford, established August 22, 1829—30 members—weekly subscription 3d.—capital £57—weekly dealings £25—principle, division.

TEMPERANCE, 15, Oldfield Road, Salford, established October 26,

List of the Manchester and Salford Societies of 1829 and 1830.

1829—40 members—weekly subscription 3d.—capital £42—weekly dealings £14—principle, non-division.*

INDEPENDENT HOPE, Hope Street, Salford, established February 26, 1830—45 members—weekly subscription 8s.—capital £70—weekly dealings £60—principle, non-division.

PERSEVERANCE, 13, Shepley Street, London Road, Manchester, established April 12, 1830—56 members—weekly subscription 4d.—capital £24—weekly dealings £11—principle, non-division.

AMICABLE, Ormond Street, Charlton Row, established May 1, 1830—24 members—weekly subscription 4d.—capital £10—weekly dealings £7—principle, non-division.

FRIENDLY, Bentley's Court, Miles Platting, established April 10, 1830—27 members—weekly subscription 4d.—capital £18—weekly dealings £6—principle, non-division.

BENEVOLENT, Sandford Street, Ancoats, established April 22, 1830—124 members—weekly subscription 4d.—capital £45—weekly dealings £46—library 50 books—principle, non-division.

GOOD INTENT, Hope Town Salford, established May 8, 1830—48 members—weekly subscription 3d.—capital £10—weekly dealings £7—principle, non-division.

FORTITUDE, Long Milgate, established June 1, 1830—15 members—weekly subscription 3d.—capital £2—weekly dealings £1—principle, non-division.

"None of these societies," it was stated, "are at present manufacturing, but the Owenian expects to begin shortly. With the exception of the Benevolent they are not yet provided with libraries." They had the sense in those days to make apologetic confession of the absence of means of acquiring knowledge.

The following societies are placed alphabetically for convenience of reference. The year of their formation is given where it has been traced. Those without dates mostly existed between 1830 and 1833 :—

A		Armagh	1830	Ashby-de-la-Zouch.
Allerton	1829	Ayr	1838	B
Almondbury	,,	Ashton	,,	Birmingham Taylors
Aberdeen	,,	Ackworth	1834	Manufacturing
Ardsley	1831	Anstey	1828	Society 1777.
Armitage Brdg.	1830	Accrington		Do Store 1828

* This means that profits were being accumulated for the purpose chiefly of reconstituting the world. Co-operators worked on that scale in those days.

Names of 200 societies of the 1830-3 period.

Broadbottom 1831
Belper 1829
Barnstaple ,,
Brighton 1826
Blackfriars ,,
Bradford 1829
Bury ,,
Barnsley ,,
Bolton ,,
Boothfold 1831
Birkacre ,,
Barns ,,
Broadford ,,
Burslem 1830
Bath 1838
Bristol ,,
Bilston ,,
Bridgnorth ,,
Brighlingren 1832
Bolton-le-Moor ,,
Blackburn ,,
Burnley ,,
Banbury ,,
Burton-on-Trent ,,
Bromsgrove ,,
Bungay ,,

C

Canterbury 1829
Congleton ,,
Chatham ,,
Clitheroe ,,
Clayton ,,
Coventry ,,
Cambridge ,,
Cumberworth 1829-1832
Cheltenham 1830
Carlisle ,,
Clayton Heights 1833
Chester 1830
Chorley
Cockermouth
Colne
Chowbent
Cromford
Cambuslang (Scotland) 1829

D

Devonport 1815
Darlington 1827
Derby ,,
Derby 1829
Dolphin 1833
Dudley
Daventry

E

Exeter 1826
Eccleshill 1833
Exhall 1832

F

Finsbury (see London Societies) 1829
Foleshill 1829
Farnley Tyas 1833
Failsworth

G

Glasgow 1829
Godalming 1830
Greenock 1838
Garstang 1838

H

Halifax 1829
Hastings ,,
Horton ,,
Highroyd ,,
Huddersfield 1829-1832
Hothorne 1829
Holmfirth 1832
Hulme 1831
Holbeck 1830
Holywell 1830
Holdsworth 1832
Horton Bank Top 1833
Horbury 1830
Hyde
Hereford

I

Ipswich 1829
Indiana (America*) 1826

J

Jersey New 1826
Jamy Green 1835
Jedburgh 1830

K

Kidderminster 1829
Keighley 1829
Kendal 1829
Kearsley 1831
Kenilworth

L

Lamberhead Green, Wigan 1830
London (see List of Metropolitan Societies) 1821
Leeds 1829
Loughborough, 1829-1832
Lindley 1832
Liverpool 1830-1832
Longroyd 1832
Leicester 1829, ,,
Longford, near Coventry 1832
Lower Houses, near Huddersfield 1834
Leigh
Lynn
Leamington
Lutterworth
Leeks
Lancaster

M

Manchester (see Manchester and Salford Societies) 1829

* Though this was not an English Store it was founded by Englishmen.

Estimated number of Co-operative Societies in 1829 and 1830.

Macclesfield	1829
Morley	,,
Marylebone	,,
Maidstone	,,
Mansfield	,,
Millsbridge	1830
Miles Platting	,,
Marseilles *	1830
Mixenden Lane	1832
Mixenden Stones	,,
Mixenden Rocks	,,
Mottram	
Malpas	
Mossley	
Melross	
N	
Nottingham	1827
Newark	1831
Norwich	1827
New Mill	1832
New Catton	1830
Newchurch	1827
Newcastle	
Northampton	
O	
Oldham	1832
Oldbury	,,
Outwood	1831
Oxford	1830
Orbiston (Scotland)	1826
P	
Paris	1821
Preston	1829
Prestolee	1830
Pilkington	1830
Poole	,,
Peniston	1833
Padiham	1833
Penkridge	,,
Pudsey	,,
Q	
Queenshead	1829
R	
Rochdale	1830
Ralahine (Ireland)	1831
Runcorn	1830
Ratcliffe	1830
Ripponden	1832
Rastrick	1833
S	
Sheepshead	1829
Stone	,,
Soho	,,
Sheffield	1830
Salford	1829
Stockport	1839
Shipley	1830
Stamford	,,
Shelley	,,
Stockmoor	,,
St. Columbo, Cornwall	1830
Syston	,,
St. James	,,
Stourbridge	,,
Southampton	,,
Stratford	
Sandbeds	1833
Shibden	1829
Stafford	
Shrewsbury	
Shiffnal	
T	
Thorne	1829
Tunbridge Wells	1829
Thurstanland,	1830
Thames Ditton	1830
Twickenham	,,
Thurmaston	,,
Todmorden	
Tarporley	
Tabley (Derbyshire)	
U	
Uley	1829
Upperley	1830
Unsworth	1832
W	
Worcester	1829
Westminster	,,
Worthing	1828
Whitehaven	1829
Wallingford,	,,
Warrington	1829
Woolton	,,
Wigan	,,
Warley (near Halifax)	1831
Warsboro' Brdg.	1832
Worksworth (Derbyshire)	
Wells	
Wolverhampton	1832
Walsall	,,
Wellington	,,
Wellingborough	,,
Warwick	,,
Wisbech	,,
Y	
Yarmouth	
York	1830

There were 125 Co-operative Associations in England and Scotland in 1829. They were stated to amount to 250 in 1830, to which number they doubtless amounted,

* This store was of English inspiration.

as they were often estimated by competent authorities in those days at 300. Forty co-operative societies were formed in London, and about 400 in various parts of the country, so far back as 1833; and four of them, all in Yorkshire, still remain.

In Chapter XVI., the reader has seen the account of the Birmingham Co-operative Workshop of 1777: and in Chapter VIII. Bishop Barrington's masterly little history of the first store, known in 1794 as the Village Shop of Mongewell.

The third of the early stores was one established in Hull in 1795. It was not a mere shop, but a society. It was formed by a few persons for the sale of the necessaries of life at lower prices than were current among the ordinary retailers. Their transactions were more particularly in wheat and flour. Eventually it became a corn mill purely, and has continued to be known as such.

The Hull Industrial Corn Mill is the oldest in the Parliamentary return of 1863, the Society there dating 1795. Its members were given at 3,818, 701 having joined during the year 1863, and none withdrawn, and yet its members in the 1862 returns were only given at 1,900. By what error this arose was not explained. Its shares of 1862 were 50s. each; in 1863 they were 25s.; the total amount of which is £4,776, on which it paid 5 per cent. per annum interest. Mr. Nuttall remarked,* "Its sales receipts in 1863 were £38,821, and profit £2,947, or nearly 62 per cent. on share capital, and 7½ per cent. on sale receipts, or, as co-operators generally say, about 1s. 6d. per £ for dividend."

This volume would never be finished if I were to visit, as I should like, the seat of every remarkable store (as I have done with respect to numbers), elseI should certainly spend a week at Hull to explore the early books of the Society of the Corn Mill, to discover what manner of people began it, what was their inspiration, and what were their early adventures.

* English Leader.

The singular Woolwich Society of 1806.

In October, 1806, twenty-six of the workmen in the Arsenal at Woolwich determined to resist extortionate demands of the shopkeepers; they each subscribed 10s. 6d., and with the amount so raised they sent one of themselves to Smithfield, where for £20 they purchased a bullock. It was found that in this manner the price of their meat was reduced exactly one-half, from 9d. to 4½d. per pound. Their first effort had been generally ridiculed, but its success could not now be denied. They were speedily joined by a large number of other workmen, and were soon able to rent a shed at £20 per annum, where they occasionally had as many as fifteen cattle at a time. It was not long before they acted upon the same principle in respect to other articles of their consumption. They bought tea by the chest, butter by the load: plums for their Christmas pudding by wholesale; they contracted for bread at a reduced price. The movement, while it lasted, was very successful; but the termination of the war put an end to its existence. The workmen were thrown out of employment to relapse into the misery from which they had emerged, and which was the common lot of working people in those days. It is singular that dealing in meat, which has been the difficulty of nearly every Co-operative Society, and has been for many years together a loss in most, and has had to be abandoned altogether in others, should have been the great success of the Woolwich Society, the first which undertook its sale.

Co-operation, extinguished at Woolwich reappeared at Devonport, in 1815. A shop for the sale of bread was opened in the town; a corn mill was erected at Toybridge, thirteen miles distant. It still exists under the name of "Union Mill;" to the bakery was added a coal association which shares its prosperity. It is remarkable that both these societies have practised a system that has not proved so successful elsewhere; credit is given, and the retailers are undersold. It is also worthy of remark, that coal selling, which has often been a difficulty and loss

elsewhere, was one of the early successes at Devonport.

According to the account given by Dr. King to Lord Brougham, the Brighton Co-operative Society of 1828 was quite a curiosity in its way. Its funds were raised by penny subscriptions. It had 170 members who ultimately accumulated £5, with which they commenced their store, and their first week's sales amounted to half-a-crown. The administration of the affairs of this society must have been simpler than that of Mongewell. Total receipts of half-a-crown a week could not have been perplexing to the most bewildered store-keeper. The early Rochdale pioneers were wealthy tradesmen compared with these of Brighton.

A Brighton Co-operative Benevolent Fund Association was formed in April, 1827, which spread a knowledge of the principles of co-operation, and sent industrious families, not having the means of journeying, to any co-operative community where they might be required. The original Brighton society changed its objects three times, and varied its regulations accordingly. The South Coast co-operators did much for co-operation in those days—they have never done anything of note since.

Mr. Jonathan Wood informed me in 1872, that he was the second store-keeper of the Co-operative Benevolent Fund Association then at 31, West Street, Brighton. Mr. Wm. Bryan was the first who left suddenly for America. Why do not persons who emigrate abruptly, send remittances? Since 1829 that departure is remembered. The store took land about nine miles from Brighton, built a house upon it, cultivated a market garden and sent the produce to the Brighton market. The store had two cows, two horses and carts, and many pigs. Mr. Jonathan Wood says, "They did wonders enough to prove what might have been done had the people been honest enough to do it. Dishonesty of those on the land broke the affair up." This is one of the many examples in which the want of legal protection destroyed early stores. In 1877, fifty years

later, Brighton is not doing one-tenth as much in co-operation as it did in 1827.

Since there has been a "Southern Section" of societies, with a Central Board in London, the south coast is becoming astir again. The Brighton society reported in the "Associate" for May, 1829, that "Early in 1828 a member of the name of G. H. left us for his native place (Worthing), and there formed a society very similar to our own, except the payment to the common fund, which with them was only formed from profit; and from this has sprung up, as a branch, a society at Findon. The Worthing co-operative society soon found reason to regret having begun business in a manner too expensive for its extent. The hire of a shop and salary of a person for his whole time were unnecessary for the first months of their undertaking; and they are only now beginning to retrieve the heavy drawback which transferring as much as £70 worth of their goods to the branch store at Findon must have occasioned them: for though there seemed a fair opening at that village, and some hearty friends to co-operative views came forward, it was a hazardous step for a society so young as that of Worthing. Yet, upon the whole, there is every appearance, as we had the pleasure to witness last month, of co-operation succeeding in both those places, where the members are distinguished, as much as those of any society we have seen, for a considerate and affectionate spirit of union." When I was in Worthing in 1877 I spoke with several members who were quite unaware of the pre-existence of a co-operative society there in the old days. The "Chester Co-operator" for 1830 took for its motto two long extracts from the "Brighton Co-operator" of 1829. It is one of the many instances I have found of the influence of Sussex co-operation. It is of the nature of encouragement to advocates to hear of the numerous societies which were formed by so small a paper as the "Brighton Co-operator," issued by Dr. King. It consisted of merely two small leaves published monthly.

A single number of the "Co-operative News" contains as much matter as the yearly volume of the "Co-operator" did.

Darlington furnishes an early instance of a store coming out of a strike. This was in 1827. The woolcombers and stuff weavers of Bradford struck in that year for higher wages, and the wool combers and linen weavers of Darlington participated in the movement. At the conclusion of the strike the combers and wool sorters of Darlington started a co-operative grocery. The President of the trade society of Darlington, out of which the store originated, was John Brownless, a linen weaver, and it had for its secretary George Elwin, a shoemaker. The store traded under the name of Topham & Co. After a few years it fell into a few hands and ultimately became the private affair of John Topham.

Twelve years later, in the turbulent year of the Chartists, 1839, the Socialists and Chartists of Darlington set up up another co-operative provision store. The shares were ten shillings each. John Brownless,* son of the Mr. Brownless previously named, was one of the directors. It proposed to give a dividend to shareholders and a share of profits to customers, who were required to have their purchases entered in a book as they made them. One Nicholas Bragg was salesman. Some domestic difficulty in the household of this functionary brought the society into unpopularity, and it broke up by a distribution of salts and senna to each member, being probably the only unsold stock. This is the oddest final dividend that is to be met with in the annals of co-operation. Subsequently, allured, peradventure, by the curious medicinal "bonus" of the last society, the Oddfellows set up a third store in Darlington. With a portion of their funds they started a co-operative grocery under the charge of one John Brason as salesman.

* Who emigrated to the western world in 1842 and is now settled a Akron Summit Co., Ohio, and from whose letters I gather these facts.

This was in 1842. But as it was in the beginning, so it was in the end. Before long the store fell into private ownership.

In London a Store was opened in John Street, Tottenham Court Road, for the sale of tea and groceries as early as 1830. This is worth mentioning as the only practical step for the advancement of co-operation that John Street—the most famous propagandist street in London, next to Charlotte Street—made. In the same year Mr. Allan Devonport's name appears as offering to prepare a Co-operative Catechism. This was the first proposal to devise one of that useful instrument of propagandist statement. A man must find out what he means, if he did not know before, if he constructs a successful catechism. Davenport was, when I knew him, well advanced in years, slender in frame, gentle, earnest and steadfast in advocating views. Temperate, frugal, and industrious, yet he never had sufficient for proper subsistence. It was the common lot of workmen in his time. He never complained, and never ceased to try and improve the condition of his order. He was a writer on agrarianism which never had a milder advocate.

A stranger hardly knows what to make of Birmingham. It is not teacup-shaped, like Rochdale, nor a cavity like Stockport, nor a ravine like Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Birmingham is neither quite flat nor properly elevated. It is a town in an undeterminate condition. It is not a plate, nor a dish, nor a tea-tray, nor any compound of plane and rim. It is a disturbed table-land, bounded by woods and blast furnaces. If you could approach it *viâ* Hagley, you might mistake it for Derby; if you reach it through "Dudley Port," you would take it to be Sodom and Gomorrah in the act of undergoing destruction. Forty years ago the business part of the town was an expanded Whitechapel, variegated by a Bethnal Green—Bethnal Green being in this case "Deritend," where the Old Crown House, 500 years old, still stands sound. Owing to municipal energy and sense Birmingham is growing into

a great pleasant, civilized community. It is precisely that kind of town where co-operation should succeed. Co-operation is in England a plant of vigorous growth, when it has fairly taken root. Under the hot-house forcing of the first enthusiasm of forty years ago it gave signs of rapid vegetation, but the shrub withered upon exposure to sharp business blasts. At length it has been acclimatized, and grows readily, not only in the milder atmosphere of large cities, but also in the bleak and exposed towns and villages. Its greatest vegetative efforts have been made amid close-lying populations of workmen, in towns of small social attractions, where men will take trouble to improve their physical condition, and are not diverted from the attempt by the allurements of city life. Wherever men have sense, and ordinary industrial ambition and devotion, co-operation can make way. There was a reputed co-operative store near the Town Hall, Birmingham, between 1860 and 1870, —a mere shop. Its profits were not capitalized—it had no news room. Its administrators were frigid—they had no co-operative passion—they did not know what a store meant. There was no co-operative life about it. The store failed from not knowing its own reason of being.* When the new London Guild takes to propagandism, it had better try its skill in Birmingham: Co-operative "dead men" lie thick about there—and some live men too, for several real stores have arisen there of late years.

As well as a reputed "Co-operative" Farm, Assington in Suffolk has a real sort of store. A member of the original Assington Co-operative Society wrote a letter in the "Co-operator" of January 10th, 1869, "The first time," he said, "they had attempted to write to a newspaper," which proved them to be the quietest co-operators known.

There was a Manchester society in 1831, which had a

* Letter to "Birmingham Gazette" Sept. 1877.

storekeeper of the imposing name of William Shelmerdine, who gave a short and instructive account of the formation of the first Manchester co-operative society.* As the city of Manchester would appear to be a natural seat of co-operation, and as this society was well conceived, well devised, and had reasonable and practical ideas of self-expansion, the mystery is not explicable now, why it failed to be a leading and distinguished association. It bore the winning name of the "Economical Society," and its rooms were at 7, Rodger's Row, Jackson's Row, Deansgate, Manchester. Mr. Shelmerdine stated that it was founded on the 28th August, 1830, by eight persons who agreed to form a co-operative trading society and to pay £1 each as a share, at not less than threepence per week. Four of them paid the £1 down, and the other four one shilling each as entrance money. With this £4 4s. they bought sugar, soap, and candles, which they sold to themselves and others. They soon found confidence to add to their stock, rice, coffee and raisins. At the end of the month they found their profits, they said, accumulating fast. They no doubt were astonished to make a profit at all, and thought much of the little they made. With it, however, they at once bought some leather, and employed one of their members to make and mend shoes for them. With new profits they bought stockings, worsted, linen, and flannel, manufactured by other co-operators. They were poor hitherto, they had seen nothing before them but poverty and degradation, and they were delighted at discovering that they could place themselves above the fear of want by working for themselves and among themselves. So they came to the unanimous resolution to begin manufacturing good, stout, fast-coloured ginghams, for themselves and other co-operative societies. This Economical Society by this time numbered 36 members, amongst

* See "Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator," No. 12, 1832. There was a society in Salford, in 1829, as elsewhere recorded.

whom were spinners, warpers, weavers, dyers, joiners, hatters, shoemakers, tin-plateworkers. They had a shop well stocked with provisions, with woollen cloth manufactured by the co-operators of Huddersfield, linens, checks, and calicoes made by the society at Lamberhead Green, stockings from Leicester, flannel from Rochdale, pins from Warrington. The magnitude of their business, which excited so much hope, would be thought very little of now. At their stock-taking in August, 1831, the date was the 28th, they record that memorable day (a shorter day in the year would have been sufficient for their purpose), when their stock was found of the value of £46 12s. The subscriptions which they had received amounted to only £26 10s. and their profits but to £20 2s. They gave as a reason for purchasing their articles at co-operative societies, that they "knew they were made of good material and showed good workmanship, entirely different in character to the light articles commonly made for mere sale, and not for wear and durability." The members met twice a week at their own meeting room and store for discussing their business and general conversation, thus avoiding public-house diminution of profits, and they looked forward, the moment their numbers and means enabled them, to establish a school for the instruction of their children, and a library and reading room for the improvement of their members. This early store, therefore, combined all the good features of a co-operative association. Good articles, good workmanship, mutual employment, the acquirement of economical and temperate habits, and instruction for themselves and children. They relate, however, that when they contemplated manufacturing gingham they saw their error in fixing their shares at £1. Their reason was that they might not deter poor persons from joining them. They did commence manufacturing. Two of their members having a little money in the savings' bank, courageously brought it to them, and it was agreed that they should have five per cent. interest for it.

The great store in Downing Street, where the Congress met this year, has not the complete co-operative features of this humble store in Manchester of nearly half a century ago. At the first Manchester Congress of 1832, it was reported also that the first Salford co-operators had established a Co-operative Sunday School, at which 104 male and female adults and children were taught, and they intended to request Lady Shelley to become a patroness.

Mr. George Simpson, of Mottram, who was the general secretary of the Queenwood Community before mentioned, prepared the rules of the United Journeymen Hatters of Denton, about 1840, of which he was secretary. From the first year every member was required to be a shareholder of £5, and he could pay up the amount by such labour as might be prescribed by the directors. When profits arose enabling interest to be paid it was limited to 5 per cent., and the surplus profit might be applied by the directors in augmenting the property of the society. It took no credit, and gave none. It was a well managed manufacturing society, and had a useful career so long as Mr. Simpson was able to remain with it.

In 1860, the Co-operative Printing Society of Manchester was formed. A hundred shares were taken a few minutes after the decision to form it was come to, which shows with what alacrity societies are formed in districts where there are men who understand them. This society covers a good deal of ground now, and has a branch at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Mr. John Hardman is manager of the Manchester society. The first volume of this History was printed there. There is a Printing Society in London of some years standing, which had a secretary who abstracted £2000 of its funds, possibly with a view to test its stability. The proof was satisfactory to the secretary, and the society still flourishes. Mr. Robert Taylor, formerly of the Colchester Store, is now manager, and this volume is printed by this society. Last year, 1877, when the new Town Hall of Manchester was opened, 400 co-operators from various parts of England,

delegates to a quarterly meeting of the Wholesale Society, were received by the Mayor (Alderman Abel Heywood) who addressed them after he had shown them the new Town Hall. He said that "he became a member of a co-operative society in the year 1828. These societies were then in their infancy, and those at the head of them did not clearly understand how to manage them in the way they are managed now. Since 1830 the co-operative societies that existed in Manchester at that time, some twenty-four in number—had dwindled away, because the members did not understand the principles they had espoused. It was very natural that this should be so, seeing that working-men were so jealous of each other; and with the keen competition that existed with regard to the sale and purchase of articles of consumption, the people did not understand how or why they should deal at the co-operative store. The seed then sown, however, had taken root in the country, and they were there that day as the representatives of an opinion which in its influence had been growing that length of time. They were the pioneers of one of the greatest social movements of the day. They had called the attention of the whole country to their reports, they had established their own organs, and had secured friends amongst every class of society without any exception, and if with all this support they did not further succeed the fault must remain with themselves." Whether the reader regards the honourable and singular career of the Mayor, the office he held, the words he spoke, and the changed position of the co-operators whom he addressed, this was a remarkable morning in Manchester.

Oldham Societies have already been variously described as their importance demanded. Still the following account of the financial features of the Oldham Industrial Society has additional interest. The facts are taken from a letter by an "Oldham Co-operator" in the "Times" of August 21, 1875. In the Oldham Industrial the number

of members at the end of 1874 was 5344, with a capital of £86,000. Of this sum, £54,500 belonged to 680 members, while other 2200 members' investments did not amount to £2000. The net profit, after paying 5 per cent. interest on capital, 10 per cent. for reduction of fixed stock, and 2½ per cent. for Educational purposes, is divided as follows:—Any person, whether a member or not, can receive a dividend of 1s. 8d. in the pound for money spent at any time; or if the person is a member and keeps his checks (these checks are given in exchange for money spent) until the quarter's end, he will receive his share of the divisible profits according to the number of checks he has had entered to his credit; or if he is a non-member, he will receive the same amount of dividend as a member, less 2d. in the pound. A large number of the members' investments do not amount to £1 each, yet these are the members who spend the largest amount of money at the stores, and hence, while they receive little or no interest, they receive the largest amount of dividend—in some cases £6 or £7 per quarter; while, on the other hand, those members who have the largest investments as a rule spend the least money. Therefore, while they receive at the quarter's end something like £1 for interest, their dividends are small compared with the other members. A non-member with no capital invested receives as much dividend as a member, less 2d. in the pound.

Failsworth is distinguished for amusing adventures in cow co-operation. But unfortunately when the cow died the society died. Failsworth has also attempted cattle farming. Of course there are always difficulties in persons having chiefly factory knowledge succeeding in field work. Field and cattle culture imply special knowledge of outdoor and animal life. Weavers and mechanics would hardly know that the sun went down daily, if gas was not lighted in the evening. It is as difficult for mill hands to turn to farming as it is for farm hands to turn to weaving. Unless workmen have previously had some

farm experience, they do not do well at land work. However, Mr. Joel Whitehead best supplies the facts of what befell the early co-operators of Failsworth. He informs me the co-operative feeling is not of a recent date in that place. He has often heard his father regret that working people had not the confidence in each other which would enable them to do their own business. But there was no acknowledgment by law then of the right of working men to embark in business on their own account in large numbers. There was no protection against fraud. And often has he heard the rejoinder by persons asked to subscribe to a co-operative enterprise that they durst not entrust their little property where it could be stolen with impunity.

About 1838 a number of youths, whose ages would range from thirteen to sixteen years, begun to club their pence together with the object of renting a plot of land to grow potatoes upon. They intended to delve the land themselves, collect manure, buy seed, plant and reap the potatoes or whatever grew, and sell them amongst their neighbours. Of course their ideas of co-operation were very crude, but the fact shows that there was the germ of the principle in their minds, even at their early age. However, they were too sanguine. Their means were too slender for some of them to comply with the terms of subscription of one penny per week. They got behind with their cash contributions before there was a sufficient sum to purchase seed, which damped the ardour of the others who had managed to muster their share weekly. At that time, pennies were as scarce in the pockets of lads as shillings are now, consequently nothing came of their juvenile attempt.

Eight or ten years later, a number of very young men directed their attention once more to co-operative effort. This time in the form of distribution only. They subscribed their cash in larger sums than they had been able to do before, and actually bought a cow and had it killed in

a barn. They sold it out to their neighbours, but they either sold at too low a price, gave too good weight, or had too much waste. Their deficiency could not arise from excessive wages paid to rear the animal, because all the work was done for nothing, except a trifle to a butcher for killing. But whatever the cause, the balance was on the wrong side of their humble ledger. So down went the movement again. For about ten years after this collapse of cow selling no one had the courage to make another attempt till the present successful society was commenced. Soon after, a number of the promoters of it attempted to establish a Farming society. They framed a code of rules under the title of "The Self-Help Co-operative Society," and took a farm of about nine statute acres. They bought two cows, half-a-dozen pigs, reared several hatches of ducks, and bred a number of rabbits. They planted potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and various kinds of vegetables, besides wheat, oats, and vetches. But the work was uncouth to them. They had not the practical knowledge and physical qualifications among them necessary to command success. They had the misfortune to lose a cow, which proved a death blow to their enterprise, as they never numbered more than seven members, the lowest number recognized by law, and their means were too limited to bear the strain to which this thoughtless cow subjected them. So the farming society at Failsworth died with the cow. They called it in reporting language "succumbing to the force of circumstances." Another attempt has been since commenced by a number of Newton Heath and Failsworth people, to solve the problem of food production on a small scale, and if they can get cows of more consideration they expect to succeed.

A fair example of the rapidity with which little difficulties succeed each other in the establishment of a store, are contained in an account sent me by Mr. John Livingston of Macclesfield. The wife of a member was thought to be living in a degree of affluence disproportionate to her

expenditure at the store. She became a subject of observation, and was found outside the store with butter which she did not pay for. She was forgiven on condition of her husband leaving the society. Then a joiner, doing a job in the shop (who was a member) mistook his instructions, and worked at the till. The police disposed of him for a month. This meant some pounds of loss to the society. Next, one of the committee men, when he had learned the profits of the trade, commenced shopkeeping, and continues so yet, on his own account. Some loaves of bread discovered to be missing from the bakery, a potato was put in another loaf for a mark. But potato and loaf were both missing. This baker being discharged, the next spoiled two or three large bakings, of which each loaf was 4lbs. They were sold at a reduced rate to the poor. The directors afterwards learned from a servant girl that she heard the baker say he was paid for spoiling the bread. A donkey and cart were set up to carry in and out the bread baked for the members. But the animal died, not for his country's good nor that of co-operation. The store stood the market with potatoes on a Saturday, and chalked on a board the words "Co-operative Potatoes." They gave checks and it occupied half their time to explain their use amidst the derisions of the hucksters. The store next removed to a very large shop and building in the same street. It cost £1000 to the original owner. The store have since bought it and two cottages, now a steam bakery and drapery shop. They obtained a very smart shopman from another county and he had a shopman for his bondsman. The first lot of coffee was ordered from a Liverpool house by the shopman from their traveller. In time they had to take the keys from this shopman and sell a portion of the coffee at the wholesale price to his bondsman. The Liverpool house was written to to ascertain the weight mark. The answer was, "We have made a mistake and should have allowed you 18 lbs. as the tare." The persevering fellows get along smoothly now.

A Curious Market-stall Store.

There was a store in another energetic manufacturing town (name lost) which was held in the market place. It never had any other place of business than its stall there. In what way Mr. Tidd Pratt enrolled it (if it was enrolled) has not been communicated to me. Mr. Tidd Pratt, had he been a man of curious mind, with a taste for describing the humours of humble men, could have told amusing instances of the adventures of the provident poor. This market store was commenced by some young men of means too small to take a shop, but with vigour of mind and determination to do something in the way of co-operation; so they negotiated with the market authorities for a stall, and the little enterprising committee, manager, salesman, secretary, and treasurer, or whatever officers they had, stood the market on Saturday afternoon and night—the only time when they were off work. They made more noise than profit: but some nights they cleared as much as nine shillings, when their hopes rose so high that had the Government stood in need of a Loan at that time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had certainly heard from them, to the effect that if he could wait a bit they would see what they could do for him. Their difficulty was to make the public purchasers understand all about the division of profits. Surrounding traders supplied gratuitous information to the effect that the buyers would never hear of any profits. They had no checks to give—those outward and visible signs of inward "Tin," which in other stores allay suspicions. Indeed these market co-operators did not themselves understand the mystery of checks. But they promised a division of profits quarterly, which they had heard was the regular thing. The dubious purchasers of cabbage and treacle went away in hope. But before long, at the end of a fortnight, a shrewd old woman, who was afraid they would forget her face, appeared to ask if they would pay her dividend on the three pennyworth of potatoes she had bought two weeks ago. No doubt the store would have answered had not the salesmen, who had been all the week

in hot mills, caught cold in the damp air of winter, which ended in rheumatic fever with two of them, and the co-operative stall became vacant. A good out-door man, who, like Sam Slick, was waterproof and lively, could have made the "Co-op. Stall," as it was called—pay.

The Newton Heath Society, which was commenced in 1840 by a few enterprising young fellows, paid their salesman fourpence in the £ upon the sales he made—a simple way of fixing a salary, and as the sales were few and far between in those days, he earned his money, and had a motive for endeavouring to increase the purchasers. But in later years, when the sales at stores exceed £100 a day, some limit would have to be found where the fourpence should stop.

Co-operation was unknown in Halifax till the spring of 1829, when the first recorded society was formed, May 29th in that year. An old and nearly worn out member of the "Brighton Co-operator," and another of the "Associate" fell into the hands of Mr. Nicholson, who became the Secretary of the first society. These he showed to his father and three brothers which induced them, and four others, to commence a society. Their first Co-operative tea party was held in April the following year. About two hundred persons, chiefly women, were present; the "Tea Feast" as they called it, being given gratis, in order that the women might get some practical and pleasant knowledge of co-operation. In the record of the society's existence they made a levy of four shillings a member to enable them to join the Liverpool Wholesale Society. At the end of two years and a half, the Halifax Co-operators found that they had made a profit on their capital of £200, twenty times as much as the same money would have yielded them in a savings' bank. This society published in the "Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator," the first financial table of their progress which appeared. It exhibited as follows:—the receipts, profits and expenses of the society for the first three years of its existence.

Striking instances of success cited by Mr. Farn.

TABLE OF THE FIRST HALIFAX SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.			Gross Profit.			Per centage on rate of profit per £100.			Expenses.			Clear Profit.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1830	2266	5	9½	140	18	3¾	6	4	10½	73	10	7½	67	7	8¼	140	18	3¾
1831	2921	16	8¼	182	17	1¾	6	4	11	123	3	8	59	13	5¼	182	17	1¾
1832	3196	2	10½	193	18	5½	6	1	4	147	3	11	46	1	9½	193	18	5½
Total	8384	5	4¼	517	13	10¾				343	18	2½	173	2	11¼	517	13	10¾

The Halifax Society of to-day, which numbers 12,000 or more members, makes yearly £19,000 of profit, is one of the mighty stores of the time, has a history to itself like Rochdale, and if it happens to lose £60,000, still goes on its way no more disturbed than one of the planets when an eccentric comet loses its tail.

Mr. J. C. Farn has given instructive instances of early successes of co-operative societies, occurring between 1826 and 1830. A society had cleared £21 by the butchers' trade in one quarter; a second had been able to divide profits at the rate of 30s. per member; a third, which had commenced with 6s., had grown to £200 in 8 months, £75 of which was profit; a fourth had a capital of £207, and had cleared £32 during the quarter; a fifth had its capital formed by payments of 6d. per week until it had reached £25, and in fifteen months it had cleared three times the amount in profit; a sixth, with a capital of £109, had cleared £172; whilst a seventh could boast of 700 members, who went boldly in for Manufacturing.

The story of the Burnley Society is well worth telling, though it be ever so briefly. It has had great vicissitudes, years elapsing without progress or gain. Save for incessant attention, ceaseless nights of labour at the books, and unwavering devotion given by Mr. Jacob Waring, the society had never stood its ground. Other members worked as devotedly; that Mr. Waring did so in the chief degree, was acknowledged by the society when its day of

Singular effect of thick ledgers on the dividends of the Burnley Store.

success came, by a public presentation to him, alike honourable to giver and receiver. Sometimes when the books had been worked at till late on a Saturday night and almost into Sunday morning, the Directors when the balance came to be struck, were afraid to look at it, lest it should be against the society, as had so often happened before. For two or three years things were systematically going to the bad. No one could discover how or why. The stock entries, as goods arrived, were made in a small book. Being small it got mislaid, or overlaid at the time when the quarterly accounts had to be made up. It was so likely an occurrence that nothing was thought of it. Every thing seemed regular and yet the result was never right. At length, not from any suspicion, but because no other change could be thought of to be tried, Mr. Waring requested that a stock book be got so large that it could not be overlooked, so bulky that it could not be hidden, and so heavy that no one could carry it away and not know it. After that quarter profits reappeared, and never went out of sight any more. Amid the many advertised qualities of good account books, I never remember to have seen size and weight put down as virtues. Yet there must be some obvious merit therein; for a bulky book saved the Burnley Store. It was not want of capital, not want of trade, not want of watchful management, the protracted deficits lay in small account books. Thin books brought thin dividends; fat books produced fat profits. In Burnley success seems related to size.

Human nature is porcupine in Sheffield. Suspicion is a profession, disagreement an art, among Sheffield operatives. Leeds used to have great talent in this way; hence it has presented an entirely different phase of co-operation from Rochdale—different in its aims, its methods of procedure, and its results. When Leeds men made profits they would spend them instead of saving them. A noble mill and grounds were to be sold. A year's profits would have bought the property and made a mighty store. Years

after they had to give more for the ground alone than they could have had both land and building. Leeds has been remarkable for possessing two friends of the industrious classes, knowing them thoroughly, sympathizing with them thoroughly, mixing with them, taking a personal part in all their industrial efforts, and accustomed to write and speak, and capable in both respects. No town ever had the advantage of two better industrial and co-operative expositors than John Holmes and James Hole. Mr. Holmes's economic advantages of co-operation in reply to Mr. Snodgrass is a notable example of practical controversy, fair, circumstantial, and cogent. A gentleman whom nobody supposed existed save in the "Pickwick Papers," one John Snodgrass, a practical miller, was proprietor of the Dundas Grain Mills, Glasgow. He wrote against the Leeds Corn Mill. It was in defence of the mill that Mr. Holmes wrote in reply. The men of Leeds showed true co-operative honesty in their corn mill affair. When they made no profit they were advised to grind a cheap kind of Egyptian corn instead of more costly English or good foreign wheat. The Leeds co-operators would not use Egyptian corn on principle. Hard, suspicious, jealous, discordant, and greedy as many of them then were, they would not use it. They could make thousands by doing it, and yet they did not do it. They loved money, but would not make it in a deceptive way. Mr. Gladstone showed in his great speech at the inauguration of the Wedgwood Memorial that beauty paid—that Wedgwood had found it so. Manufacturers may be expected to study beauty when it pays. The Leeds co-operators honourably stuck to purity when it did not pay.

In the winter of 1847 David Green, of Leeds, John Brownless, and others, began to meet in a room in Holbeck, used as a school and meeting house by the Unitarians. Mr. Mill, afterwards known in London as Dr. John Mill, acted as minister. At times, Mr. Charles

Wickstead officiated. In that room the project of the Leeds Co-operative Corn Mill originated. The Leeds Co-operative Society would furnish materials for a curious and picturesque history as any store in the kingdom. Though its profits in 1865 were £16,500, and in 1877 £34,000, there was a time when it lost upon everything it undertook to deal in; never were there such unfortunate co-operators. They lost on the flour mill; they lost on the drapery—they lost always on that;—they lost on the butchering department, they never could get an honest butcher; they lost on the tailoring; they lost on the groceries; they lost on boots and shoes; and they lost their money which they did take, for that used to disappear mysteriously. When Mr. John Holmes used to predict that they would surely make five per cent. profit like others, and by economising in their management, they would eventually make more, and that he should live to see the day when they would make £10,000 a-year—the quarterly meetings, which had been long looking for dividends and seen them not, used to laugh at his speeches, and not knowing how to express their utter disbelief otherwise, they would whistle as he spoke, and tap their foreheads to indicate there was something wrong there in the speaker, and exclaim—"Holmes has a slate off, and a very large one too! Holmes is up in the clouds again, and will never come down!" Mr. Holmes complains they never would believe his statements then; now, he complains, they are too credulous, and believe too much without his authority. They go into Mississipi Valley speculations, and into colliery enterprises without sufficient precaution, and lose "pots of money."

Mr. Holmes relates amusing anecdotes of the application of dividends, since they became frequent and substantial in Leeds. One day he met a woman whom he had long known as a steady frequenter of the Store, who gave him brief, indistinct answers to his friendly greetings, nothing like her accustomed vivaciousness in answering,

and he said to her, "What's the matter? Have you the face ache?" With some confusion and hesitation, she at length said "she had been having some decayed teeth taken out. Her husband had found that he had a good accumulation of dividends at the store, and said she should have a new set of teeth, and look as well as a lady, and they had not come home yet." Mr. Holmes very properly complimented her husband on so honourable a proof of regard for his wife and pride in her good looks, and went away amused at this unexpected use of dividends which had never occurred to him.

Of the interest which co-operators take in their property when they eventually get it, Mr. Holmes gives me this instance. Once when their mill was burnt down and they had some horses in the stable, hundreds of members ran from every part of the town, and rushed into the stables, and, despite the fire, got the horses out safely. Had the horses been owned by some alien and absentee proprietor, he would have been telegraphed to, to London, to come and get them out himself.

Though the Leeds Society has 18,000 members, it has no Educational Fund, notwithstanding its great prosperity and great profits. Of late years, the committee have made occasional grants of a few hundred pounds to enable lectures to be delivered at the chief stores in their district, Holbeck, Hunslet, Morley, and other places. When I have had the honour to be one of the lecturers I have argued for knowledge on commercial grounds, and taken for my subject: "Intelligence considered as an investment." Unfortunately, the members whom it is most desirable to influence, do not, as a rule, attend such lectures, naturally not caring for information because not knowing its value; not having knowledge enough even to know that knowledge has value. Wiser directors, who have proposed an Educational Fund, find it opposed by the general meetings lest it should diminish the dividends. Mr. Holmes has likened making the proposal to walking

in a garden immediately after rain. The paths, as any one knows, which were perfectly clear before, are suddenly covered with crawling creatures. They spring up out of the earth so rapidly that you can scarcely place your foot without treading upon the slimy things. In the same manner, when you make a proposal for Education Funds to an uninformed meeting, the worms of ignorance crawl forth on every path where you did not expect their existence, and elongated and vociferous cupidity carries the day against you.

Bradford, not far from Leeds, is another of the likely towns in which it might be supposed that co-operation would flourish. Yet it has attained no distinction there. Its artisan population energetic, conspiring and resolute, have suffered as much as the work-people of any town. Chartism could always count on a fighting corps of weavers in Bradford. It has also had some stout co-operators, and in socialist days there was a branch of communists there who held a hall.

Liverpool, though a dead place now, has known co-operative initiation. Mr. John Finch, dating from 34, East Side of Salt House Dock, Liverpool, appears as the treasurer and trustee of the first Liverpool co-operative society, and of the wholesale purchasing committee of that society. He reports that the "First Christian Society" in Liverpool has 140 members, the business at the store being £60 per week, and that a second Christian Society has 40 members. He reports the existence of five societies in Carlisle, and gives the names of five presidents, five secretaries, and five treasurers. The highest capital possessed by one of these societies was £260, the weekly receipts £50. The weekly payments to the various societies varied from sixpence to threepence halfpenny and twopence. Mr. Finch gives expression to that common and discouraging discontent with friendly papers, which serve a rising party without identifying themselves with its views. He says "The Weekly Free Press," takes

co-operation up too coldly and is too much of a Radical to do the cause any good." Yet as the most important advocates of co-operation wrote in it, and the chief Metropolitan social proceedings were printed in it; as this was the only newspaper representing co-operation, a public advocate of the cause should have held his disparaging tongue, until there was a choice. The "Weekly Free Press" was a London newspaper, of 1830, which announced that it was "exclusively devoted to the interests, and in its pages would be unfolded the system, of co-operation." It mentioned that the Godalming co-operative society had passed a resolution "that every member who takes in a weekly paper shall substitute the 'Weekly Free Press' in its stead." This society had very decided ideas how to get an organ of the movement into circulation. The "Weekly Free Press" was the earliest newspaper of distinctive pretensions which represented co-operation.

The first Liverpool society of 1830 was the first that I have observed which prefixed an address to its rules. It was not very well written, but the example was a good one. It gave the opportunity of interesting those into whose hands the rules fell.

The Warrington society of 1831 prefixed to its articles an excellent sentence from Isaiah. It was this: "They helped every one his neighbour, and every one said to his brother, be of good courage." The rules of this society are remarkable, like all the rules of the co-operative societies of that day, for their anxiety concerning the moral character of their members. They prohibited indecent and improper language in the committee-room; they would hold no meeting in a public-house; no person was refused on account of religious opinions; no person of an immoral character was admitted, and, if any member became notoriously vicious after he was a member, he was expelled unless he reformed. They fixed the interest on money borrowed at 5 per cent.—the earliest instance of that amount being named in official rules. One of their

rules was, that "when sufficient money was in their hands some kind of manufacture should be commenced." They refused, "as a body, to be connected with any political body whatever, or with any unions for strikes against masters." The society was pledged to "steadily pursue its own objects" Had it done so they would have been going on now. They, however, did think of progress. This Warrington Society agreed to form a library, to take in a newspaper, and to publish tracts on co-operation—a thing which it is difficult to get many modern societies to do now.

The Runcorn Economical Society of 1831 took for its motto the brief and striking passage—"Sirs, ye are brethren." But they did not apply the spirit of this to women, for they allowed no female to serve in any office. Neither did they permit any member to make known to any person who was not a member, the profits arising from the society's store; a great contrast to the more profitable publicity of later societies. No doubt the Runcorners made good profits. No society ever forbids disclosures unless it has something to its own advantage to conceal. This society was very fastidious as to its members. It would have none but those of good character, and who were sober, industrious, and of general good health. They did not wish sickly colleagues, nor would they admit a member under sixteen, nor above forty years of age—as though frugality was a virtue unsuitable to the young, or not necessary for the old.

In the rules of the first Preston Society, instituted on Whit Monday, 1834 (I quote from the copy which belonged to Mr. John Finch, then of Cook Street, Liverpool), there was one against speaking disrespectfully of the goods of the society. It declared "that, if any member did so, he should be excluded, and his share should be under a forfeit of six months' profit, together with a discount of 10 per cent. for the benefit of the establishment. The directors of the Wholesale at Manchester, and those of many other

co-operative societies, would have more peace of mind if they could get passed rules of this description. This society accepted no member who belonged to another co-operative society, nor, if he had formerly belonged to one, unless he produced testimonials as to his character and the cause of his leaving. Any market man neglecting to attend when sent for, or not attending on market days at proper time, was fined a sum equal to that paid for another member's attendance. No money was paid to the wife of any member, unless her husband agreed to her receiving it. The Rochdale Society never put any of this nonsense into its rules, but paid the female member, and left the husband to his remedy, which wise magistrates made it difficult for him to get.

The rules of the earlier co-operative societies would form an interesting subject of study to modern co-operators. Some of the societies seem to have expected rapscallion associates, for they had rules for the treatment of felons who might be discovered among them. But as a whole, a study of the rules would greatly exalt the estimate rulers form of the capacity of the working class for self-government. The wisdom, the prudence, the patient devices, which co-operative rules display, must be quite unknown to the majority of statesmen and politicians, or we should never have heard the foolish and wholesale disparagements of working people which have often defaced discussion in Parliament.

America is not only a country where social ideas have room for expansion, but is also, it seems, a place where the art of writing about them improves. Certainly emigrants there will relate what they never tell at home. The Countess Ossoli used to value the "rough pieces of personal experience" (always fresh and excellent packages of knowledge when you can get them) which backwoodsmen would tell by their night fires. At home persons imagine home facts can have no interest or conclude that the facts are known. Few writers know everything, and it is wel

for the reader if an historian has but a limited belief in his own knowledge, and is minded to inquire widely of others. Under this impression I became possessed of the following curious history of the early adventures of a Lancashire store related to me by a Lowell correspondent.

The Blackley (Lancashire) Store commenced in the fall of 1860 with some forty members. We lost no time in renting premises and commencing business. The first year I acted as secretary, and then resigned my office to abler hands, which still retain it. I was, however, elected a director and served in the various offices of Committeeman, President, Auditor and Librarian, six years more. During the first year we acted on the plan of giving the storekeeper a dividend on his wages, equal to that paid to members on their purchases. We may, therefore, claim to be the first or about the first society in England to adopt the system Rochdale had devised. It was discontinued for a time at the instance of the storekeeper himself, who preferred the equivalent of the dividend in his wages. The dividend plan has, however, since been readopted. Our first president, who was an overseer in one of the mills in the village, was addicted to thinking that respectability was a good thing for us, and thought us fortunate when the élite of the village smiled on us. It was a great day for him when at one of our meetings we had a real live mayor to preside, supported by the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, a canon of the church, the village rector and other dignitaries. But it did us little good. When the show was over there was an end of them, because they did not really care for us. But one gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Child, rector of a neighbouring parish, did take a kindly interest in us and was always ready to help us when need came, and our members became much attached to him.

At the end of the first year we set about building a store of our own, and our president designed that the laying of the corner stone should be a grand affair. A

silver trowel was to be presented to some one. Every one of us turned to our friend, the Rev. Mr. Child, whom we wished should possess it. Alas, our ceremoniously-minded president suggested it would not be courteous to our rector, the Rev. Mr. Deeling, to ignore him and offer it to another, though he had shown us little favour, and was under the influence of the shopocracy. At length we agreed to offer the silver trowel to the Rector, in the hope that he would refuse it, and we should be free to confer it on our friend Mr. Child. Woe on us! Rector Deeling accepted it! He came and did the work, made us a short speech, took the trowel, and ever after shunned us. During the cotton famine many of our members suffered severely, but it was an inexorable condition with the committee of relief which came into being in our quarter, that no member of the store could receive anything from them so long as he had a shilling invested; and I shall long remember seeing the poor fellows coming week after week for a few shillings out of their savings, until it was all gone, whilst their neighbours, who had as good an opportunity but saved nothing, were being well cared for. I have often felt a wonder, on looking back to that dreadful time, how we got through it without coming to grief. A young society, with small capital, and putting up a building that cost £1000, yet we stood well upright. I am certain if we had foreseen the events of the four years that were then before us, we should certainly have shrunk from encountering them. Nevertheless, we weathered the storms, and came out prosperous. I can only account for our success by the inherent soundness of the co-operative principle, and its self-sustaining power. It was certainly not owing to any particular ability or foresight in the men who had the conduct of it. I have no further facts from this American side the water for you, and you do not ask for opinions, yet I cannot help giving some. The people of America, I think, are not ripe for co-operation—they have not been *pinched* enough, and the opportunities for individual enterprise

are too good. They cannot understand anything but a speculation to make money, and the general moral scepticism is such that any one promoting a store it would be suspected of wanting to make something out of it.*

The story of the silver trowel is as pretty an episode as anything to be met with in the history of co-operative adventures. The rector who took it did quite right, and the silly co-operators who offered it deserved to lose it. How was he to know that they did not intend to honour him when they pretended they did? The president who plotted the presentation was evidently a man well up in his line of business. It is a sound rule of English public life never to bring to the front any actual worker of mark, lest you should deter people from coming to the front who always hold back. If any honour is to be shown the rule is to pass by all who have done any public service, and bestow it upon some one never known to do anything. The Blackley co-operators are to be congratulated. They lost their trowel on sound constitutional principles. But if they had no money left to make an equal honorary present to their real friend, the Rev. Mr. Child, they ought to have stood in the market place on Saturday nights and begged like Homer with their hats, until they had enough money for the purpose.

In Cumberland exists an original species of co-operation devised by Mr. William Lawson (referred to in Chapter xix.), a man of fertile and devising mind, who unaware of the self-helping form of association so long in operation elsewhere, originated a scheme of paternal co-operation. In Radnorshire there is a parish of the name of Evenjobb—pleasant to a workman's ears. Pleasanter than Mealsgate or Boggrow, or other extraordinary named places which abound in Cumberland, is the wide, watery plain of Blennerhasset, with its little bridge and quaint

* To my regret I have mislaid the name of my correspondent. In the *Agricultural Economist*, for reasons no longer valid, I changed the names of Blackley into "Blockly," Child into "Wild," and Deeling into "Reeling."

houses. Here in this seldom-mentioned spot, is a very old endowed Presbyterian meeting-house, where heretics of that order once made a secure refuge to themselves. The co-operative store there is a very primitive one; none like it exists in England. The members subscribe no capital and take no shares. Mr. Lawson generously provided the whole. They have all the profits and he has all the risk and no interest, or if any accrues to him he spends it for the "public good." He has now wisely placed at the service of the members the opportunity of purchasing the shares for themselves, and remodelling the store on the plan of those which are self-directed and managed by members, who take interest because they take the risks.

There are stores of the self-helping type now established in the neighbourhood of Blennerhasset. I delivered in 1874 the opening addresses of the Aspatria Society's Store in Noble Temple, and a well built, substantial, well-arranged store it is. From the name Noble Temple, the stranger would expect that it was some stupendous structure of unwonted beauty, or that some architect, amazed at the felicity of his conception, had given it that exalted name; whereas the ground on which it stands happened to be named "Noble," and the very flat and ordinary fields around are called "Noble Fields." Mr. Lawson built the hall for the people and considerately stipulated that it should be used on Sundays for useful addresses.

There are many of the Scotch societies remarkable for singular features. There was the Kilmarnock store, which kept two cats—a black cat and a tabby cat, to eat the mice of the store. But a prudent member, thinking this double feline expenditure told unfavourably on the dividends, attention was duly called to it. At a Board meeting the question was argued all one night. There was a black cat party and a tabby cat party. It was agreed on both sides that the two could not be kept; and a strong partizan of the tabby cat moved the adjournment of the debate. In

the mean time the black cat, either through hearing the discussion, or finding a deficiency of milk, or more probably being carried off by the kind-hearted wife of some member—disappeared; and the division was never taken; and the secretary who was instructed to ascertain what effect its support would have upon the dividends, never concluded his calculations.

Mauchline, which Burns knew so well, never took to co-operation until the agitation for the People's Charter set men thinking of self-help. The committee began with giving credit to the extent of two-thirds of the subscribed capital of each member. At a later stage in their career, they extended the credit to the whole of the subscribed capital. That store must have been the most ricketty thing out. Mr. Hugh Gibb, who was its president, and who understood co-operation, resisted this discreditable policy with an honourable persistence which rendered him unpopular. He constantly described credit as a foul blot upon co-operation, since it tended to keep the members in that state of dependence from which co-operation was intended to raise them. By this time the Store has got off the siding of credit, and is fairly upon the main line of cash payments.

The purchase of the Mechanics' Institution at Blaydon, by the Co-operative Store, is an instance of public spirit more remarkable than that displayed by any other society. This Mechanics' Institution has fulfilled in its day, more of the functions which Mechanics' Institutions were intended for, than have usually been fulfilled elsewhere. Political, social, and theological lectures could be delivered from its platform. Its newsroom was open on the Sunday, when it could be of most service to the working class. Eminent public men were honorary members of it, Garibaldi, Orsini, Kossuth, Mazzini, were the chief names. The only honorary distinction ever conferred upon me, and one I value, was that of placing my name on that roll. On the Co-operative Store annexing it to their

Society, they still kept the platform free and the newsroom open on Sunday. The Institution is copiously supplied with books and the best newspapers of the day, accessible to all the members of the store free, and to the villagers not belonging to the stores on payment of a small fee. In addition to a free library, which is well supplied with desirable books, the social features of a working-man's club are added. This liberal and well devised provision for the education and social pleasures of the co-operators, illustrates the high spirit in which the best stores have been conceived and conducted.

Co-operators have received distinguished encouragement to devote part of their funds to educational purposes whenever they have made known that they were endeavouring to form a library. The Sunderland Society, in 1863, received gifts of books from Mr. Tennyson, Mr. Mill, Lord Brougham, and Mazzini in 1864. Later in 1877, Professor Tyndall gave a complete set of his works to be presented to such Co-operative Society as I might select. They were awarded to the Blaydon-on-Tyne Society. Blaydon-on-Tyne is merely a small village, through which the river and the railway run, and distinguished as the birthplace and residence of Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P. The houses are encompassed by violent manufacturing works, yet Blaydon has the most remarkable store next to that of Rochdale. It began to grow, and went straight on growing. Its book-keeping is considered quite a model of method. The store has grown from a house to a street. The library contains upwards of 1500 volumes of new books. Of course they have an Education Fund of 2½ per cent. nett profits, reserved for instruction. No co-operative society is to be considered respectable which has not this.

The store assets have increased by upwards of £500 during 1876, notwithstanding that there has been £20,119 in shares and profit withdrawn. The profit for that year amounted to £16,886 9s. 6d., and after paying interest on shares, proper reduction of fixed stock, and horse and cart

accounts, there has been paid in dividends £13,003, besides making a liberal provision for the reserve fund to meet all liabilities. Mr. Spotswood informs me that their Education Fund is close upon £400 a year, and that they are busy now fitting up three branches with news-rooms and libraries.* There is a good science class in Blaydon, and most of the students are the sons of members. The pitmen and artizans of the Tyne side are distinguished among workmen for their love of mathematical science, and Professor Tyndall's gift will be read, and studied, and valued there.

* The Accrington and Church Society is hardly less remarkable for the amplitude of its educational devices. It has never been explained to strangers whether the Accrington Society is a Church store, or whether the Church owns the store at Accrington. The reader, however, is to understand that Accrington and Church are two adjacent places, used to designate the distinguished store in that neighbourhood.

CHAPTER XXI.

VICISSITUDES OF INDUSTRIAL LITERATURE.

'Tis not the wholesome sharp morality,
Or modest anger of a satiric spirit,
That hurts or wounds the body of a state,
But the sinister application
Of the * * * ignorant * * *
Interpreter who will distort and strain
The general scope and purpose of an author.
DR. JOHNSON, Poetaster.

CO-OPERATIVE literature, as it is known in this country, has a distinctively English character, which means that its policy is self-help not State-help: that it is enthusiastic and considerate, attempting gain only by equitable means. It is neither speculative nor selfish. If it dreams no grand dreams, it dreams constantly how it can best take the next step before it. Nevertheless it would be the better in some respects for an infusion of Continental and American ideas into it. There are what naturalists would call "specific growths" of associative conceptions in other countries. Some are richer and loftier than ours, and they would be valuable additions to the bleak and hardier products of Great Britain. The co-operative idea in its "germ state" has always been in the mind of man in all countries though in very atomic form. The power and advantage of mere unity was a theme of the ancient fabulists. And philosophers speculated how unity in life might produce moral as well as physical advantages.

Ancient India, as we now know, was rich in pacific thought which gave rise to pastoral communities. Comparative co-operation would be as interesting in social science, as comparative language, or comparative anatomy, has been in philology and osteology.

The co-operative custom of Greek fishermen, of Cornish and Northumberland miners, of Gruyere cheesemakers, of American and Chinese sailors; the elaborate devices of the great industrial partnership of Ambelaika, show that for some two centuries, constructive co-operation has been germinating in various places without being extended to other places or trades than those in which it arose, and without being practised by a sufficient number of persons to call attention to it elsewhere. The peculiarity of modern co-operative literature is that it treats of the idea systematized and of new applications and extensions of it.

In other countries there are bolder conceptions of it than among us, often put in an original light, with a welcome daringness and penetration. Men of the "wilder sort" are wilder than in England, and sometimes make co-operation hostile and alarming. In America it is dealt with as a social force as in England, but, as a rule, dealt with more vigorously and with more decision of object.

One reason why the American nation is smarter than the English is, that the State has a Propagandist Department, and publishes costly books for the information of their people. To them England must seem parsimonious, seeing that we have an annual growl in Parliament at the expense of printing the dreary-looking Blue Books we produce. There came over here from America, every year for a long period, handsomely-bound volumes, teeming with maps and diagrams of every kind, issued by the State Board of Health and the Bureau of Labour of Massachusetts. But we have no Bureau of Labour, though we owe everything to our being a manufacturing country. No minister has ever thought of creating a State Depart-

ment of Labour. It is with extreme difficulty that we get, every three years, a few sheets printed of the Reports of Friendly and Co-operative Societies. Deputations of Members of Parliament have to be appointed to wait on the Printing Committee to get this done; and it is believed the Committee take medical advice before meeting the deputation. There is no one who can foresee what the effects may be. For several years we had debates at the Annual Congress as to how the House of Commons may be approached with this momentous application. This is not a question of loss. It is economy to give the information. In America it is given by the State to every society or manufacturer of mark likely to profit by it. The American reports mentioned, some years exceed 600 pages. The volume is handsomely bound and lettered, and made suitable to a gentleman's library. A considerable number of these volumes have been sent to England, to societies and individuals publicly known to be interested in the questions to which they relate.

There is one instance in which the English Government, it must be owned, has done more than any other government, that is, in publishing Blue Books upon the condition of the Industrial Classes Abroad, written by Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation which were issued for three years under the direction of Lord Clarendon. The reports gave information as to the state of labour markets in foreign countries, the purchasing power of the wages paid compared with what the same money would procure at home; the manner in which workmen were hired and housed; the quality of the work executed; the kind of education to be had for families of workmen; the conditions of health in the quarters workmen would occupy, and other information of the utmost value to emigrant artizans and labourers.

So long as social ideas on the continent are sensible, we seldom hear of them in our journals or from the lips of our politicians, even though the social movement may be

extensive and creditable. But if an idiot or an enemy makes a speech to some obscure club it is printed in small capitals, as though the end of the world has been suddenly discovered.

The "Standard" is a curious and mysterious source of this information. Though Conservative, it has long been the only penny daily paper in which the working class democrat can read a full account of the proceedings in Parliament, so essential to the information of such persons. Besides, it gives copious accounts of the revolutionary leaders, their movements and speeches abroad. If Castelar, Gambetta, Victor Hugo, or Bakunin have made speeches of mark, or of alarming import, insurgent readers in England can find the most complete and important passages in the columns of the "Standard" alone. Possibly its idea is that these reports will forewarn and excite the native apprehensions of Conservative supporters, and terrify the immobile and comfortable portion of the middle class. In 1871, when the Industrial International Association met at Geneva, this journal told us that the internationalists raised the "Swiss flag without the cross, democracy without religion," and the Red Republic, and a good deal more. The late Mr. Odger was at the congress. At that time, the Emperor Napoleon being uncomfortable about the proceedings of Garibaldi, whom the association wished to invite to their congress, M. Boitelle had the foreign members arrested as they passed through France, and their paper seized. Two of the members, Mr. George Odger and Mr. Cremer, "being of English birth," and the "Standard" said "English like, they made an awful row about this insult to their country and their flag. Lord Cowley took the matter up; the men were soon at liberty, but their papers were detained by the police, and months elapsed before the delegates received them back. Napoleon wished to please Lord Cowley and to win the working men of Paris, so M. Rouher yielded up the documents to

Odger, and requested Bourdon, as the man whose signature stood first on the Paris memoir, to honour him with a call at the Ministry of the Interior."

The "Standard" of October, 1871, gave particulars of the trial of Netschaiew, and quoted a document produced on that occasion, purporting to detail the duties of the real Revolutionists being the profession of faith of the Russian Nihilists—presenting it as "the Ne plus ultra of Socialism." A more scoundrel document was never printed. The conciseness, and precision of its language, prove it to be the work of a very accomplished adversary. The creed contains eleven articles; but the quotation of six of them will abundantly satisfy the curiosity of the reader. They treat of the "position of a revolutionist towards himself."

"1. The revolutionist is a condemned man. He can have neither interest, nor business, nor sentiment, nor attachment, nor property, nor even a name. Everything is absorbed in one exclusive object, one sole idea, one sole passion—revolution.

"2. He has torn asunder every bond of order, with the entire civilised world, with all laws, with all rules of propriety, with all the conventions, all the morals of this world. He is a pitiless enemy to the world, and, if he continue to live in it, it can only be with the object of destroying it the more surely.

"3. The revolutionist despises all doctrines and renounces all worldly science, which he abandons to future generations. He recognises only one science—that of destruction. For that, and that alone, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry—even medicines. He studies night and day the living science of men, of characters, and all the circumstances and conditions of actual society in every possible sphere. The only object to be attained is the destruction, by the promptest means possible, of this infamous society.

"4. He despises public opinion; and detests the existing

state of public morals in all its phases. The only morality he can recognise is that which lends its aid to the triumph of revolution; and everything which is an obstacle to the attainment of this end is immoral and criminal.

"5. The revolutionist is without pity for the State and all the most intelligent classes of society. Between himself and them there is continued, implacable war. He ought to learn to suffer tortures.

"6. Every tender and effeminate sentiment towards relations—every feeling of friendship, of love, of gratitude, and even of honour—ought to be dominated by the cold passion of revolution alone. There can be, for him, but one consolation, one recompense, and one satisfaction—the success of revolution. Day and night he should have only one thought, one object in view—destruction without pity. Marching coldly and indefatigably towards his end, he ought to be ready to sacrifice his own life, and to take, with his own hands, the lives of all those who attempt to impede the realisation of this object."

Society is very safe, if the destruction is only to be accomplished by agents of this quality. No country could hope to produce more than one madman in a century, capable of devotion to this cheerless, unrequiting, and self-murdering creed. What there would remain to revolutionize when everything is destroyed, only a lunatic could discover. Poor socialism, whose disease is too much trust in humanity—whose ambition is labour—and whose passion is to share the fruits with others, has met with critics insane enough to believe that Netschaiew was its exponent.

So late as when the Commune was a source of political trouble in Paris, the advocates of the Commune were called "Communists," and the ignorance of the English press was so great, that these agitators were always represented as partizans of a social theory of community of property. Whereas, in that sense, none of the leaders of the Commune were communists. The Commune meant

the parish, and the same party in England—had it arisen in England—would have been called Parochialists. The advocacy of the Commune, is the most wholesome and English agitation that ever took place in France. It arose in a desire of the French to adopt our local system of self-government. It was the greatest compliment they ever paid us. And the English press repaid it by representing them as spoliators, utopianists, and organised madmen. During the invasion of the Germans the French found that centralization had ruined the nation. The mayors of all towns being appointed by the Government, when the Government fell, all local authorities fell, and the Germans over-ran the helpless towns. Had the Germans invaded England, every town would have raised a regiment by local authority, and every county would have furnished an army. Every inch of ground would have been contested by a locally organized force. It was this the Communists of France wished to imitate. The claim for local self-government was made chiefly in Paris and for Paris alone—there being probably no chance of sustaining a larger claim : but as far as it went, the claim was wholesome. The French have been so long accustomed to centralization that their statesmen are incapable of conceiving how local self-government can co-exist with a state of general government. In England, we have some 20,000 parishes. If we had centralization instead, and any public man proposed that 20,000 small governments should be set up within the central government, he would seem a madman to us. But we know from experience that local self government is the strength and sanity of this nation. The first time the French imitated this sanity, our press, with almost one accord, called them madmen. William de Fonvielle—whose brother, Count de Fonvielle, was shot at by one of the Bonapartes—exerted himself, in the French press, to procure for the Communists the name of Communardists, to prevent the English press making the mistake about them which

wrought so much mischief on public opinion here. I assisted him where I could, but we had small success then.

So changed in tolerance and discrimination is journalistic literature during the last thirty years, that the ignorant viciousness which was formerly common, is now so exceptional that the explosions which once were a source of danger are now a source of amusement only.

The pretty name of Socialism had got a few dashes of eccentric colour laid upon it by some wayward artists in advocacy, which casual observers—who had only a superficial acquaintance with it, and no sympathy for it which might lead them to make inquiries—mistook for the original texture, and did not know that the alien streaks would all be washed off in the first genial shower of success. Earl Russell pointed out, some years ago, that if the Reformation was to be judged by the language and vagaries of Luther, Knox, and other wild-speaking Protestants, it would not have a respectable adherent in these days. Mr. W. R. Greg, in his "Mistaken Aims of the Working Classes," mainly appears as the adversary of "Socialism," but writes with sympathy, fairness, and discrimination of socialistic aims. The co-operator who desires an intelligent opinion of what he is about, will find the articles of Mr. Greg among the most instructive he can peruse.

The English theory of "communism," if such a word can be employed here, may be summed up in two things. 1. The hire of capital by labour, and industry taking the profit. 2. All taxes being merged in a single tax on capital, which Sir Robert Peel began when he devised the income tax. Labour and capital would then subscribe equitably to the expenses of the State each according to its gains or possessions.

Workmen are not the only men with a craze in advocacy. No sooner does a difficulty occur in America as to the rate of railway wages, than sober journalists screech upon the

insidious prevalence of "socialistic" ideas and put wild notions into the heads of the men. The ancient conflict between worker and employer always seems new to journalists. The mechanic calls his master a "capitalist," and the journalist calls the workman a "communist." The same kind of thing no doubt went on at the building of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, which Moses, unaware of the facts, otherwise accounted for, was no doubt brought about by journalists.

Among all the people of America, no one ever heard of a conspiring or fighting socialist. The very small number of people who form communities in America are pacific to feebleness, and are criminally apathetic in regard to politics. The communistic Germans there are peaceable, domestic, and dreaming as they are at home. The followers of Lasalle, if they had all emigrated to America, would be insufficient to influence any State Legislature to establish Credit Banks, and this is the utmost their socialism ever amounted to; and this can have no connection with the strikes. The railway men do not want Credit Banks. The Irish never understood socialism, nor cared for it. The mass of working men of America do not even understand co-operation. The Russians have some notions of socialism; but Russians are very few in America, and Hertzen and Bakunin are dead. The French are not socialists, and would be perfectly content as they are, were it not for the "Saviours of Society," the most dangerous class in every community. The term "communism" is a mere expletive of modern journalism, and is a form of swearing supposed in some quarters to be acceptable to middle-class shareholders.

In the time of the first Reform Bill, many of the active co-operators in London were also politicians, and some of them listened to proposals of carrying the Reform Bill by force of arms. This was the only time that social reformers were even indirectly mixed up with projects for violently changing the order of things. But it is to be observed that their object was not to carry their social views into

operation by these means, but to secure some larger measure of political liberty. The conspiracy, such as it was—if conspiracy it can be called—was on behalf of political and not of social measures. The fact is, at that time, the action in which they took interest was less of the nature of conspiracy than of excitement, impulse, and indignation, at the existence of the political state of things which had become intolerable and which seemed hopeless of improvement by reason. Indeed the middle-class shared the same excitement, were equally forward in proposing violent proceedings, and were as much mixed up with the conspiracy for change—if conspiracy it was—as the working class themselves. It is worthy to be particularized that the best known practical instigator of military action was a foreigner—one Colonel Macerone. If the reader will turn to the little pamphlets which the Colonel published he will find that the kind of men Macerone sought to call to arms were far from being dissolute, sensual, or ambitious of their own comfort. The men who were to march on the Government were to be allowed but a few pence a day for their subsistence, and the Colonel pointed out the chief kind of food they were to carry with them, a very moderate portion of which they were to eat. Water or milk was to be their only beverage. A more humble or abstemious band of warriors were never brought into the field, than those whom Colonel Macerone sought to assemble.

About 1830, a penny pamphlet was published by C. Bennett, of 37, Holywell Street, entitled "Edmund's Citizen Soldier." The first portion was the following, on "Macerone's Pikes:"—"That true citizen-soldier, Colonel Macerone, justly remarks that the population of most countries are much better acquainted with the use of arms, and with the practice of military movements than the English citizens now are. Every man, and almost every boy, in America possesses the unerring rifle. In France, one man in every ten has seen military service. Our insular situation has perhaps made us better sailors than soldiers. England,

Humble equipment of citizen soldiers.

however, is the great workshop for arms for all the world, and the fault is our own if we learn not the use of the things we make. There is no lack of pistol barrels and powder in every district. Temporary pikes may be made of carpenter's chisels, dinner knives, fixed into mop sticks. Macerone says, and common sense says, go not out with inferior weapons, with blunt clubs to fight aristocracy's hirelings armed with efficient weapons, and sharp swords. Get the most effective and cheapest weapons for general use. Macerone says that the best weapons and readiest for citizen warfare are a pike 9 feet long accompanied by a 32 inch barrel fowling piece, and a brace of good sized 6-inch barrel pistols. The pike, made of the best ash, is sold by Macerone, at 8, Upper George Street, Bryanstone Square, at 10s. Men should never fight with the long pike in less rank than three deep, six deep is the best. Nothing but a body armed with similar pikes can withstand six-deep pike-men. But citizen soldiers with pikes can all effectively do harm six deep, because citizen's 9 feet pike will reach three deep further than the soldier's 6 feet musket and bayonet. If pike citizens stand firm, the horse-soldiers can never break the citizen ranks. The short bayonet will not protect a man from severe cuts from the long sword of a bold horse soldier. The long pike will. Pike men are equal to double the number of men armed on the old plan. A walking soldier, mind, runs tenfold more danger in flying from a horse-soldier, than in showing a determined neck or nothing front to the mounted horseman."

Of course had revolvers been then a military arm, the half famished pike-men had had a poor chance against the well fed mounted horseman. But the yeoman cavalry of that day were far from being unapproachable. My old friend James Watson, mentioned before as one of the earliest co-operative missionaries on record, possessed one of the "Colonel Macerones" as these pikes were called. When I came into possession of his publishing house in

Queen's-head passage, London, I found one which had long been stored there. It is still in my possession. In 1848, when the famous 10th of April came, and the Duke of Wellington fortified the Bank of England because the poor Chartists took the field under Feargus O'Connor—and a million special constables were sworn in, and Louis Napoleon, then resident in London was reported to be one of them—this solitary pike was the only weapon in the metropolis with which the "Saviours of Society" could be opposed. The Duke of Wellington could have no idea of the risks he ran. It still stands at the door of my chambers, and I have shown it to Cabinet Ministers when opportunity has offered, that they might understand what steps it might be necessary to take, in case the entire socialistic arsenal in England, (preserved there) should be brought to bear upon the Government in favour of co-operation. *

Joseph Smith the "Sheep maker" (who would not allow an audience to depart until they had subscribed for a sheep for the Queenwood community), mentioned in the first volume, returned to England in 1873, and after thirty years absence unchanged in appearance, in voice, or fervour, addressed a new generation of co-operators. He has returned to Wissahickon, Manayunkway, Philadelphia, where he keeps the Maple Spring Hotel, where he has the most grotesque collection of nature and art ever seen since Noah's Ark was stocked. Joseph Smith certainly had as much "grit" in him as any Yankee among whom he now lives. There is no doubt that he began business on his own account at seven years of age in some precocious way. There is no danger to him now in saying that his first appearance in politics was by knocking an officer off his horse by a brickbat at Peterbro in 1819,

* The danger is more serious now since the "Macerone" has been supplemented in 1876 by the sword of John Frost.

excited by the way the people were wantonly slashed by those ruffians of "Order." He was the only one of the Blanketeers I have known in this co-operative movement. The Blanketeers were a band of distressed weavers, who set out from Manchester in 1827 to walk to London, to present a remonstrance to George the Third. They were called "Blanketeers" because they each carried a blanket to wrap himself in by the wayside at night, and a pair of stockings to replace those worn out in the journey. Each poor fellow carried in his hand his "Remonstrance" without money or food, trusting to the charity of patriots of his own class for bread on his march. Thus these melancholy insurgents, armed only with a bit of paper to present to as hopeless a king as ever reigned—set out on their march to London. The military were set upon this miserable band, and Joseph Smith was one of those who were stopped and turned back at Stockport. He claims to have devised the first social tea party at the Manchester co-operative society on December 24, 1829—a much more cheerful and hopeful undertaking than Blanketeering.

In November, 1847, we had a German Communist Conference in London, at which Dr. Karl Marx presided, who always presented with great ability the principles of co-operation with a pernicious State point sticking through them. He said in a manifesto which he produced that the aim of the communists was the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists by the acquisition of political power. The aim of the English communists has always been to become capitalists themselves, to supersede the rule of the capitalists by creating new capital for their own use, consequently taking the "rule" of it, as they earned the right to do, into their own hands for their mutual advantage. A congress of the same school was held at Geneva in 1867, when the International there resolved that it "acknowledged the co-operative movement as one of the transferring sources of the present society based on class antagonisms." Restricted contempt was expressed for

the dwarfish forms of redress which the slave of wages could effect by the co-operative system. "They could never transform capitalistic society. That can never be done save by the transfer of the organized forces of society." This was no congress of co-operators but of mere politicians with an eye to State action. Of the sixty delegates at it only seven were English, and this was not their doctrine.

Of later literature, including chiefly publications, explanatory and defensive of co-operation, appearing since 1841, may be named the "Oracle of Reason," the "Movement," the "Reasoner," the "People's Review," the "Cause of the People," the "Counsellor," the "English Leader," the "Secular World," the "Social Economist," and the "Secular Review." These journals extending from 1841 to 1877 were edited chiefly by myself, sometimes jointly with others. They are named here because they took up the story of co-operation where the "New Moral World" left it, and continued it when there was no other representation of it in the press. Every prospectus of these papers dealt with the subject, and the pages of each journal were more or less conspicuously occupied with it.

The "Oracle of Reason" was commenced by Charles Southwell, whose name appeared as editor until his imprisonment, when I took his place until the same misadventure occurred to me at Gloucester, being at the time on my way to Bristol to visit him in gaol there. When the two volumes of the "Oracle" ended, Maltus Questell Ryall and myself commenced the "Movement." The "Oracle" and the "Movement" contained "Letters to the Socialists of England," and the "Movement" ended with the "Visit to Harmony Hall" giving an account of the earlier and final state of the Queenwood Community.

In 1845, I published a little book entitled "Rationalism," which was then the legal name of co-operation. The societies then known to the public being enrolled under an Act of Parliament as associations of "Rational

Religionists." The only reason for mentioning the book is, that the reader who may chance to look into it will see that the conception of the co-operative movement, the criticism and defence of its principles and policy pervading this history, were indicated there. The "Cause of the People" was edited by W. J. Linton and myself, Mr. Linton well known to young politicians of that day, as the editor of the "National," and to artists as the chief of wood engravers, and since as an advocate of the political and associative views of Joseph Mazzini. When the "New Moral World" ceased, I contributed papers on the social movement in the "Herald of Progress," edited by John Cramp, and incorporated this periodical in the "Reasoner" commenced in 1846, of which twenty-six volumes appeared consecutively. The "Counsellor" contained communications from William Cooper, the chief writer of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, and one from Mr. Abram Howard, the President of the Rochdale society at this time.* The "English Leader" which appeared under two editors, extended to two volumes, and continued to be the organ for special papers on co-operation. The "Secular World" also included a distinct department entitled the "Social Economist," of which the chief writer was Mr. Ebenezer Edger before named, who promoted co-operation with the ability and zeal of his family, never hesitating at personal cost to himself. Afterwards the "Social Economist" appeared as a separate journal under the joint editorship of myself and Mr. Edward Owen Greening, who had previously projected the "Industrial Partnerships Record," published in Manchester in 1862, the first paper which treated co-operation as a purely commercial movement. Co-operative stores and productive manufacturing societies, had by that time grown to an importance which warranted them in being treated as

* See Part II. Hist. of the Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale.

industrial enterprises, affording opportunities to the general public of profitable investment. The "Industrial Partnership Record" was the first paper that published "Share Lists" of those concerns. Mr. Greening afterwards established the "Agricultural Economist," (the name being suggested by me), the largest commercial paper the co-operative movement has. I edited the department of "Associative topics," while it was retained as a feature of the paper. Of separate pamphlets the best known are the "History of Co-operation in Rochdale," Part I. narrating its career from 1844 to 1857; Part II. completing its history from 1858 to 1878. Mr. William Cooper, of the Rochdale Pioneers, in a letter to the "Daily News" (1861) reported that as many as 260 societies were commenced within two or three years after the publication of Part I., through the evidence afforded in the story of what can be done by people with the idea of self-help in their minds. In some towns the story was read night after night to meetings of working men.* This was also done at Melbourne, Australia. Many years after the appearance of the work, when its story might be regarded as old, Mr. Pitman reprinted it in the "Co-operator," it being supposed to be of interest to a new generation of co-operators. It has been translated in the "Courier de Lyons" by Mons. Talandier and by Sig. Garrido into Spanish. It has appeared also in other languages so that the Rochdale men have the merit of doing things distant peoples are willing to hear of.

In 1871 the thirtieth volume of the "Reasoner" was commenced, which extended over two years. I issued it at the request of a committee of co-operators and others in Lancashire and Yorkshire, who made themselves responsible for the printing expenses. The editor was to be paid out of profits; but the comet of profits had so large an orbit, that it has not yet appeared in the editor's sphere.

* The Blaydon Store was thus commenced by Mr. Cowen, M.P., reading the story to the villagers there.

The "Modern errors of Co-operation," a paper originally read at the Social Science Congress in the Guildhall, London, has been frequently reprinted by various societies. The "Hundred Masters'" system, written in aid of the workmen when the famous struggle took place in Rochdale when co-operation halted on the way there, originally appeared in the "Morning Star," a paper which gave more aid to progressive movements than any daily paper of that day in London. "Industrial Partnerships, divested of Sentimentality" was written to explain their business basis. The "Logic of Co-operation," and "Commercial Co-operation" were two pamphlets of which many thousands were circulated, written in support of a question not yet successful, of establishing in co-operative production the same principle of dividing profits with the purchaser which breathed life into the moribund stores of that day. In maturer years some authors are glad to have it forgotten that they have written certain works in their earlier days. For me, no liability to this regret happily remains. Other persons have, in many instances, considerately come forward and taken this responsibility on themselves, either by printing editions of my books and putting their own name on the title page, or by copying whole chapters into works of their own, as their own; or by translating a whole book into another language where it had the honour of appearing as an original work in that tongue. The "History of Co-operation in Rochdale" has as often appeared without my name as with it. In Paisley a summary was made of it and sold without my knowledge. After it was done a copy was sent to me, and I was asked whether I would permit it; and I said I would. The reason given for the request being that people would be more likely to read the book if they did not know who was the author, which I took to be a delicate way of telling me I was not a popular writer. The Chambers Brothers published a paper in their Journal, by one of

their contributors, who had interwoven essential portions of the Rochdale story into his article without reference to its origin, no doubt apprehensive lest the mention of the author might jeopardize its insertion. But when the Chambers became aware of it, they frankly supplied the omission by a note in their Journal.

Even distance, which lends enchantment to so many things, can do nothing for me. A few years ago an American preacher called upon me and told me that one of his brethren had printed an edition of one of my books "Public speaking and Debate" (written for co-operative advocates and others) and composed a preface of his own and put his own name on the title page, which had done the sale a world of good. Some of the proceeds would have done me good in those days, but my friendly informant did not advert to the probability of that. Not long ago the editor of an "International Journal," a paper issued in London with a view to furnish benighted Englishmen with original translations of foreign literature, bestowed upon his readers chapter after chapter of what he led them to believe and what he believed himself, was a new and readable history of certain co-operative stores in England, based on the recent German work of Eugene Richter. After this had proceeded for some weeks I sent word to the editor that if he was at any expense in providing his translation, I could send him the chapters in English, as they were part of a book published by me in London sixteen years before. The editor sent me the volume from which he was printing, that I might see in what way he he had been misled, and discontinued further publication. The book was entitled "Co-operative Stores" and published by Leypoldt and Holt of New York, who probably had no knowledge from what materials the work had been compiled. Eugene Richter's work, on which the Leypoldt one is based, I have never seen. As far as reprints of anything I have written is concerned, I have given permission without conditions to any one to reprint,

content that any one thought some usefulness might thereby arise. An unexpected instance of care for my reputation as shown by the thoughtful omission of my name occurred in the "Quarterly Review." A well known writer having supplied an article on a Co-operative topic, the History of the Rochdale Pioneers was one of five or six works placed at the head of it. Of course the names of all the writers were duly added. But when the editor came to mine, something had to be done. To put down the book as authorless had been a singularity that might attract attention. To avoid this the name was omitted of every other writer in the list and for the first time an article in the "Quarterly" was devoted to six nameless authors, who had all written books of public interest. The envious man in Æsop by forfeiting one eye put out two others, by losing my head five other writers were decapitated and have gone down to posterity headless in "Quarterly" history.

In June, 1860, a record of co-operative progress, conducted exclusively by working men, and entitled the "Co-operator," was commenced. Its first editor was Mr. E. Longfield. Mr. Henry Pitman, then of Manchester, was one of its early promoters. This journal represented the Lancashire and Yorkshire co-operative societies. By this time the reputation of the Rochdale Society continually attracted foreign visitors to it. Professors of political economy and students of social life frequently sent inquiries as to its progress. The letters which many of these gentlemen wrote and the accounts they published in foreign journals of what had come under their notice in visits to England, form a very interesting portion of the papers in the "Co-operator." Professor V. A. Huber, of Wernigerode, was a frequent and instructive contributor. Early in 1860 Gabriel Glutsak, civil engineer of Vienna, wrote to the Leeds Corn Mill Society for their statutes, and those of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, with a view to submit them to his government, and to ask permission to establish similar societies there. In 1863

L. Miloradovitsch, residing at Tschernigor, in Russia, two weeks distant from St. Petersburg, contributed an interesting paper on Russian associations. Mr. Franz Wirth, editor of the "Arbeitgeber," Frankfort, contributed information concerning co-operation in Germany, and reported concerning their German "Co-operator," the "Innung der Zukunft," by Mr. Schulze of Delitzsch.

At first the "Co-operator" was a penny monthly. At the end of twelve months it was stated to have reached a circulation of 10,000 copies. This was an illusion by confounding the number printed with those sold. When the first shriek of debt occurred, bales of obstinate numbers were found which would not carry themselves off. Co-operation always proceeded under greater restrictions than those which trade imposed upon itself. Besides pledging itself to genuineness, fair weight, and fair prices, the editors of its official papers frequently refused to recognize applications of the principles, however profitable, which were not considered useful or creditable to working men. Mr. Pitman, the editor of the "Co-operator," kept no terms with any who wished to go into tobacco manufacturing or brewing, and ultimately became disagreeable to those who thought of having their children vaccinated.

The periodical literature of the societies continued to present various drolleries of thought, though not executed with that Japanese vividness of colour observable in its primitive efforts. If a passing notice of them is made here, it is merely that the narrative may not be wanting in the light and shade belonging to it. If the wilful reader should bestow as much attention upon periodicals the present writer has edited as he has upon co-operative journals, such reader would no doubt find (of another kind) quite as much matter to amuse him. In the "Co-operator" the artistic imagination was again occupied, in earlier years, in endeavouring to devise symbols of co-operation, but nothing very original was arrived at. Societies fell back upon the old symbol of the Hand in

Hand, to which they endeavoured to give a little freshness by writing under it the following verse—

"Hand in hand, brother,
Let us march on.
Ne'er let us faint, brother,
Till victory's won."

It did not occur to the poet that the worthy brothers would faint much sooner if they endeavoured to march on hand in hand. Co-operation has many applications, but crossing the streets of London is not one of them, for if two persons should endeavour to do that on co-operative principles, they would both be knocked down. The revivers of the "hand in hand" symbol seem to be ignorant or regardless of Mr. Urquhart's doctrine, imported from a land of lepers, that shaking hands is an unwarrantable proceeding, a liberty not free from indelicacy, wanting in self-respect on the part of those who offer or submit to it. The co-operator of 1862 had recourse to the figure of our old friend, the young man endeavouring to break a bundle of sticks; but he is now represented as doing it in so dainty and fastidious a way, that he is not likely to succeed if he operated upon them singly; and there stands by him two young co-operators, one apparently a Scotchman, wearing a kilt, both, however, watching the operation as though they were perfectly satisfied that nothing would come of it. A belief that art must have some further resources in the way of symbols led the editor of the "Co-operator" to offer a prize to students at the Manchester School of Art for some fresh emblem of unity. The best of four designs was published, representing an arch with a very melancholy curvature, on which reposed the oft seen figure of Justice with her eyes bandaged, so that she cannot see what she is doing; and near to her was a lady representing Commerce, and who appears to be playing the violin. Underneath was a youth apparently tying the immemorial bundle of sticks, and a pitman wearing a cap of liberty, with a spade by his side,

apparently suggesting that freedom was something to be dug for. In the centre was a spirited group of three men at an anvil, one forging and two striking, in Ashantee attire, the limbs and body being quite bare. The flying flakes of molten iron must have been encountered under great disadvantages. The action at the forge is certainly co-operative, but the editor betrayed his scant appreciation of it by saying it would make a capital design for "our brothers in unity," (the Amalgamated Engineers were meant); but "our brothers in unity" did not take it up.

The third volume of the "Co-operator" was edited by Mr. Henry Pitman. He introduced a new illustration in which two workmen are approaching two bee-hives with a view to study their habits; but, unfortunately, a stout swarm of bees are hovering over their heads, making the contemplation of their performance rather perilous. A bee-hive does not admit of much artistic display, and bees themselves are not models for the imitation of human beings, since they are absolutely mad about work, are brutal to the drones when they have served their turn. A society conducted on bee principles would make things very uncomfortable to the upper classes, and the capitalists would all be killed as soon as their money had been borrowed from them. The popularity of bees is one of the greatest impostures in industrial literature. However, the "Co-operator," under Mr. Pitman's management, was a very useful paper. Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, and Mr. William Howitt, oft wrote in it very valuable letters. Dr. King, of Brighton, sent information to it. Canon Kingsley and the chief of the eminent friends of industrial progress with whom he acted, were contributors to its pages. All the writers actively engaged in the movement at one time or other supplied papers or letters, and foreign correspondents furnished interesting facts and inquiries which will long have value. But the success of journals of progress does not depend on their merits—even when they have them. The

people, the editor has in view to serve, are the uninformed and they do not care about papers precisely because they are uninformed. It is to the credit of social propagandists that they appeal to reason. This is against their success; since reason is seldom popular. When Mr. Thornton Hunt left the "Spectator" he joined a journal which understood the popular taste, and the shrewd proprietor at once said to him, "Take note, Mr. Hunt, what we want on this paper is not strong thinking but strong writing." The "Co-operator" had little strong writing, that not being in its line, and was not overweighted by strong thinking; but it had merits which deserved greater success than it met with. It very early hung out signs of debt, and gave a great scream on the occasion, and actually put a black border round the statement in its own pages, as though it was anxious to announce its melancholy demise while it was yet alive. Some had revealed to the editor the difference between 10,000 printed and 10,000 sold. Mr. J. S. Mill and Miss Helen Taylor gave £10 each to promote the continuance of the "Co-operator," of which eight more volumes were issued. In 1871, however, the debt amounted to £1000. The editor, nevertheless, refused to relinquish it or accept an offer from the co-operators to purchase it. It was not probably that he loved liability, though it had that appearance. It was, doubtless, from a natural reluctance to relinquish a journal which he had conducted with so much usefulness and honourable perseverance during so many years, that he clung to it. It had but one printer during all that time, who had cheerfully suffered that considerable debt to accumulate. If in patience or in faith he had shown this perseverance of trust, it was equally unprecedented and inexplicable. Had his virtues been known in London, he would have been much sought after by editors of other periodicals, who would have appreciated such a printer. Ultimately the debt was paid rightly and creditably, mainly by gifts from co-operative societies, and votes from the Wholesale,

who paid at one time the residue unliquidated, of upwards of £500.

To the "Co-operator" has succeeded the "Co-operative News," of which nine volumes have appeared. This journal is the official representative of the societies. A Newspaper Society was formed to establish the "Co-operative News." At the request of the committee, which included the leading co-operators of the North of England, I wrote the earlier prospectuses of the paper, and as they purposed buying up Mr. Pitman's "Co-operator" I and Mr. Greening relinquished to them the "Social Economist," which we conducted in London, in order that the new journal might have a clear field and the widest chance of a profitable career. The "Co-operative News" is now owned by co-operative societies who respectively hold shares in it. For a time individuals held shares. I was the last who did. In 1876, I resigned mine in order that there might be that unity in its ownership which in the opinion of its promoters, promised most efficiency for its management. During an important period it was edited by Mr. J. C. Farn, who increased the economy of its management. It has since been conducted by Mr. Joseph Smith and Mr. Samuel Bamford. "Co-operative News," though a relevant, is not a profitable name. The outside public look less into it than its general interest would repay, believing it to be a purely class paper. Indeed co-operators would take it in with more readiness if it bore a fresher name—a routine title tires the mind. Working men some years ago would not take in the "Working Man," one of the most instructive journals ever devised for them. Working men are not fond of being advertised once a week as working men: for the same reason that the middle class would not be enthusiastic on behalf of a paper called the "Middleclass Man." Mr. Cobden thought when the "Morning Star" was commenced that the public would value what they very much needed—news. But news is only of value in the eyes of those who can understand its significance, and that

implies considerable political capacity. What the average public wanted was interpreted news—ready made opinions—having little time and then not much power to form their own. Journals which gave them less news and more opinion, had greater ascendancy than a journal which sought mainly to serve them by enabling them to think for themselves. If men in a movement knew the value of a good paper representing it, guiding it, defending it, they would certainly provide to have one. A co-operative society without intelligence, or an industrial movement without an organ, is like a steam boat without a propeller. It is all vapour and clatter without progress. An uninformed party is like a mere sailing boat. It only moves when outside winds blow, and is not always sure where it will be blown to then.

In commencing their paper the co-operators entered upon a new department of manufacture—the manufacture of a newspaper. This is an art in which they had no experience, but in which they have displayed as much skill as people usually do who undertake an unaccustomed business—and no more. Journalism is a profession, and requires capital, skill, and technical knowledge, as other productive trades do. Any one familiar with the mechanism of a newspaper can tell without being told—when it is conducted by charity. Every column betrays its cheapness. It is not the flag, it is then the rag of a party, and every page in it is more or less in tatters. Instead of being the weekly library of the members, consisting of well-written, well-chosen articles, readable and reliable, it is the waste paper basket of the movement, and everything goes into it which comes to hand and costs nothing. No one is responsible for its policy; its excellencies, if it has any, come by chance; its subjects are not predetermined; the treatment of them is not planned; and a journal of this description represents a movement without concert. Poverty is always fatal to journalistic force. Those who manage a poor

journal mean well, but they do not know what to mean when they have no means. They cannot be said to fail, because men who aim at nothing commonly hit it, and this is the general sort of success they do achieve. Indeed, a journal may do worse than aim at nothing, because then nobody is hurt when its conductors strike their object. It is much more serious when persons are attacked, and local views and plans—however excellent—are pursued in a party spirit, with disparagement of others, producing excitement instead of direction. A representative journal owes equal respect and equal protection to all parties, and might guide with dignity and secure progress with good feeling. There is a difficulty in conducting an official paper, and I put the difficulty in the front because everybody ought to see it from the first—and the difficulty is this, that an official journal must be impartial, and impartiality is generally considered insipid. Few writers can be entertaining unless they are abusive; and few editors are good for anything unless they are partisan. If they have to strike out of an article the imputations in it, they commonly strike out the sense along with it, until the paper has no more flavour than a turnip. Still, if there be no choice, it is better to have a turnip journal than a cayenne pepper organ—better to have a salmon for an editor, who is always swimming about his subject, than a porcupine one, who is sticking his fretful quills into every reader, and pricking the movement once a week.

Every new member of a store should be required to take its official paper. This alone would give the "Co-operative News" a circulation of 50,000 a year. If every new member took the paper, every old member would be very much wondered at if he did not take it also. No groceries carried into any member's house ought to be warranted unless the newspaper of the stores went with them. No articles in any productive society ought to be trusted, unless each workman subscribed his penny to the Journal

of the movement. If this were done, the journal of the Central Board would one day be very large, and its revenue from circulation and advertisements would augment the means of propagandism.

Co-operation is like a bicycle. If those who ride it keep going they go pleasantly and swiftly, and travel far, but if they stop they must dismount or tumble uncomfortably. There are many great measures a statesman could devise, and which he would gladly have his name associated with, which he cannot venture to bring forward unless there be educated opinion to appeal to. He is obliged to confess that "the time has not arrived." This is often a cant excuse put forward by timid or insincere statesmen. But the truth of the plea is too obvious where the public are ignorant. In co-operative societies, in their smaller way, the same thing is true. Every intelligent board of directors know that they could do much better for the society if the members were all well-informed. There is not a co-operative society in the kingdom, not excepting the Wholesale of Manchester, which might not be twice as rich as it is, if the members were as intelligent as they should be. Without knowledge all movement is like that of the vane-motion without progress, whereas co-operation should resemble the screw steamer, and unite motion and advancement.

CHAPTER XXII.

FAMOUS PROMOTERS.

Of all the paths which lead to human bliss,
The most secure and grateful to our steps,
With mercy and humanity is marked
The sweet-tongued rumour of a gracious deed.
RICHARD GLOVER.

IN 1848 co-operation received unexpected recognition great beyond anything before accorded to it, and one which only a man of singular fearlessness would have accorded: it was from John Stuart Mill. In a work, sure to be read by the most influential thinkers, he said,—"Far, however, from looking upon any of the various classes of socialists with any approach to disrespect, I honour the intention of almost all who are publicly known in that character, as well as the arguments and talents of several, and I regard them, taken collectively, as one of the most valuable elements of human improvement now existing, both from the impulse they give to the reconsideration and discussion of all the most important questions, and from the ideas they have contributed to many, ideas, from which the most advanced supporters of the existing order of society have still much to learn"* When this tribute was rendered to these social insurgents their fortunes were at a very low ebb. Only three years before they had publicly and ignominiously failed. The prophets who had done their best to fulfil their sinister

* J. S. Mill, Pol. Econ., Vol. I. p. 265.

predictions were exultant, contemptuous and conceited. It was no pleasant thing to bear the name of "Socialist" when Mr. Mill spoke of them with this generous respect. He even went farther than vindicating their character—he suggested a justification of one of the least accepted of their schemes. Mr. Mill said:—"The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of produce—'that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his share of the work'—is, I think, in general, considerably over-stated. There is a kind of work, *that of fighting*, which is never conducted on any other than the *Co-operative system:* and neither in a rude nor in a civilized society, has the *supposed difficulty* been experienced.* In no community has idleness ever been a cause of failure.

Long before Miss Martineau visited the Socialist Communities of America she held communication with Co-operators at home. The Manchester and Salford Association for the spread of Co-operative knowledge, wrote to her, as her illustrations of Political Economy had interested the society. Miss Martineau sent a reply in which she professed that their interest in her labours was very gratifying to her. One passage is worth preserving from its curious import, "Within a short time, and happily before the energy of youth is past, I have been awakened from a state of aristocratic prejudice, to a clear conviction of the Equality of Human Rights, and of the paramount duty of society to provide for the support, comfort, and enlightenment of every member born into it. All that I write is now with a view to the illustration of these great truths: with the hope of pressing upon the rich a conviction of their obligations, and of inducing the poor to urge their claims with moderation and forbearance, and to bear about with them the credentials of intelligence and good deserts." Miss Martineau took care to indicate that

* Pol. Econ., Vol. I. p. 251.

the equality which she favoured was the equality of human right, and not of condition.

Lord Brougham personally promoted co-operation. The first part of the History of the Pioneers of Rochdale by the present writer was dedicated to him by his consent. Where others were content to vaguely and generally praise a principle, Lord Brougham would single out and name for their credit and advantage, those who had promoted or served it. This is never done save by those who intend to aid a cause. Lord Brougham was the first politician of great mark who cared about general progress, and whatever faults he had of ambition and preference of popularity, he had little of the common fear of being compromised by being identified with the promotion of social welfare, because the persons caring for it had unpopular opinions of their own on other subjects.

Those who write the most useful books have often to wait long for appreciation. At the time of their appearance the public may not be caring about the subject and when it does care about it, it has forgotten those who have written well upon it. This or some other cause has led to the comparative neglect of the works of Arthur John Booth, M.A., author of a work entitled the "Founder of Socialism in England" and of a volume upon "St. Simon," being a chapter on the History of Socialism in France, remarkable for its research and completeness of statement. This work, like the previous one named, has been far less spoken of and read in the socialist circles than books so conscientious deserve to be. Several of the disciples of Robert Owen have been designated to write some memorial of him, yet to this day the most complete view of his principles and character which has appeared, is that from the pen of Mr. Booth—which embraces other subjects than those in Mr. Sargent's life of Robert Owen, and gives a more detailed account of his efforts in originating public education and promoting the art of industrial association in England. No one can peruse Mr. Booth's book

without acquiring very great respect for Mr. Owen's character and a very high estimate of his capacity. Mr. Booth records that Mr. Owen not only incited parliamentary committees to inquire into ameliorative plans and recommend them, but he supplied them with the designs of industrial establishments and calculations of costs which must have been the result of great labour and expense to him.

The disciples of St. Simon were mad compared with the disciples of Robert Owen. Gustave I'Eichthal, who had been born a Jew, and traversed many faiths, made his confession of Simonism in these terms, "I believe in God; I believe in St. Simon, and that it is Enfantin who is St. Simon's successor. To him," I'Eichthal said, "it is given to root up and to destroy, to build and to plant, in him all human life has its development and progress: in him are peace, riches, science, the future of the world. We know it, and it is this which gives us strength. The world does not know it, and it is this which constitutes its weakness." This is the crazy adulation of the genuine enthusiast who has lost all measure of men, which the world is continually hearing, with happily decreasing power of believing. St. Simon was a man who had as much philosophy as enthusiasm. When he found himself unable to complete his schemes and on the verge of starvation, he determined to shoot himself at a certain hour. That he might not forget that unpleasant resolution, he occupied himself in the interval in looking over the schemes of reform to which he had fruitlessly devoted his life, and when the time came round he shot himself as he had intended. It is evident that human progress can never advance, either rapidly or far at once. All who undertake to introduce new views of an entirely distinct character from those prevailing, soon find themselves, as it were, outside of humanity, where having few to sympathize with them, they oft fancy themselves deserted when the fact is, they have deserted the world. In time their originality becomes eccentricity, their solitariness

renders them morbid, and eventually, like the disciples of St. Simon, they play more or less what their compeers deem fantastic tricks, and schemes which began in hope end in ridicule.

Philosophers continually forget that the progress of wisdom must always depend upon the capacity of the multitude to advance, whom ignorance makes slow-footed: these philosophers should not be impetuous. We know on legal authority that a fool a day is born and they mostly live. Patience is as great a virtue in propagandism as fortitude.

Jules St. Andre le Chevalier was one of the disciples of St. Simon * and one of their orators. A brother of the celebrated Pere Lacordaire went to hear him address a large audience at Dijon. The devotion in the heart of the Simonian preacher carried everybody with him. It is wonderful to us how one so obese, adroit, and master of all the arts of this venal world, could have moved any one to enthusiasm. By personal grace, in which he excelled when young, he might have charmed audiences, but serious enthusiasm must have been impossible to him. Skilfulness which dazzled you, he had in abundance, but not a tone remained which could inspire trust in persons of any experience in enthusiasm; and St. Andre knew such persons by instinct, and avoided them. He was a master in devices and resources, and amid men stronger than himself he would have been a force of value. Under other circumstances he was a costly colleague. At the co-operative agency, some years in operation in Charlotte Street, London, of which he was an inspirer, he saw fortunes confiscated which he should have prevented. He had seen in his French experience what others had seen in English movements, that it is an immorality to permit without protest, generous men risking more money in any

* Not a Fourierite, as he is erroneously described (p. 202), where his tenets are confounded with those of Dr. Doherty.

cause, however good, than they are able and willing to lose for the chance of being useful. It is either inexperienced zeal or traitorous enthusiasm which connives at risks and losses which warn men in the future against aiding unfriended causes. When the secrets of the Black Chamber of the late emperor of the French were disclosed, it was found that St. Andre had an office in it, and was in the pay of the second empire. The function of agents of the Black Chamber was to corrupt the press of other countries, and obtain the insertion of articles in favour of the Bonaparte government. The personal knowledge St. Andre had of social and political leaders in England, it appears he was able to sell for a price—and did it. He died before the crash of that excellent Government came.

Mazzini in presenting some books to the Sunderland Co-operative Society in 1864, said, in a letter to Mr. T. Dixon:—"It is my deep conviction that we are unavoidably approaching an Epoch of Mankind, History, and Life, in which the ruling principle in all the branches of moral, political, and social activity, will be the simple one—'Let *every* man be judged, loved, placed, and rewarded *according to his works*.' Of this all-transforming principle, you—the associated working men throughout Europe—are the precursers in the economical sphere." Guiseppe Mazzini was as distinguished an advocate of Association in Italy, as Owen in England, or Blanc in France, but it was the nature of Mazzini to dwell more on the moral conditions of progress than upon the material. According to Madame Venturi, who has given the most vivid account of Italian socialism extant: associations of working-men have spread rapidly in the cities of Tuscany, Lombardy, the Romagna, and Southern Italy; rising up in the footsteps of the national revolution. That of Naples in 1860 counted more than twelve hundred members. All these associations have been organized in imitation of one founded by Mazzini, years before that time, in Genoa; and their character is quite distinct from that manifested

by similar societies in England or France, which mainly attempt social and economical progress. The peculiarity of the Italian movement is, that while the working men of other countries start from a theory of *rights*, the Italian working-men—like their great teacher—start from a moral point of view—a theory of *duty*. They take his motto, "God and Humanity," and accept his doctrine—that rights can spring only from duties fulfilled. This characteristic of the movement among Italian artizans is also remarkable from the contrast it presents to the materialism of the aristocratic or moderate party in Italy, one of whose most prominent members, La Farina, has written—"The only parent of revolutions is the stomach."

In the rooms belonging to these societies in France, there is sometimes written up, "It is forbidden to discuss religion or politics"; whereas in Italy, instead of limiting themselves to material economic interests, they devote themselves likewise, if not prominently, to moral instruction and patriotic work. These societies contributed a large share of combatants to Garibaldi's expedition, and to those subsequently dispatched from Genoa to Sicily. Three-fourths of the signatures to the petition of 1860 in Italy, for the removal of the condemnation to death which had rested on the head of Mazzini for twenty-eight years, were by working men. The Genoese Society of that day wishing to celebrate the anniversary of the Sicilian insurrection, decreed that the best way was to purchase three hundred copies of his book, "Duties of Man," and distribute them gratuitously to poor working-men.

In Florence an Association was formed, called "Fratellanza Artigiana"—Working-men's Brotherhood—which aims at a general organisation of the whole class throughout Italy, embracing the double aim of moral patriotic education—through a people's journal—schools, circulating libraries, lectures, and of the emancipation of labour, through the establishment of banks for the people in

different localities, destined to furnish with advances of capital, such *voluntary* associations of working men as give proofs of their honesty and capability, and intend to work independently of intermediate capitalists.* Since that date Professor Saffi, one of the Triumvirs of Rome in 1849, has promoted the formation of co-operative societies in Italy, having also English economic features; co-operative stores as we understand them, being established in many places.

Whether it is good fortune or ill fortune to be able to count an emperor among socialist advocates, altogether depends whether his personal character or career is likely to awaken confidence or distrust in associative life; certain it is that an emperor has appeared on the side of modern socialism. During his imprisonment in Ham, between 1841 and 1845, Louis Napoleon, who had previously resided in England and had probably seen Mr. Rowland Hill's plan, published one of his own, which he called by the same name, the "Extinction of Pauperism," in which he added the untenable project of the State organizing (which includes patronizing and politically controlling) "twenty millions of consciences." The future emperor talked wonderfully like the socialist agitators, whom he afterwards sent so liberally to Cayenne and colonized them there. He said "manufacturing and commercial industry has neither system, organization, nor aim [public aim he meant]. It is like a machine working without a regulator, and totally unconcerned about its moving power. Crushing between its wheels both men and matter, it depopulates the country, crowds the population [who survive, he must mean] into narrow spaces without air, enfeebles both mind and body, and finally casts them into the street, when it no longer requires them, those men who, to enrich it, have sacrificed strength youth and existence [forgetting that most of them would have no mature existence but for manu-

* See Pref. to Regulations of the Leghorn Society of Mutual Succour.

facturing industry, badly as it is conducted]. A true Saturn of labour, manufacturing industry, devours its children and lives but upon its destruction." Very few workmen know anything about Saturn and its unpaternal ways, still this description with its socialistic exaggeration in every line, gives a substantially true picture that workmen have a bad time of it. That something more than Savings Banks are needed for the ill-paid workman, he shows in an admirable sentence "To seek to mitigate the wretchedness of men who have not sufficient food, by proposing that they shall annually put aside something which they have not got, is either a derision or a folly." The Imperial socialist writes "It is a high and holy mission to strive to do away with enmity, to heal all wounds, to soothe the sufferings of humanity, by uniting the people of the same country in one common interest." But breaking oaths, cutting throats and deportations, were not socialist methods of fulfilling this mission. This remarkable author caught the idea without caring for the principles which animated his famous teacher Louis Blanc. His essay, however, has much merit and some phrases of felicity, as when he contrasts the old feudality of arms with the modern "feudality of money," for which he had apparently an honest contempt all his life. This "plan" of socialism, which the late emperor sketched, it is but justice to say, has the merit of plausibleness in some respects, moderation of statement, silence on questions by which other writers have alarmed the reader, and a freedom from eccentricities of proposal which have so often submerged merciful schemes in derision.

The Comte de Paris has written a book, neither utopian nor paternal, of singular fairness and discernment upon "Trades Unions" which indeed does much more than describe them; it explains industrial partnership and co-operation to the French workman; and more still it distinguishes and attacks the modern middle class ideal of a state of things in which capital reigns supreme, and attracts all profit to itself, and as the "Spectator" puts it

"sternly represses, in the name of economic science and of law, all attempts of the workers to secure their independence and raise their condition by combination and organization." It denotes great capacity for social thought in the Prince to perceive that this ideal must be changed for one more equitable, before society can have industrial peace within its borders.

In the story of the Lost Communities mention is made of Dr. Yeats as a distinguished teacher at the Queenwood Hall Educational Establishment. Dr. Yeats with honourable modesty reminds me that he was less known as a teacher, and an author than the following gentlemen, who were all engaged at Queenwood, under Mr. Edmondson :—John Tyndall, F.R.S., and Edward Frankland, F.R.S., Thomas Hirst, F.R.S., H. Debus, F.R.S. The present Professor of Chemistry at the Royal College of Science for Ireland, Robert Galloway, also dates from Queenwood; and his colleague, the Professor of Physics, W. F. Barrett, was a pupil at Queenwood. An account of Prof. Tyndall's connection with Queenwood may be found in No. X. of the Photographic Portraits of men of Eminence, for March, 1864.*

The Dutch, who if they do dream always dream about business, succeeded in establishing successful Pauper Colonies on the east bank of the Zuyder Zee in 1818. The idea was derived from a Chinese mandarin, who presided over a colony of agricultural emigrants from China, situated at Java in the East Indies. General Van Bosch brought the idea to Holland and originated the Dutch Colonies. In England the orthography of his name would have been altered into Van Bosh. In 1833 these colonies were visited and described by a Member of the Agricultural Employment Institution of England, who reported that "Beggary and mendicity had disappeared in Holland, for in a journey of 500 miles he had seen only three little boys asking charity,

* Published by Lovell, Reade & Co., Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

one at Rotterdam, and two at Delft, although the country had swarmed with beggars previously to the establishment of the Home Colonies." In 1832, Mr. Rowland Hill (subsequently Sir Rowland) published "A Plan for the Gradual Extinction of Pauperism." In 1857, I asked him to inform me whether the Dutch Colonies had been discredited or remained useful? He answered, "Since 1831, the year in which the greater part of the pamphlet was written, changes have taken place which materially affect the question discussed. These changes are chiefly an improved poor-law; the establishment of systematic emigration and (as I believe) the abandonment of the Pauper Colonies in Belgium and Holland. With regard to any present discussion of the question, it would of course be necessary carefully to investigate the cause of such abandonment, but circumstanced as I now am, I need scarcely say that I have no time for it."*

A work long needed appeared recently, one calculated to give systematic form to socialism, namely, Mr. David Syme's "Outlines of an Industrial Science." Utterly different from many similar books of the same pretensions, it is neither pretentious nor obscure, nor a theory of one idea. The reader soon finds he is in the hands of a writer who can think; not over the heads of common people, in a region of his own where no one can tell whether he is right or wrong, but in the sphere in which common people think and with the power of making plain what perplexes them. He shows there is no sense in the unexplainable name Political Economy, which if it means anything, it is that the State should direct industry, which nobody in England ever proposed or desire that it should. Then Economists proceed by the deductive method, that

* Sir Rowland Hill was the third of five brothers, of whom Matthew Davenport Hill, the late Recordor of Birmingham, was the eldest. Mr. M. D Hill was born in Birmingham, Sir Rowland in Kidderminster. A remark in the first volume erroneously implied that Miss Octavia Hill was related to the families above mentioned. The name of Hill has become associated with the public service but not necessarily implying relationship.

is, they assume some principle of desire in all men, and infer from what that principle implies, what men should do to obtain their object. For instance, Mr. James Mill takes the principle that all men desire Power; his son, John Stuart Mill, assumes that all men desire Wealth mainly or solely. They, and Economists generally, from Adam Smith downwards, define political economy as the science of wealth. This, Mr. Syme says, is treating mankind as monomaniacs of avarice, and he maintains that society would be equally impossible if men were scientifically misers or philanthropists. Wealth is no more a universal and sole motive, than power, or honour, or health, or fame. Mr. Syme argues that there might as well be a science of each of these subjects as of wealth. Plainly, industry being wider than all, and being pursued from a thousand motives besides that of gain; an Industrial Science is a far more appropriate, a more needed and more instructive term. Mr. Syme, though a journalist, with whom writing in haste generally leads to inaccurracy of expression, is neither redundant nor careless but singularly brief and precise in expression.

A work of great value, entitled a "History of English Guilds," was written by Toulmin Smith, of Birmingham, and published subsequently by his daughter Lucy, who had assisted him in the great labour of compiling it. The information is such as could only be collected by one who had his sympathy and industry, and his immense capacity of research and peculiar knowledge where to look in the historic wilderness of early organized industry. As respects the delineation of industrial life, or utility of conception, no work has appeared which a co-operator seeking guidance from the wisdom of past times, could more profitably peruse. Mr. Smith says, the "English Guild was an institution of local self-help which, before Poor Laws were invented, took the place, in old times, of the modern friendly or benefit society; but with a higher aim, or while it joined all classes together in a care for the needy

and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of Religion, Justice, and Morality."

In 1852 appeared the "Journal of Association" in London. It was conducted by several promoters of Working Men's Associations. It advertised the tracts of the Christian Socialists and the Central Co-operative Agency. It was a somewhat grave periodical. "Parson Lot" contributed some poetry to it, and its selections were good. The conductors had the advantage of knowing poetry when they saw it, (which was a new and welcome feature in this species of literature,) and some of them could write it, which was better.

The "Christian Socialist," like other publications devoted to questions of progress, very soon appeared in two forms. The first volume was a tolerable large quarto, the second was a modest octavo. The work was altogether discontinued at the second volume. Its social creed was very clear. Its watchwords were association and exchange instead of competition and profits. Its doctrine as to Christianity was not quite so definible. It maintained that socialism without Christianity is as lifeless as the feathers without the bird, however skilfully the stuffer may dress them up into an artificial semblance of life. Christianity may be true and sacred in the eyes of a co-operator, but he cannot well connect the special doctrines of Christianity with those of co-operation. When Mr. Pitman associated anti-vaccination with co-operation, the incongruity was apparent to most persons. If an attempt was made to inculcate atheistic co-operation few would approve the connection of an industrial scheme with that irrelevant form of opinion. Christian Socialism is an irrelevance of the same kind, though it sins on the popular side.* The Editor of the "Christian Socialist"

* "Christian Socialism" was a name which I never liked, but regarded as a mistake, tending to alienate on the one hand Christians who were not socialists, and on the other socialists who do not like to call themselves Christians. But being myself a Christian as well as a socialist, I had no personal reason for objecting to the name.—E. V. Neale, "Co-operative News."

very fairly pointed out that every socialist system which has abided, has endeavoured to stand, or unconsciously to itself has stood, upon those moral grounds of righteousness, self-sacrifice, and mutual affection called common brotherhood, which Christianity vindicates to itself as an everlasting heritage. But these four qualities of righteousness in the sense of right doing, self-sacrifice, mutual affection, and common brotherhood, are equally the attributes of the moral conscience among all men, and were the sources of co-operative inspiration. Special doctrines alone are the "heritage of Christianity" proper. Mr. Ruskin has summed up the characteristics of the Christian socialist school in a remarkable passage. "I loved," he says, "Mr. Maurice, learned much from him, worked under his guidance and authority. . . . But I only think of him as the centre of a group of students whom his amiable sentimentalism at once exalted and stimulated, while it relieved them of any painful necessities of exact scholarship in divinity. . . . Consolatory equivocations of his kind have no enduring place in literature. . . . He was a tender-hearted Christian gentleman, who successfully, for a time, promoted the charities of his faith and parried its discussion."*

It is right, however, to say that the spirit shown by Mr. Maurice's disciples was free alike from condescension or assumption. They were not dogmatic; they asserted but did not insist on other persons adopting their views. You felt that it would be a pleasure to them if you could think as they did; but they made it no offence to you if you did not, but treated with cordial equality every one in whom they recognized the endeavour to do that which was right according to the light he had. Mr. Thomas Hughes in his "Memoirs of a Brother" gives the authentic history of the origin of this party, in passages of robust disarming candour which is the charm of Mr. Hughes's writing.

* John Ruskin "Fors Clavigera" Lett. 22.

Though the terms "Christian Socialist" * caused co-operation to be regarded in Parliament for a time as a "Sentimental" question, yet it must be owned that it greatly improved the general reputation of social ideas, and helped to divest them of the "wickedness" at first associated with them. Since that day social science † has been accepted as a substitute for socialism, and now there is a disposition to try sociology, which sounds innocent and learned In party warfare some good words like some good persons get banished and pass as it were a generation in exile. Then there arise persons who knowing nothing or caring nothing for the old hateful controversial connotations of the word are struck by its simple fitness, and recall it. Schemes like words and persons undergo a similar fate. The Labour Exchange is an instance of this.

In due course there appeared tracts on "Christian Socialism." The first was a dialogue between "A Person of Respectability," and "Nobody the writer." "Nobody," however, conducts his argument quite as vigorously as though he was somebody. He maintains that any one who recognizes the principles of co-operation, as stronger and truer than that of competition, is rightly called a 'socialist," and admitted that the followers of Owen, Fourier, Louis Blanc and others, came under this definition.

* The term "Christian Socialism" first appeared as the title of a letter in the "New Moral World" of November 7th, 1840, signed Jos. Squiers, who dated from Thomas Street Infant School, Coventry, October 26th, 1840. But there were several societies of "Christian Co-operators" about 1830.

† Mr. William Ellis having been mentioned in the "Times" as the founder of Social Science, he explained (1873) that "Fifty years ago it was my good fortune to be introduced to Mr. James Mill, and through him to his son, John Stuart Mill, to both of whom I am indebted for more than I can find words to express. They set me thinking for myself. One result of my studies and reflections has been the deep conviction that the elementary truths of Social Science—founded long before I was born—ought to be taught in all our schools; and for more than 25 years I have employed the greater part of the time which I could spare from business to promote such teaching, both as a teacher and a writer of little books intended chiefly for children and their teachers."

Mr. E. V. Neale wrote the first "Hand Book for Co-operators," which he gave me, free of conditions, to publish at the Fleet Street House for their use. His works and papers have been very numerous on co-operative subjects. As the general secretary of the Central Board his legal knowledge has been of great value to the body. Indeed, the co-operators of twenty years ago always spoke of him with regard and pride as "their lawyer." Mr. Neale promoted industrial association with munificent trustfulness, and is remarkable among his eminent colleagues for his perception of co-operative principle and the fertility of the applications he has devised.

A paper by J. M. Ludlow, on "Trade Societies and Co-operative Production," was read in 1867 at the Industrial Partnership's Conference in Manchester. Another publication by Mr. Ludlow in 1870, was upon "Co-operative Banking," described as "written at the request of Mr. Abram Greenwood," and read by Mr. W. Nuttall at the Co-operative Conference, held at Bury in that year. Mr. Ludlow, like Mr. Neale and Mr. Hughes, has written much on special co-operative questions, upon which, without legal knowledge, no one could write usefully. It was a great gratification to the Societies, Co-operative and Friendly, when Mr. Ludlow succeeded to Mr. Tidd Pratt as Registrar. Mr. Tidd Pratt is held in honourable remembrance for his patience and solicitude in promoting the soundness of the institutions in his charge, though he had never been personally interested in their welfare like Mr. Ludlow.

Previous to 1850, there appeared a series of "Tracts by Christian Socialists." The most remarkable was the tract by Parson Lot, entitled "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," whose vigorous pen never failed to call attention to any subject which he treated. All these publications sought to compass the same end—the social improvement of society. Their tone was so fair that any person might agree with their object without adopting their personal and peculiar

views indicated upon other subjects. One tract explained the principles of the "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations," the object was defined as that of enabling the associates and their families to receive all the net profits arising from their labour, after they shall have had a just allowance for the work done by them. The only condition required was that the candidate for association must be of good reputation, and a competent workman. It was prescribed that none of the associations connected with the general union shall ever be made the instruments or agents of political agitation.* The associates in their individual capacity were left at liberty to act in this matter as they pleased. A curious rule was to this effect—"The work shall not be disturbed by speculative discussion;" yet one of the tracts was a "Dialogue between A. & B.," two clergymen, "on the Doctrine of Circumstances as it Affects Priests and People," a subject which had often been discussed by the followers of Mr. Owen, not much to their social advantage. The subject included the greatest speculative question which had agitated the secularist portion of the working class for twenty years. It is a great merit to be noticed that the co-operators had the rare capacity of being teachable; next to possessing knowledge, is the faculty of appreciating sound direction when you get it. Without this, the progress which has been made had not been possible. In the earlier days of the movement there were scholars in it who lent many graces to its defence—but assiduity and completeness of service have been greater in later years among its educated "promoters."

The "Christian Socialists" were an entirely new force of opinion on the side of co-operation. On the part of the earlier co-operators there was the genuine sentiment of morality, else they had never maintained the struggle they did against adverse fortune and unfriendly opinion. De-

* This was prescribed in terror of the Chartist and other Franchise agitations, in which all workmen, good for anything at that time, took creditable interest.

feated, they lost not hope; treated as wild, they never abandoned their purpose, nor conceived permanent dislike of those from whose scorn they suffered. When loss and ruin came, when their hard earned savings were gone, and they had, in old age, to begin again to save what they could, they abated not their trust that equity in industry would answer some day; and none repined at what they had attempted at so much sacrifice. While these pages were being written, grey-headed, feeble men came to the writer saying their loss had been a bad business; but it brought no regret, and their last days were gladdened that they had helped against hope. There was a noble sense of rightness in all this. These men were mostly bad members of churches, as far as formal and accepted believing went, but they were good members of humanity and truth according to their light. During the earlier period men and women—for women as well as men gave their all to the cause—when the day of life was past, and the decline came without means of comfort; and the sun of their days had gone down, and penury was left with the darkness; they yet were cheered by the light of conscience and duty. Such devotion commands generous regard, and a sort of glory seems to linger over the places where their otherwise undistinguished graves are to be found.

Not less honour and regard are due to those gentlemen, who owning the Christian faith, and having the advantage of higher culture than befel the majority of their humble predecessors, yet actuated by a generous and catholic morality, did not hesitate to risk the unpopularity of sympathy with the rightful aims of those whom they succeeded, and made sacrifices sometimes greater in a pecuniary sense, and always with as noble a motive, in order that social equity might prevail in common life, and commerce be redeemed from fraud and the poor from precariousness. With wider knowledge—with exacter aim—with the command of accurate statement which culture alone can give—they with a disinterested sedulous-

ness, with a patience which never wearied, with a personal and laborious attentiveness—incredible save to those who saw it daily—advanced step by step the great movement to stages of legality and security, to order and progress, which seems a miracle to all who know not to whom it has mainly been owing. And among these—though he came later into the field—Mr. Walter Morrison is to be numbered, as not less distinguished for tireless and costly services.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LATER LITERATURE AND LEADERS.

When Cain was driven from Jehovah's land
He wandered eastward, seeking some far strand,
Ruled by kind gods who asked no offering,
Save pure field fruits, or aromatic things
To feed the subtler sense of frames divine,
That lived on fragrance for their food and wine;
Wild, joyous gods, who winked at faults and folly,
And could be pitiful and melancholy.
He never had a doubt that such gods were,
He looked within, and saw them mirrored there.
MORRIS'S "Earthly Paradise."

SOME of these pleasant gods must have remained about until later co-operative days. Anyhow, our story now carries us among persons who needed them. The later literature of this movement has, it is true, been comparatively free from the sentimental outbursts of the pioneer times. Very seldom now does a co-operative orator break out with Gray's bard—

Visions of glory! spare my aching sight.

They do. The modern speaker does not see visions of this sort anywhere about. When co-operative poets fifty years ago used to sing—

Illustrious band of sacred PIONEERS,
That strive to weed th' entangling growth of years,
And open up to wandering man the road
That blind with error he has never trod.
Ply well your task; nor think the victory won
Till through the gloomy shades the radiant SUN
Of KNOWLEDGE darts his night-dispelling beams.

We let that sun alone now. We think of a certain society with its 18,000 members which has not opened a news room yet. But the sun does at times get behind clouds, and if the haze be of ignorance it is pretty dense. We meet with fewer instances of permanently eccentric agitators in this period than in the preceding one. Now and then one appears who digresses into oddity. After long intervals of coherency he will act as though Nature had left a little snuff in his brains, which sets his ideas sneezing unawares, and he mistakes the convulsion for vigour of thought: but as a rule enthusiasm is more equable as society has become more tolerant.

Any party of social improvement concerned with the advancement of new opinion necessarily includes men of a turn for individuality of mind. Its recruits must come from this class. All others stand aloof, or wait to see what success the men of enterprise achieve. The men of action in any movement are an incongruous collection; and a single wild writer or speaker will cause an entire movement to be distrusted. When the small party becomes conspicuous by energy, the thousand telescopes of the nation are pointed at it, and the smallest feature is discerned, and enlarged. It cannot retaliate. It has no means, and is unable to command equal attention to the errors of its adversaries. If it points its solitary telescope at them, nobody condescends to look through it. Every party has sins and errors enough of its own to answer for; but a new movement has them all to answer for, as it is the nursing-mother of individuality and freedom of action. Co-operation has not been worse off than other causes, but more has been made of the eccentricities of its uncontrollable adherents, being more easily noticeable in smaller than in larger parties. What a wonderful orator was the late Lord Mayo when it fell to him to state the views of the Government! It was my lot to listen to him. To have nothing to say, and to take three hours and three quarters

in saying it, was a feat of oratory Demosthenes could never equal. To speak as though you were every minute going to stop, and yet never give over, was a miracle of elocution. Members listened till they lost the power of hearing. They went to dine; when they came back Mayo was still speaking. They went to the theatre; when they returned he was still at it. Some went to Brighton to dinner, and when they came back Mayo had not given over. Lord Mayo lives in men's memories as a marvel. At that time members of Parliament awoke in their sleep, thinking that Mayo was still speaking. Everybody liked the Irish Secretary personally, but nobody expected to be called upon to like him so long at one time. When he went out as Viceroy to India, every one knew there would be no more mutineers, for if his lordship made a speech to them they would disband long before it was half over. Had co-operators had an orator of this stamp the public would never have heard the end of it.

It is difficult to separate, in some cases, the literature from the leader. Both services are entirely blended in some persons. The last of the world makers who followed in the footsteps of Robert Owen was one Robert Pemberton. He announced his scheme as that of the "Happy Colony," and he fixed upon New Zealand as the place where it was to be founded. The New World, as he conceived it, was to be circular. More mechanical and horticultural than any other projector, he avoided altogether paralello-grammatic devices. He declared his system was deduced from the discovery of the true attributes of the human mind. He had the merit of being solicitous both about education and the arts, and spent much money in publishing books which were never read, and in devising diagrams which were never examined.

Some time ago, I had the pleasure to receive from the son of Dr. King, of Brighton, a volume of "Thoughts and Suggestions on the Teachings of Christ," which I believe

is quite unknown among co-operators. A copy ought to be in their libraries, first, as a mark of respect to the old propagandist, next, because of its intrinsic interest. It is written with more vigour and vivacity of thought than was shown in the "Co-operator," which he edited and which first made him known beyond the South Coast. He was a physician of Brighton, and for sixty years he was an active propagandist of co-operative principle. Lady Byron left him in her will a sum of money "hoping," as she said, "that it might be in part dedicated to the promulgation of those ideas which had given her so much pleasure and consolation." It was in accordance with her wish that he was at the time of his death engaged in preparing some of his papers for publication. The volume of which I speak contains a selection from his writings published at his express request, in the hope that it might afford to others the same pleasure his conversation and writings had done to Lady Byron.

In 1875, Pierre Henri Baume, of whose eccentricity the reader has seen an account in the previous volume, died at Douglas, Isle of Man. He was born at Marseilles in 1797, and at an early age was sent to a military college at Naples, where he became private secretary to King Ferdinand. About the year 1825 he came to London. After being a preacher of Optimism, he became manager of a theatrical company, and subsequently by privation and calculation he amassed a considerable fortune, and bought land at Colney Hatch, together with a small estate in Buckinghamshire. After living about a quarter of a century in London he went to Manchester, and engaged in a movement to establish "publichouses without drink." He also instituted Sunday afternoon lectures to working men, which were carried on with varying success for several years. In 1857, he settled in the Isle of Man, and purchased an estate there. At Douglas he fitted up an odd kind of residence, the entrance to which he made almost inaccessible, and admission to which could only be obtained by those whom

he had initiated into a peculiar knock. In this little den he lived like a hermit, sleeping in a hammock slung from the roof, for the room was so crowded with dusty books that there was no space left for a bedstead or even for a table on which to take his food. He resided in this place for several years, but his decease occurred at a tradesman's house in Duke Street, Douglas. In 1870, proceedings were taken by him to evict a number of squatters who had located themselves on his Colney Hatch property, which became known as "The Frenchman's Farm," as his former place at Pentonville was called the "Frenchman's Island." In 1832, M. Baume took out letters of naturalization. He left the whole of his real and personal property, valued at £54,000, in trust for perplexing purposes in the Isle of Man.

Some persons are deemed eccentric because they have some peculiarity, or because they differ from others in some conspicuous way. Whereas, Mr. Baume seemed to have every peculiarity and to differ from everybody in every way. Though born in France, he began his career as secretary to King Ferdinand of Naples, and doubtless one or other of his parents was Neapolitan, for he had all the subtlety of the Italian and more than the suspicion of the Frenchman. Those who had earliest experience of him, regarded him as a Neapolitan spy gone mad of suspicion. He must have been a most dangerous man if employed in that capacity. He would be always reporting plots, for he believed in them. He spent a part of his time in correspondence. His furtive mode was to send letters written on a half-sheet of paper ready directed to himself and folded, to be returned to him. His part of the writing would abound in small capitals and underscored words, every sentence being written in the most careful manner in thick black characters as legible as print. Each paragraph would be numbered and consist of questions concerning somebody of a most circumstantial and often most compromising character. A broad margin was left by the side of his

writing for the information he desired, so that he might have his question and the reply returnable to him in the form of complete evidence. The only protection of those who wrote to him was to return the paper unsigned and have the answers filled in by another hand, and the replies composed on the plan often adopted by certain ministers in Parliament, who, with great parade of candour, circumstance and emphasis, answer the questioner without telling him anything. The Baume correspondence with publicists of every class carefully filed by him, must by the time of his death be sufficient to fill several houses. And if he has bequeathed it with his other property to the Isle of Man, a curious posterity will find wonderful entertainment some day. His favourite mode of living in London was to lodge in a coffee-house, to which he would bring in a cart the peculiar bed-room conveniences, necessary for himself and the boy whom he reared, the articles being in a state of exposure which excited the merriment of the whole neighbourhood. His mysterious ways as a lodger, and his frantic mode of running in and out of the house in all manner of disguises soon alarmed the family, and his excited conduct in the coffee-room soon frightened away the customers. He would often try to get rooms in the private house of a socialist lecturer, and his ingenuity was such that it was very difficult to prevent him; and if he once got in, it was far more difficult to get him out. His practice was to display a bundle of halves of bank-notes, or bonds, making a show of wealth which tempted people of narrow means to put up with his ways in the expectation he might be useful to them, of which there was not the slightest chance. His bank-notes were always in halves and useless if lost—he was very circumspect in these matters. He was, after his kind, the greatest philanthropic impostor abroad, not in a conscious way, so much as in consequence of his manner of mind. Like many other benefactors he wanted the credit of giving without ceasing to hold. He had an honest craze for social and educational projects, and during his long

life he was allured by them only. He had a suspicion which never left him, that everybody was conspiring against him and wanted to get possession of his money or some advantage over him. And he had as constant a conviction, very honourable of its kind, that it was a man's duty to resist injustice and knavery, and he would really make great sacrifices to defeat it. His misfortune was that he never distinguished between knaves and honest men, but suspected them all alike. The only persons he seemed to regard without distrust were those who never asked his co-operation in any work of theirs. Those who were so artless as to think he might do something useful, and began to give attention to his schemes, he put to more trouble and expense than all his money was worth; and ended by laying down such impossible conditions of action, that they ultimately turned away in weariness and contempt. There could not have been a greater calamity to any struggling movement than that Mr. Baume should take an interest in it. A man of irregular ability, considerable knowledge, great courage and audacity, an eloquent speaker, a voice of contagious force, an impassioned manner, handsome as he was and opulent as he always gave himself out to be, he easily obtained ascendency in working class meetings. His boldness, his fire, his fertility of purposes, naturally influenced those who knew nothing, and had nothing of their own but expectations. His abstemiousness of habit, which not only never diverged into indulgence—it seemed never to digress into sufficiency—lent an air of sincerity to his professions. He lived as though his object was to show upon how little a man could subsist, and in this way he maintained a vigorous activity until his 78th year.

In popular assemblies, where the right of the platform was given to all who entered, he could neither be repressed, nor suppressed, until the leaders made a stand against him and put him down. When he once got influence in a society, he seemed never to require sleep or rest. He was

there the earliest and the latest, and at all intermediate times. As ready with his pen as his tongue, he painted innumerable placards, abounding in astonishing statements which struck the public in Manchester like a loose mill band, making them smart with rage and derision. He stuck his placards on doors and windows, and made the society he infested the ridicule and terror of the district. Mr. Owen very reasonably taught that the sympathies of ordinary people were too confined, and ought to be extended to their neighbours. Mr. Baume brought sharp ridicule upon the wise sentiment, by proposing that the mothers should suckle their children through an aperture in a metal plate, through which the mother was to place the nipple of her breast, the child was to suckle on the other side, thus concealing the child and parent from each other, lest filial and maternal ties should frustrate the universal sympathies which were to be cultivated. The misfortune to the mother was, that as she could never see the tender face of her offspring, she could not be sure whether the right baby came to the aperture. But this detail did not trouble the mechanical philanthropist. A man so disastrously mad, should have been shipped back to King Ferdinand, of Naples, without delay. It is wonderful that any wise and merciful scheme of improvement of social life ever gets public acceptance, seeing how many doors a popular cause leaves open for wild partizans to enter and ruin it.

Yet Baume's courage and sublety could not fail to make him useful. Julian Hibbert, mentioned before, was rich, scholarly, and retiring. Between him and Baume, both being men of fortune, there existed the friendship of equals. Holding proscribed opinions, the fearless companionship of Baume was interesting to Hibbert, Hibbert subsequently meeting his death through the public indignity put upon him by Mr. Commissioner Phillips, then an Irish barrister at the criminal bar. Mr. Hibbert refused to take an oath at the Guildhall, Mr. Hibbert being an atheist. At his

death, he requested his friend Baume to take care that his skull was preserved for phrenological purposes. Phrenology was then a discovery of great interest, and Hibbert, having respect for the teaching of Spurzheim, wished to add to his illustrations, at a time when a popular dread of dissection put impediment in the way of physiological and mental science. Hibbert's family being wealthy, and not sharing his intrepidity and love of new thought, determined to avoid this, and had the body removed at night, to an undertaker's in Holborn. By what subtlety of watchfulness and disguises by day and by night, Baume fulfilled his friend's injunction, were never known. But his head found its way to the Museum of Mr. Devonshire Saull. When the hearse arrived at night to convey Hibbert's remains away, the undertaker on the box discovered a mute on the hearse more than he had provided. His long cloak and hat band resembled the others, and it was only by getting sight of the glittering eye of the additional attendant, that he became aware of a supernumerary being with him. It is said he drove with alarm, imagining some supernatural being had entered his employ. When the burial party assembled in church, and the family mourners stood round the bier by torch light—for his burial took place in the night—they were astounded to see Mr. Baume uncover his head, witnessing the last rites over the remains of his valued friend. It was remembering this, when Robert Owen was buried at Newtown, that made Mr. Rigby take precautions* in putting furze-bushes in the grave, to prevent access to the coffin, and remaining by it until I went to relieve him at midnight, lest in some mysterious way Mr. Baume should appear in that lonely churchyard impelled by some fanaticism for science, where he had no known authority to interfere. I shared none of Mr. Rigby's alarm, but I took his place as watch to satisfy his apprehension.

* Related p. 371, Vol. i.

Only two or three years before Baume's death, deeds were drawn up by which his property was to pass into the hands of the Manchester Co-operators. Mr. W. Nuttall mainly negotiated the matter. Complicated arrangements proposed by Baume, were of the old pretentious and impossible kind. The deeds were never completed, and as everybody expected when death obliged him to relinquish his hold of his property, it would fall into the hands of people, alien to his sympathies and his projects, rather than to that party whose objects he had cherished in his mind for fifty years, who had borne with him, who alone cared for him, despite his eccentricities, and who would have preserved his memory with some honour and distinction, by carrying out, in his name, the sensible part of his ideas. A book might be written on the Idiots of Progress.

One who attended to everything in his time, namely, James Silk Buckingham, certainly deserves mention as being the author of a large volume, in which he proposed and described a Model Town Association. Mr. Buckingham was some time member for Sheffield, but before that he had travelled everywhere, and had written in favour of more schemes of improvement than any other man save Mr. Bridges Adams. Long before he closed his fertile career he was known to have written eighty volumes. Though devoid of originality, he had an amazing faculty for understanding every scheme of improvement made known, and had the art of presenting it in the most unobjectionable, agreeable, and—uninteresting way. Everybody approved of what he said, but never took further notice of it. He travelled through the most unwholesome climes, and preserved his health by inflexible temperance. He performed a prodigious amount of work without any apparent fatigue. He had a commanding presence, a pleasing voice, and a limitless fluency of speech. He had the sagacity to foresee the coming improvements of civilization, and advocated them before the public saw their significance. Upon most subjects he gathered together all

the authorities who had consciously or unconsciously favoured the project he discussed, and many historians might look into his forgotten books for information that might be long sought in vain elsewhere. He greatly improved his readers and his hearers in his time, but the silk in his name was in his nature, and in his manners; and the gratitude of the public has slidden over his memory by reason of the smoothness of his influence. A useful catalogue might be made of the number of projects which he advocated and which were realised during his life and since, for which he was ridiculed for proposing. His "Model Town" was entered by eight avenues, to which he gave the names of the avenues of Unity, of Concord, of Fortitude, Charity, Peace, Hope, Justice and Faith. It was this mixture of spiritual fancy with practical ideas that led the public to distrust him—not being sufficiently interested in his project to look at them discerningly.

Most men who were attracted by Mr. Owen, were men who had done something, or were capable of doing something. One of them was William Farquhar. The best steel engraving of Mr. Owen—the one in which he appeared most like a gentleman and philosopher—was executed at the cost of Mr. Farquhar, the tribute of his regard. He claimed to be the real inventor of the Universal Under Water Propeller, subsequently patented by Lieutenant Carpenter, R.N. The circumstantial account he published of his invention, the spot at the London Docks where it first occurred to him, and his exhibition of it by desire of Admiral Sir Arthur Farquhar, were proofs of the paternity of the idea. Lieutenant Carpenter was in the room, who had a model of a Gun Brig with him, which the Admiral declared to be fruitless. The Lieutenant was disheartened and took his model to a side table, William Farquhar followed him in sympathy, and pointed out exactly what was wanted. He said the idea never occurred to him, and shortly after patented it in very nearly the same words

William Farquhar had described his plan of an under water propeller. It was a curious instance of the generous incaution of an inventor.

In 1847, Mr. T. W. Thornton, a young English gentleman who lived upon a small fortune in Paris, published in French, a life of Robert Owen, with an exposition of his social principles, which Mr. Thornton well understood. It was his custom to translate some of the most striking social papers on social subjects, which appeared in the French press, or publications in journals in England, reaching those of the working class interested in such subjects. Original papers of his own, marked by much accurate thought, appeared in the early volumes of the "Reasoner." He had given promise of a career of much usefulness, when he perished by cholera in Paris in 1849.

There has been Dr. Henry Travis, heretofore named, one of those remarkable figures who sometimes appear on the boundary of a new movement, gliding silently about, bearing the burden of a secret not vouchsafed to him, nor confided to him, but possessed by him—that secret is what Mr. Owen meant by his system. Mr. Owen did not understand himself, that is quite clear to Dr. Travis' mind, who has published elaborate volumes to prove it. He also demonstrates, in his way, that no one else ever understood the founder's idea. Dr. Travis avers that Mr. Owen used to say that he was not understood by any of his disciples or opponents. If that were so, how came Dr. Travis to understand him? He has told us* that the daughter of a baronet, who paid great attention to Mr. Owen's conversation, came to the conclusion that Mr. Owen could not explain himself. By what process, then, are we to understand that Dr. Travis understands him? By what transformation of genius has the disciple become master? The doctor tells us Mr. Owen's "teaching" has been

* "Co-operative News," October 16th, 1875.

so "defective" as to "produce the failure of all who have endeavoured to understand him." If everybody has failed, Dr. Travis must have failed, unless he is that singular and extremely isolated person, separate and outside everybody! What Mr. Owen really said was, "I do not know if I have made one disciple who fully comprehends the import of the change which I so much desire to impress on the minds, and for the practice of all.*" Dr. Travis quotes this passage, without seeing its "import" himself. It does not mean that Mr. Owen's disciples did not understand the principle of his system, but that they did not "fully understand its import" in practice as conceived by himself, who had thought about it the longest, and thought about it the most. The principles of Mr. Owen were few and simple. They were that material circumstances were indefinitely influential on human character, and that every man being what he has mainly been made to be, by the circumstances which preceded his birth and which have operated upon him since, the most available means for his improvement are to put him as far as can be done, under better circumstances if he appears to need them; and if we cannot make him what we wish, we should rather compassionate than hate him, on account of the natural disadvantage under which he labours.

These principles Mr. Owen did explain very well. These principles his disciples very well understood. These principles society has very widely perceived to be true, and has accepted to a degree which has exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine of his adherents. But this is a very different thing to perceiving, as the master perceived, all the applications of them, and all the changes that might be made in society to realize their "full" import. Great discoverers in science commonly foresee greater changes that may result from the adoption of the new thing they have introduced, than any of their contempo-

* "Millennium Gazette," October, 1856.

raries, though thousands of observers perfectly understand the thing itself. The law of gravitation, the circulation of the blood, the invention of travelling by steam, are all familiar instances. Common people at once understood the nature of these new additions to human knowledge and power, and it will be erroneous to say that the originators of these forces of intelligence were not understood by their followers, because these originators saw with a keener glance, and throughout a wider range, the infinite capacity of their discoveries. It is creditable to Dr. Travis, that he should succeed in improving the master's statement of his principle, or, extending his discoveries. But it is an error of grace or gratitude to disparage the teacher, or make him appear ridiculous, by representing him as incapable of educating a single disciple to understand him. As next to Charles Bray, Dr. Travis is the most important living writer who expounds Mr. Owen's views upon the authority of long personal intimacy with him, it is relevant to estimate here, the points of disparagement which he has raised in his works. In the Pioneer period of co-operation, Dr. Travis was an active and much regarded officer of that adventurous movement. But during a long period of years, which elapsed during its slow revival, he was seldom seen, and rarely heard. We regarded him as an enthusiast without enthusiasm. Among those who rekindled the fire upon the old altar, he was no longer prominent. He was not discernible amongst those who fanned the spark which was not quite extinguished. His voice was not heard in cheering the thin curls of ascending smoke, which surely indicated the coming flame. But when the pile is increased, and the fire is conspicuous in the world, and thousands of devotees stand around, the doctor reappears as the lost High Priest proclaiming himself without misgiving as the master of the master. It is impossible for one who has oft vindicated Mr. Owen to pass by these pretensions without notice.

Mr. Max Kyllman, a young German merchant who resided in Manchester, rendered generous assistance to the co-operative, as he did to other movements. Like many other German gentlemen, he had a passion for promoting public improvement beyond that which Englishmen ordinarily display. Germans seem to regard the promotion of liberal principles as well understood self-defence.

Colonel Henry Clinton, of Royston, Herts, published several very interesting pamphlets upon the scientific and social arrangements of households, to which he gave the genial name of "Associated Homes." The devisor differed from Mr. Owen and most others who have proposed social schemes, in maintaining the separate family system. Since this author first wrote, several schemes of the same kind have been devised, less comprehensive in spirit and detail than his. Col. Clinton has a reasonable respect for all the human race except the Americans, who defeated his grandfather, General Lord Clinton. But Col. Clinton's amusing disapproval of the Americans does not prevent him giving generous aid to many social and literary projects by which they may benefit.

Prof. V. A. Huber, of Wernigerode, died July 19, 1869. He was regarded as the father of Co-operation in Germany, and no man was considered to have done so much as he, to circulate a knowledge of English co-operative effort in that country. In his own land he is said to have stood aloof from all parties. This has been a peculiarity of other eminent co-operators. A man must be intolerably wise who perceives that all his countrymen are in the wrong on everything, or intolerably dainty if there is no movement immaculate enough for him to touch or help on the way to usefulness. English co-operation must have been very good or very fortunate to have interested him.

Mr. William Lovett died in London in 1877. He was a leading co-operator in the metropolis when that party first arose, and the greatest Radical secretary of the working

class. Mr. Lovett observed everything and kept record of everything political. He wrote resolutions, petitions, manifestoes, remonstrances, and kept notes of interviews and councils at which eminent politicians of the time took part. He was the first person who drew up and sent to Parliament a petition for opening the British Museum and Art Galleries on Sunday. Its prayer creditable, just, and useful, has not been complied with at the end of fifty years since it was made. No statesman can say that progress proceeds in England in any reckless celerity. Late in life, Mr. Lovett wrote the story of his career since he came, a Cornish youth, to London in 1821. It is the most documentary and interesting narrative of Radical days, written by an actor in them. William Lovett excelled the average of the working class in intelligence, in probity—and suspicion. He was distinguished alike by integrity of principle and mistrust. In politics, he was a Radical irreconcilable. Yet he steadfastly sought to promote political ends by popular intelligence. Excepting in political transactions, he appears to have kept no records, and when he wrote in later life from impressions of earlier years, he was often inaccurate. In his last work he made some statements of Robert Owen's views of marriage in communities—the like of which had never been known to any of his adherents. I reprinted them during Mr. Lovett's life-time, pointing out the manifest contradictions involved in his own narrative, and sent them to him, and also to his nearest friends, requesting his answer concerning them, lest after his death they might acquire importance from the authority of his name. But as he never made any answer it may be presumed that in that particular, his statements were not capable of confirmation. At his burial (which took place in his 78th year), at Highgate, London, in August, 1877, I spoke at his grave on behalf of distant co-operators who held him in regard, testifying that as far back as 1821, when advocates of the people cared, some for political and

some for social advocacy, it was a distinction of Mr. Lovett that he cared for both. He has been mentioned as the keeper of the Greville Street Store, London, in 1828. It was one of the distinctions of Mr. Lovett that it was his hand which first drew the People's Charter, which the pen of Mr. Roebuck revised. Mr. Lovett was imprisoned in Warwick Gaol in 1839. When in prison he wrote the first book on Chartism which associated that movement with the intelligence of the people. I well remember the dreary hopelessness of political advocacy in those days and many years afterwards. At public meetings the same people seemed always to be present, and I knew their faces by heart. It seems wonderful now that the humble arguments they employed should ever have radiated from those meetings into cabinets, and that their claims should have come to be conceded. They looked forward to the glamour of a final conflict, and the splendour of a great concession, when it came to pass that all they claimed was given almost without their being aware of it, and with an air of reproach that they had made so much to do about what everybody was agreed upon. Under the friendship of Mr. W. Ellis, Mr. Lovett had devoted the latter years of his life to promoting secular education among the working class. He gave influence to his principles by his character, independence, intelligence and integrity. He advanced his principles by his life as much as by his labours. It is not, as one had well said,* "by the purity of the sinless alone that progress is advanced. It was not by the monk in his cell, or the saint in his closet, but by the valiant worker in humble sphere and in dangerous days, that the landmarks of liberty were pushed forward."

Robert Dale Owen died in America in 1877. He always retained a liking for the Indiana settlement. He said that he hoped his children would always be connected with it.

*W. R. Greg.

One, a long resident in New Harmony, informs me he once called a meeting there at the beginning of the rebellion of the South to advocate the extension of slavery, at which he denounced Republicans for the inconsistency of their scruples regarding it. Many of his old friends reproached him for having at a public meeting in the county supported the Crittenden compromise, which proposed to carry slavery into all the States. He quelled the storm by exclaiming—"Now I will settle that." I declared I would not support these resolutions unless the word "substantially" was inserted. Mrs. Chappellsmith was present at the meeting, and thought the explanation not at all satisfactory. In Mr. Owen's mind, the introduction of that word, whatever it might mean, appeared to have an exonerating force. Mr. R. D. Owen, like his father, thought the benevolent intention of rulers was better for the people than good conditions of liberty, by which they should be able to secure good for themselves. Mrs. Chappellsmith was formerly the Miss Reynolds, known to the socialists of London in the period between 1835 and 1841 as an eloquent and accomplished lady, who delivered public lectures in favour of their views.

American papers, who best know the facts concerning Robert Dale Owen, explain that for a long period before his death he had suffered from excitement of the brain, ascribed to overwork in his youth. He was a man of singular moral courage, and to the end of his days he maintained the reputation of great candour. As soon as he found he was deceived by Katie King, the Spiritist, he published a card and said so, and warned people not to believe what he had said about that fascinating impostor. A man of less courage would have said nothing, in the hope that the public would the sooner forget it. It is clear now that spiritism did not affect his mind; his mind was affected before he presented gold rings to pretty feminine spirits. Towards the end of his days he fancied himself the Marquis of Breadalbane, and proposed coming over to Scotland to

take possession of his estates. He had a great scheme for recasting the art of war by raising armies of gentlemen only, and proposed himself to go to the East and settle things there on a very superior plan. He believed himself in possession of extraordinary powers of riding and fighting, and had a number of amusing illusions. But he was not a common madman; he was mad like a philosopher—he had a picturesque insanity. After he had charmed his friends by his odd speculations, he would spend days in analysing them, and wondering how they arose in his mind. He very coolly and skilfully dissected his own crazes. The activity of the brain had become uncontrollable; still his was a very superior kind of aberration. Robert Dale Owen was not a force so much as an ornament; he never fulfilled the promise of his youth in being a leader of men—he was a graceful writer, of lightness and imagination—a species of Washington Irving among publicists.

In 1848-9 the "Spirit of the Age" newspaper was issued, projected by Robert Buchanan, Alexander Campbell, and Lloyd Jones. When they no longer were able to sustain it, "Mr. Edward Search," the trusted legal adviser of Mr. Owen, undertook to continue it, and I became the editor of it. For three months the projectors of the paper were retained upon it from considerations to them. Mr. Search believed that a good literary social newspaper might be established, if conducted with equal fairness towards the middle class and the industrious class, whom it was designed to benefit. Arrangements were made with new writers and there was at last prospect of a real newspaper of general interest. The projectors of the paper, however, desired to see it conducted in their way, and Mr. Lloyd Jones led the hostility to it, and wrote a letter in the last number over which his friends could exercise the right of inserting it. The "Spirit of the Age" had been bought in the hope of rescuing co-operative journalism from its insipidity and

precariousness—then well apparent. As public support was then very limited, there was small prospect of establishing such a newspaper when a hostile one was announced to be immediately started by the first proprietors of the "Spirit of the Age." I therefore saw it was my duty to advise Mr. Search that he would lose all further money he had arranged to devote to the journal he had bought, and that it was better to consider as wholly lost the £600 he had generously spent. And thus I relinquished an appointment which I valued more than any I had ever held. So the "Spirit of the Age" ceased. There has been no journal since, like that which was then organized, and which might have been established, had co-operation been possible then among co-operators. The most eminent representatives of social movements in the chief European nations would have written in its pages. The last number of the "Spirit of the Age" contained the following announcement from the pen of Mr. Search:—

"It is due to our readers to inform them that with this number the 'Spirit of the Age' ceases. He who took to the paper at No. 18, and defrayed the entire of its liabilities, has since sustained it, to see whether an addition of quantity, more care in superintendence, and a well-considered devotion to the interests of those whose views the paper was intended to advance, would obtain for it that support which would give it an independent existence. During three months the experiment has been tried. Three months has been a short period of trial; and, money not being essentially important, the experiment would have been continued longer; but the receipt of Mr. Jones's letter, which will be seen in another part of this paper, has confirmed a fact previously entertained, that unless the 'Spirit of the Age' was continued in precisely the same tone and style under which it had arrived at death's door, it would not be satisfactory to those who had originally issued it. It seemed, therefore, unwise to seek to give currency to views of which his letter shows we were, in

the opinion of those who sought our aid, not satisfactory exponents. To continue this experiment under the same title would, it was evident, subject us to imputations which we would much rather avoid, by sacrificing the money which has been expended. And, on the receipt of Mr. Jones's letter, we found that the propriety of the resolution we had come to was at once established. For the sake of the cause itself, we deeply regret this want of accordancy with the views of management, and of the tone in which it was desired our advocacy should be conducted. Our own views are that just ends should be sought, and ought to be sought by peaceable means. But the difference between us seems to be this, that the parties who launched this paper do not consider that peaceable and gentle-toned language is a necessary condition of the means of progress. All subscribers to the 'Spirit of the Age,' who have paid for their subscriptions in advance, will receive the residue of the subscriptions due to them."

Scotland has had its co-operative papers as well as England. The "Scottish Co-operator," which has been edited by Mr. J. McInnes, is a small neatly printed well-looking periodical, always clearly and sensibly written. Mr. McInnes also edited the Hand Book of Co-operation of the Scottish Wholesale Society, in which the subjects selected were practical, various, and stated with great clearness and relevance.

English Co-operative Stores have at different times issued a small halfpenny or free journal, giving a monthly account of their proceedings, with a view to increase local information concerning them. Mr. Butcher projected one in Banbury. One was issued at Leicester, and others at Derby, Leeds, and Ipswich. There is the "South of England Pioneer" edited by Mr. W. P. Carter, of Worthing. Quite a series have been devised in London for the use of the Metropolitan Society and stores of the South. One of the tracts published in Banbury, contained a dialogue between a stranger and a member of the store, bearing

the pleasant name of John Joyful. Co-operators always turn up cheerful.

In this later period disagreeable writers have been few, and one sample of them will do. Mr. John Hill Burton's book on political and social economy, published by Chambers, though containing on the whole excellent advice to those whom it concerned, is as offensive to co-operators as a book can well be. The impression left on the mind of the reader is that every person, from Plato to Louis Blanc, who thought that society might be improved by mitigating competition, were not merely fools, but fools of so hopeless an order, that reasoning with them was to reduce yourself to their level. For a people so fond of writing and so wonderfully gifted with the desire of expressing their opinions as the Scotch, we have scant contributions to co-operative literature. Were any one asked to name a nation with whose people co-operation would be most congenial and most successful, they would first of all name the Scotch. They are clannish, prudent, sagacious, calculating and persevering. Of the daring which comes from duty and is inspired by duty they have much—but the daring of self-regardless impulse they have less than the English or Irish. Their prudence is of the nature of timidity, and many wait to see whether a thing succeeds before they join it; and as success in co-operation depends upon the concurrent action of numbers, great Scotch success has not occurred. Yet in unexpected qualities the Scotch excel. They are masters in hospitality. An Englishman is pretty generous on impulse, and on the whole more spontaneous; but he is liable to look back on what he does, and be of opinion that he has gone too far. A Scot is not so impulsive; but when he gives, it is with his understanding and his heart, and he never looks back.

Co-operation has found its way to the Antipodes long ago. Mr. Charles Frederick Nichols, formerly an active member of the social propaganda in London, and since an active writer in Australia, has published several small

works, in favour of co-operative industry. "The Rise and Progress of Quartz Mining in Clunes," is one of his publications, in which, as elsewhere, he has advocated the introduction of the co-operative principle in the gold fields of Australia. There was considerable prejudice to overcome in Melbourne (Englishmen when they emigrate carefully carry their prejudices with them) before a co-operative store was opened. But in 1872 one was commenced which had 200 members; and a Conference was contemplated of all those in the colony favourable to social concert among the people. References to the subject in the press show that the question will take root there. The "Outlines of Industrial Science," by David Syme, elsewhere described, is the work of an Australian journalist.

It would occupy too much space to record all the works which have been written since 1844, illustrative of co-operative ideas. Even Edmund About, in France, has written a Handbook of Social Economy, or the Worker's A, B, C. Among many eminent writers in England, Professor F. W. Newman and Professor Thorold Rogers have written upon the question. Professor Hodgson, Professor Fawcett, and Mr Thomas Brassey, M.P., have contributed books, papers and addresses upon it, which we all read. Mr. Brassey has published a work on "Co-operative Production," an indication that co-operative workmen have practical counsellors now, unknown in earlier years. His facts are drawn from sources of authority in England and on the Continent, and interpreted as only one familiar with great commercial undertakings could interpret them.*

Mr. Brassey's father was an eminent friend of co-operation, who promoted it practically by his example in his great business undertakings. He had not only co-operation, but the true co-operative spirit in his mind. Sir Arthur

* Mr. Brassey's volume "Lectures on the Labour Question," contain information and suggestions of great value to students of commercial and productive co-operation.

Helps, in the dedication of his "Life of Thomas Brassey" to the Queen, says: "Your Majesty will find that the late Mr. Brassey was an employer of labour after your Majesty's own heart, always solicitous for the welfare of those who served under him; never keeping aloof from them, but using the powerful position of a master in such a manner as to win their affections and to diminish the distance, which is often far too great, between the employer and the employed." In recounting the facts of his life Sir Arthur says: "Mr. Brassey favoured and furthered the co-operative system; constantly giving a certain share of the profits to his agents, and thus making them partakers in the success or failure of the enterprise."*

Doubtless I have wearied the reader, if any one has arrived this far, by mentioning so many things because they seem relevant to me. But the reader would acquit me did he know what obligation he is under to me for what I have omitted. Now only a few more of the later leaders have to be named.

One of the social advocates, of considerable activity in his day, Mr. Robert Cooper, died a few years ago. He had zeal and oratorical ambition, which was a merit so far as it showed care to render the manner of his lectures acceptable. Though he had incurred no peril he fared better than those who had. Mr. Fletcher, of Kennington, had given me his fortune, at that time £30,000, and for two years left his will in my possession. In those days inflation, coarseness, and fierceness of advocacy, which deterred inquirers from looking at your principles, were regarded as signs of spirit, and Mr. Fletcher, who was of that way of thinking, was told that I did not much encourage books with those characteristics at my publishing house in Fleet Street; he asked for his will, and making a new one gave it to Mr. Cooper in my presence, when we were at tea together one evening at his house. Dying suddenly before I had

* Life of Thomas Brassey, chap. iii., p. 51.

knowledge of what had been said to Mr. Fletcher, or opportunity of explaining to him that now we had won freedom, the success of truth depended henceforth very much upon consideration, temper, and taste in statement. And so I lost the only fortune that ever came near to me, and I should have regretted it had it not occurred in the course of doing what I thought right.

Of the lost Pioneers Mr. Henry Hetherington, whose name was among the projectors of the first London Co-operative Printers' Society of 1821, perished of cholera in 1849. I spoke at his grave in Kensal Green. As many as 2000 persons assembled to mark their regard for "the poor man's guardian" as he was familiarly called. He was the foremost defender of the unstamped press, and his journal, the "Poor Man's Guardian," which gave him his public name, was prosecuted 150 times before the law officers of the Crown discovered it to be a strictly legal publication. The Government were slow in those days in making things out. The next grave I spoke at was that of Mrs. Emma Martin, who incurred more dangers than any other lady who spoke on Social platforms. The address on her burial was reported in the "Leader" newspaper of 1854. It was the first time any metropolitan newspaper had accorded that kind of notice.

Mightier names which have lent friendly influences and advocacy to the cause of industrial improvement, have since gone through the pass of death. In addition to some already mentioned, one remains to be named who will occur to every co-operator—Canon Kingsley. None were more resolute in maintaining his own opinions than he, and none were more considerate in the judgment of opinions opposed to his own. The last time we met, he asked me to come and see him, when in residency at Westminster, and observed, "The world is very different now from what it was when you and I commenced trying to improve it 25 years ago." There was no ground at all for taking me into comparison with himself, but it was done

in that hearty courtesy which attached co-operators to him, even where some of us dissented from views he cherished. We all owe gratitude to his memory for great services, but I recall no circumstance which I could tell in briefer words, which may indicate that generosity of speech which was new to us. In no way could it profit him to befriend us, and therefore his civility was to us as a sign of sincerity.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TEN CONGRESSES.

"We ought to resolve the economical problem, not by means of an antagonism of class against class; not by means of a war of workmen and of resistance, whose only end is a decrease of production and of cheapness of consumption; not by means of displacement of capital which does not increase the amount of social richness; not by the systems practised among foreigners, which violate property, the source of all emulation, liberty, and labour; but by means of creating new sources of capital, of production and consumption, causing them to pass through the hands of the operative's voluntary associations, that the fruits of labour may constitute their property."—GUISEPPE MAZZINI (*Address to the Operatives of Parma*, 1861.)

THIS comprehensive summary of co-operative policy exactly describes the procedure and progress, gradually accomplished in successive degrees, at the ten successive Congresses of which we have now to give a brief account.

The Central Board have published every year, during its existence, closely printed reports of the annual Congress of the societies. Ten small volumes have now been issued. They contain the addresses delivered by the presidents, who have always been men of distinction; the speeches of all the delegates taking part in the debates; speeches delivered in the town at public meetings convened by the Congress; all the papers read before the Congress; foreign correspondence with the leading promoters of co-operation in other countries. These reports exhibit the life of co-operation and its yearly progress in numbers, conception, administration, and application of its principles. Though the Reports are liberally circulated, they are not kept in print, and thus become a species of lost literature of the most instructive kind a stranger can consult. These annual reports, and the annual volumes of the "Co-operative News," ought

to be carefully kept in every library of the stores, and every store ought to have a library to keep them in.

There have been three series of Congresses held in England within the last forty years—a Co-operative series—a Socialist series, and the present series—constructive congresses—commencing 1869. The first was held in London.

The following have been the Presidents of the Congresses and names of the towns in which they were held :—

1869. Thomas Hughes, M.P., London.
1870. Walter Morrison, M.P., Manchester.
1871. Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., Birmingham.
1872. Thomas Hughes, M.P., Bolton.
1873. Joseph Cowen, Jun.,* Newcastle on-Tyne.
1874. Thomas Brassey, M.P., Halifax.
1875. Prof. Thorold Rogers, London.
1876. Prof. Hodgson, LL.D., Glasgow.
1877. Hon. Auberon Herbert, Leicester.
1878. The Marquis of Ripon,† Manchester.

Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., was the president of the first Congress. He was one of the chief guides of the co-operative Israelites through the wilderness of lawlessness into the promised land of legality. From the Mount Pisgah from which he spoke, he surveyed the long-sought kingdom of co-operative production, which we have not yet reached.

Among the visitors to the first Congress of 1869, were the Comte de Paris, Mr. G. Ripley, of the "New York Tribune," the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Mrs. Jacob Bright, Henry Fawcett, M.P.; Thomas Dixon Galpin, T. W. Thornton, Somerset Beaumont, M.P.; F. Crowe (H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Christiania, Norway), Sir Louis Mallet, Sir John Bowring, Col. F.C. Maude, Wm. Shaen, the Earl of Lichfield and others.

Prof. Vigano, of Italy, contributed a paper to this congress; and a co-operative society of 700 members, at Kharkof,

* The present M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne.

† The President on the second day was the Bishop of Manchester, and on the third day Dr. John Watts.

sent M. Nicholas Balline a delegate to it. On the list of names of the Arrangement Committee of the Congress, was that of "Guiseppe Dolfi, a Florentine tradesman, who, more perhaps than any other single person, helped to turn out a sovereign Grand Duke, and remained a baker."* He was a promoter of the People's Bank and the Artizan Fraternity of Florence. There was an Exhibition of co-operative manufactures at this congress which has been repeated at subsequent congresses. As productive co-operation advances, this exhibition is likely to grow, like that of the Royal Agricultural Society, from being an accidental display into a large organized interesting show.

The following list of names of the first Central Board of the Co-operators, which was appointed at the 1869 Congress, includes most of those who have been concerned in promoting the co-operative movement in the Constructive Period. Mr. Pare and Mr. Allan have since died:—

LONDON.

Thomas Hughes, M.P.
Walter Morrison, M.P.
Anthony J. Mundella, M.P.
Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P.
Lloyd Jones.
William Allan, Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers' Society.
Robert Applegarth, Secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners' Society.
Edward Owen Greening, Managing Director of Agricultural and Horticultural Co-operative Association.
James Hole, Secretary of the Association of Chambers of Commerce.
George Jacob Holyoake.
John Malcolm Ludlow.
E. Vansittart Neale.
William Pare, F.S.S.
Hodgson Pratt, Hon. Secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union.
Henry Travis, M.D.
Joseph Woodin.

PROVINCIAL.

Abraham Greenwood, Rochdale.
Samuel Stott, Rochdale.
T. Cheetham, Rochdale.
William Nuttall, Oldham.
Isaiah Lee, Oldham.
James Challinor Fox, Manchester.
David Baxter, Manchester.
Thomas Slater, Bury.
James Crabtree, Heckmondwike.
J. Whittaker, Bacup.
W. Barnett, Macclesfield.
Joseph Kay, Over Darwen.
William Bates, Eccles.
J. T. McInnes, Glasgow, Editor of the "Scottish Co-operator."
James Borrowman, Glasgow.

* Pref. to Cong. Rep. by J. M. Ludlow.

The Congress of 1870 was held in the Memorial Hall, Manchester. The attendance was considered small, but the practical business of co-operation was advanced by it. Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., delivered the opening address, which dealt with the state of co-operation at home and abroad, and occupied little more than half an hour in delivery. Subsequent addresses have exceeded an hour. The example of Mr. Morrison was in the direction of desirable limitation. As a chairman of Congress Mr. Morrison excels in the mastery of questions before it, of keeping them before it, of never relaxing his attention, and never suffering debate to loiter or diverge. Mr. Hibbert, M.P., presided the third day. At this Congress, as at subsequent ones, during Mr. Pare's life, foreign delegates and foreign correspondence were features.

The Birmingham Congress of 1871 met in the committee room of the Town Hall. The Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., was president. He spoke on the fidelity and moral passion which should characterize co-operators. Mr. Morrison, M.P., occupied the chair the third day. Mr. George Dixon, M.P., presided at the public meeting in the Town Hall. The "Daily Post" gave an article on the relation of co-operation to the industries of the town. All the journals of the town gave fuller reports of the proceedings of the Congress than had been previously accorded elsewhere. At this Congress a letter came from Herr Delitzsch; Mr. Wirth wrote from Frankfort; Mr. Axel Krook from Sweden. Dr. Muller, from Norway, reported that co-operative stores are extending to the villages; and that there is a Norwegian Central Board. Prof. Pfeiffer sent an account of military co-operation in Germany—a form of co-operation which is to be hoped will die out. Denmark, Russia, Italy, and other countries were represented by communications.

The Congress of 1872 was held in Bolton. Bolton-le-moors is not an alluring town to go to, if regard be had alone to its rural scenes or sylvan beauty; but, as respects

its inhabitants, its history, its central situation, its growth, its manufacturing and business importance, its capacious co-operative store, and the hospitality of distinguished residents, it is a suitable place to hold a congress in. The town has none of the grim aspect it wore of old, when it was warlike within, and bleak, barren, and disturbed by enemies without. Flemish clothiers sought out the strange place in the 14th century, and possibly it was Flemish genius which gave Arkwright and Crompton to the town. In 1651, one of the Earls of Derby was beheaded there. The latest object of interest in the town is a monument of Crompton, who made the world richer, and died an inventor's death—poor. Bolton, however, did not owe co-operation to Flemish, but to Birmingham inspiration. Forty-two years before, Mr. Pare delivered the first lecture given in Bolton upon Co-operation, in March, 1830. He spoke then in the Sessions Room of that day (which is now an inn) mostly unknown to this generation. I sought in vain for the "Bolton Chronicle" of the year 1830, to copy such notice as appeared of Mr. Pare's meeting. Unluckily, the "Chronicle" office had itself no complete file of its own journal. The public library of the town was not more fortunate. The volumes of the "Chronicle" about the period in question in this library are for 1823, 1825, 1829, and 1835. The 1830 volume was not attainable, so that the seed was not to be traced there which was found upon the waters after so many days.

Many remember it as the Bolton wet Congress. Even Lancashire and Yorkshire delegates were not proof against Bolton rain. The Union Jack persevered in hanging out at the Congress doors, but drooped and draggled mournfully, and presented a limp, desponding appearance. Even the Scotch delegates, who understand a climate where it always rains, except when it snows, came into the hall in Indian file, afraid to walk abreast and confront the morning drizzle, against which no co-operation could prevail. Some unthinking committee actually invited Mr. Disraeli, then

on his visit to Manchester, to attend the conference. Crowds would be sure to surround the splendid Conservative, and it would be sure to rain all the time of his visit—everybody knew that it would in Manchester—and yet the Co-operators invited him and the Countess Beaconsfield to come dripping to Bolton with the 10,000 persons who would have followed. The town would have been impassable. The Co-operative Hall would never have held them all; and there would never have been any business whatever transacted while Mr. Disraeli sat in the Congress. It is not more foolish to invite the dead than to invite eminent living persons, unless it is known that they are able and likely to come, and can be adequately entertained and interested when they do come. Otherwise it is the reverse of complimentary to them to ask them. They send civil letters in reply, because they rightly assume friendly feelings towards them; but to the outside public it is apt to appear like ignorant ostentation. I have known a working man's society, without means to entertain a commercial traveller pleasantly, invite a cluster of the most eminent and most engaged men in the nation, of such opposite opinions that they never meet each other except in Parliament, to attend the opening of a small hall in an obscure town, where the visitors pay nine-pence each for tea, when a great city would deem it an honour if one of them came as its guest.

This Congress held a public meeting in the same hall where Scholefield, the republican, was murdered not long before in the Royalist riots in the town. It was during this congress that Professor Frederick Denison Maurice died. Knowledge of his influential friendliness to co-operation caused every delegate to be sorry for his loss. Few co-operators probably among the working class are able to estimate Mr. Maurice's services to society, or measure that range of learning and thought which has given him a high place among thinkers and scholars. A man can be praised by none but his equals, but the tribute

of regret all who are grateful can give, in the respects in which they can understand their obligations. This co-operators could do, for they were aware he had founded Working Men's Colleges in London to place the highest education within the reach of the humblest children of the humblest working man in the nation.

At this Congress M. Larouche Joubert informed us that the Co-operative Paper Manufactory made £20,000 of profits between June, 1870, and June, 1871—a period so disastrous to France. It used to be the common belief that co-operation would fall to pieces in trying times, but in Lancashire it stood the test of famine and in France it stood the test of war. Equally during the German war the co-operative credit banks were unshaken. Professor Burns, writing from Italy, told us of the interest taken by Baron Poerio in a Co-operative Society of Naples, which actually existed among a generation reared under a government of suspicion. M. Valleroux reported that not a single productive society gave way in Paris neither under the siege nor the commune.

Mr. Villard, the secretary of the Social Science Association of America, supplied a survey of co-operation in America, and papers were expected from M. Elisee and his brother M. Elie Reclus, of France, eminent writers on co-operation. They would have been present had not the suppressors of the commune laid their indiscriminating hands on one of them. Too late M. Elisee Reclus was liberated from Satory, where he was confined by misadventure, on account of alleged complicity with the affairs of the commune, which he opposed and deplored, being himself a friend of pacific, social and industrial reform. He was (and his brother also) a prominent member of a society for promoting peace and arbitration of the national differences which led to war. Elisee Reclus being an eminent man of science, whose works have been translated into English, great interest in his welfare was felt by men of science in this country. M. Elisee's work upon the

"Earth" is held in high repute among geographers. The memorial signed in this country, and presented to M. Thiers on his behalf, bore many eminent signatures, and was happily successful, as M. Reclus's life was in danger from privation and severity of treatment.

The Congress of 1873 was held in the Mechanics' Institution of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. Joseph Cowen, jun., being president. His was the first extemporaneous address delivered to us, and its animation, its freshness of statement and business force made a great impression. It was the speech of one looking at the movement from without, perfectly understanding its drift, and under no illusions either as to its leaders or its capacity as an industrial policy.

At this Congress was recorded the death of Mr. Pare. It was he who first introduced the American term Congress into this country, and applied it to our meetings. For more than 40 years he was the tireless expositor of social principles. He learned early from Robert Owen the golden principle which Leigh Hunt so finely expressed—namely, that "the errors of mankind proceed more from defect of knowledge than from defect of goodness." All the acerbities which ever arise in any of our societies, arise from members who do not know this, or who forget it if they do. Mr. Pare never forgot it. His angerless voice, and his pleasant patience, were an endowment as strong as his generous zeal, which never hasted and never rested, until envious death took him from us.

Newcastle is an old fighting town; there is belligerent blood in the people. If they like a thing, they will put it forward and keep it forward; and if they do not like it, they will put it down with foresight and a strong hand. There is the burr of the forest in their speech, but the meaning in it is as full as a filbert, when you get through the beard and the shell. Several passages in the speeches of the President of the Congress give the reader historic

and other knowledge of a town, distinguished for repelling foes in long-gone warlike times, and for heartiness in welcoming friends in industrial days. The co-operators had the satisfaction of meeting upon the Tyneside, but they saw little of it. With two exceptions, all the delegates who arrived on Good Friday immediately held a Central Board meeting which lasted all day. On other days there were speeches at breakfast, Congress until evening, public meetings at night. When the delegates were handsomely taken down the Tyne in the "Harry Clasper" steam-boat, there was a Central Board meeting going on in the cabin, and a public meeting on the deck. If co-operators held a congress in Paradise they would take no time to look at the fittings, but move somebody into the chair within ten minutes after their arrival. On leaving the "Harry Clasper" a salute of 42 guns was fired in honour of the 42 elected members of the Central Board, a tribute no other body of visitors had received in Newcastle. The delegates were welcomed to the Tyneside—with a greater hospitality even than that of the table—namely, that of the press. The "Newcastle Daily Chronicle" accorded to the congress an unexampled publicity. Double numbers were printed during the sittings; giving full reports of the entire proceedings, the papers read, the debates, and the speeches at every meeting. When the British Association for the advancement of Science, and the kindred society for the Promotion of Social Knowledge, have visited Newcastle-on-Tyne, the "Daily Chronicle" has reported their proceedings in a way never done in any other town of Great Britain or Ireland; and the Co-operative Congress received the same attention. Double numbers were issued each day the congress sat, and on the following Saturday a Supplement of fifty-six columns was given with the "Weekly Chronicle," containing the complete report of all the co-operative deliberations. Thanks were given to Mr. Richard Bagnall Reed, the manager of the "Newcastle Chronicle,"

for that interest and tireless prevision which this extended publication involved. Of the "Chronicle," containing the first day's proceedings of the Congress, 100,000 copies were published, and 90,000 sold by mid-afternoon. The same paper contained a report of a great meeting on the Moor, of political pitmen, which led to the large sale; but the cause of co-operation had the advantage of that immense publicity. The Newcastle Moor of 1,200 acres was occupied on the first day of the congress by a "Demonstration" of nearly 100,000 pitmen, and as many more spectators, on behalf of the equalization of the franchise between town and county. The richly bannered procession marched with the order of an army, and was the most perfect example of working class organization which has been witnessed in England.

Mr. Cowen, the president of the congress, was chairman of this great meeting on the Moor. The Ouseburn Co-operative Engineers carried two flags, which they had asked me to lend them, which had seen stormier service. One was the salt-washed flag of the "Washington," which bore Garibaldi's famous "thousand" to Marsala, and the other a flag of Mazzini's, the founder of Italian Co-operative Associations, which had been borne in conflicts with the enemies of Italian unity. The best proof of the numbers present is a publication made by the North Eastern Railway Company of their receipts, which that week exceeded by £20,224 the returns of the corresponding week for 1872, which represented the third class fares of pitmen, travelling from the collieries of Durham and Northumberland to the Newcastle Moor. The congress also made acquaintance with the oarsmen of the Tyne. A race over four miles of water between Robert Bagnall and John Bright was postponed until the Wednesday, as Mr. Cowen thought it might entertain us to see it, and it was worth seeing, for a pluckier pull never took place on the old Norse war path of the turbulent Tyne.

It was this year that Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., pre-

sented the Congress with eight handsomely mounted minute glasses, which, out of compliment it would appear to the Ouseburn Engineers, were described as Speech Condensing Engines. Four of the glasses run out in five minutes and four in ten minutes. The object of the gift was to promote brevity and pertinence of speech. There has been engraved upon each glass a couplet suggesting to wandering orators to moderate alike their digressions and warmth; to come to the point and keep to the point—having, of course, previously made up their minds what the point is. The couplets are these—

Often have you heard it told,
Speech is silver, silence gold.

Wise men often speech withhold,
Fools repeat the trite and old.

Shallow wits are feebly bold,
Pondered words take deeper hold.

Time is fleeting, time is gold,
When our work is manifold.

If terseness be the soul of wit,
Say your say and be done with it.

Fluent speech, wise men have said,
Oft betrays an empty head.

Conscious strength is calm in speech,
Weaker natures scold and screech.

Patience, temper, hopefulness,
Lead you onward to success.

In Athens, an accused person, when defending himself before the dikastery, was confronted by a klepsydra, or water glass, and the number of amphoræ of water allowed to each speaker depended upon the importance of the case. At Rome, the prosecutor was allowed only two-thirds of the water allowed to the accused. At the Congress, the five minutes glass was generally in use, the ten minutes one when justice to a subject or a speaker required the longer time.

The Congress of 1874 was held in Halifax, when Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., was president, who gave us information as to the conditions of co-operative manufacturing. The authority of his name and his great business experience rendered his address of importance and value to us. The great store at Halifax had come by this time to command great attention, and the co-operative and social

features introduced into the famous manufactories of the Crossleys and the Ackroyds, rendered the meeting in that town interesting. The delegates were entertained with a copious hospitality resembling that of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Professor Thorold Rogers, of Oxford, presided at the London Congress of 1875, who stated to us the relations of political economy to co-operation, sometimes dissenting from the views of its leaders, but always adding to our information. It is the merit of co-operators that they look to their presidents not for coincidence of opinion but for instruction. Not less distinguished as a politician than as a political economist, the presence of Professor Rogers in the chair was a public advantage to the party whom he addressed.

Mr. Wendell Phillips, of America, was invited by the congress to be its guest. The great advocate of the industrial classes, irrespective of their colour, would have received distinguished welcome from co-operators who regard the slaves as their fellow working men, and honour all who endow them with the freedom which renders self-help possible to them. Mr. Phillips was unable to leave America, but a letter was read to the congress from him.

At this Congress in a paper contributed, N. Zurzoff explained the introduction and progress of Schulze-Delitzsch's banking system into Russia. It was met by a very unfavourable feeling on the part of the Government and the people. They did not understand it and did not want it. It took Prince Bassilbehikoff no little trouble to make it intelligible in St. Petersburgh. In 1870 thirteen banks were got into operation; in 1874 more than 200. At the same congress Mr. Walter Morrison read a paper giving an English account of the history, nature, and operation of the Schulze-Delitzsch German Credit Banks, the fullest and most explicit to which the reader can be referred.

A proposal was made at this congress to promote a co-operative trading company between England and the Mississippi Valley, and a deputation the following year went

out to ascertain the feasibility of the project. It has not been prosecuted in the form contemplated. But friendly relations have been established between the better class of Grangers. It is necessary to say better class, because some of them were concerned in obtaining a reduction of the railway tariff for the conveyance of their produce, by means which appeared in England to be of a nature wholly indefensible. With this procedure English co-operators could have no partizanship. But with all those who sought to promote commercial economy by equitable co-operative arrangements, they were anxious to be associated. The plan devised by Mr. Neale, who was the most eminent member of the deputation, would promote both international co-operation and free trade; objects which some of the co-operative societies made large votes of money to assist.

At the Glasgow Congress of 1876, Professor Hodgson, of Edinburgh, was our president. In movements, having industrial and economical sense, Professor Hodgson's name has oft been mentioned as that of a great advocate whose pen and tongue could always be counted upon. The working-class congress at Glasgow had ample proof of this. Political economy has no great reputation for liveliness of doctrine or exposition; but in Professor Hodgson's hands its exposition was full of vivacity, and the illustrations of its principle were made luminous with wit and humour.

At this Congress, Mr. J. W. A. Wright was present as a delegate from the Grangers of America, who had passed resolutions in their own conferences to promote "Co-operation on the Rochdale plan." Mr. Neale and Mr. Smith have since promoted an Anglo-American co-operative trading company.

The Museum Hall, Leicester, was the place in which was held the Congress of 1877. The Hon. Auberon Herbert was president this year, and counselled us with impassioned frankness against the dangers of centralization, and described merits unseen by us in the adjusting

principle of competition. He owned we might regard him as a Devil's advocate, but we all agreed that if he were so, the devil had shown his usual taste in sending us so earnest and engaging a representative. For the first time a sermon was preached before the delegates by Canon Vaughan, whose discourse was singularly direct. It dealt with the subject knowingly, and with that only; and the subject was not made—as preachers of the commoner sort would have made it—a medium of saying something else. It dealt with co-operation mathematically. Euclid could not go from one point to another in a shorter way. No delegate at the Congress could understand co-operation better than the Canon; he made a splendid plea for what is regarded as an essential principle of co-operation—the recognition of labour in productive industry—the partnership of the worker with capital. The church was very crowded, and there was a large attendance of delegates.

The Tenth Congress, that of 1878, was held in Manchester, where great changes had occurred since the Congress of 1870. Balloon Street had come to represent a great European buying agency; the Downing Street store had acquired some twelve branches, and the Congress of 1878 was more numerous and animated in proportion. On the Sunday before it opened the Rev. W. N. Molesworth of Rochdale preached before the delegates at the Cathedral, augmenting the wise suggestions and friendly counsel by which co-operators had profited in their earlier career. The Rev. Mr. Steinthal also preached a sermon to us the same day. The Marquis of Ripon presided at the Congress, recalling the delegates to the duty of advancing the neglected department of production. We criticised the Marquis's address, as is our custom, reminding him that we regarded the Presidential address as Parliament does a royal speech, concerning which Mr. Canning said Parliament receives no communication which it does not echo, and it echoes nothing which it does not discuss. On the second day the Lord Bishop of Manchester presided, making one of those

bright cheery addresses, for which he is distinguished: showing real secular interest in co-operative things; his religion, as is the characteristic of the religion of the gentleman, was never obtruded and never absent, being felt in every sentence, in the justice, candour, and sympathy shown towards those whose aims he discerns to be well intended, though they may have less knowledge, or other light than his, to guide them on their path. The Rev. Mr. Molesworth presided on one day as he had done at the Congress of 1870. Dr. John Watts was president on the last day, delivering an address marked by his unrivalled knowledge of co-operative business and policy, and that felicity of illustration whose light is drawn from the subject it illumines.

There was one who died during congress time, once a familiar name when earlier congresses were common—Mr. George Alexander Fleming. Between 1835 and 1846 there was no congress held at which he was not a principal figure. He was editor nearly or quite all the time (13 years), of the "New Moral World," a well-known predecessor of the "Co-operative News." We used to make merry with his initials, "G. A. F.," but he was himself a practical, active agitator in the social cause. A border Scot by birth (being born at Berwick, Northumberland), he had the caution of his countrymen north of the Tweed; and though he showed zeal for social ideas, he had no adventurous sympathy with the outside life of the world; and socialism had an aspect of sectarianism in his hands. He was an animated, vigorous speaker, and there was a business quality in his writing which did good service in his day. After he left the movement he soon made a place for himself in the world. Like many other able co-operators, he was not afraid of competition, and could hold his own amid the cunningest operators in that field. He took an engagement on the "Morning Advertiser," and represented that paper in the gallery of the House of Commons until his death, over a period of a

quarter of a century. He founded, or was chief promoter and conductor of, the "South London Press." He first became known to the public as an eloquent speaker in the "Ten Hours' Bill" movement. All his life, to its close, he was a constant writer. Of late years he was well known to visitors at the Discussion Hall, in Shoe Lane, and the "Forum," in Fleet Street. He had reached 70 years of age, at which a man in these days is called elderly About a year before, he married a second time. He was buried at Nunhead. Many years ago, at a dinner given at the Whittington Club to the chief socialist advocates, he boasted, somewhat reproachfully, that he then obtained twice as much income for half the work he performed when connected with the social movement. But that was irrelevant, for the best advocates in that movement did not expect to serve themselves so much as to serve others. I have seen men die poor, and yet glad that they had been able to be of use to those who never even thought of requiting them. The consciousness of the good they had done in that way was the reward they most cared for. Mr. Fleming's merit was, that in the stormy and fighting days of the movement he was one of the foremost men in the perilous fray, and therefore his name ought to be mentioned with regard in these pages. Like all public men who once belonged to the social movement, he was constantly found advocating and supporting, by wider knowledge than his mere political contemporaries possessed, liberty both of social life and social thought. I have often come upon unexpected instances in which he was true to old principles, and gave influence and argument to them, though quite out of sight of his old colleagues.

The hospitality to delegates commenced at Newcastle-on-Tyne, have been features with variations at most subsequent Congresses, the chief stores being mainly the hosts of the delegates. In Bolton and in Leicester, as on the Tyneside and London, eminent friends of social effort

among the people entertained many visitors. The exhibition of co-operative manufactures was better organised and displayed at the last Congress in Manchester than heretofore, and the arrangements for publicity by the press were for the first time systematic.

The Central Board have published a considerable series of tracts, handbooks, special pamphlets, and lectures by co-operative writers, and sums of money every year are devoted to their gratuitous circulation. Any person wishing information upon the subject of co-operation, or the formation of stores, or models of rules for the constitution of societies, can obtain them by applying to the Secretary of the Co-operative Board, 9, City Buildings, Manchester.

Industry owes respect to the co-operators who have preceded those of to-day. Coming before their time, they hastened the time in which we are enabled to act. They furnished the knowledge by which we have profited. They had more than hope where others had despair. They saw progress where others saw nothing. They pointed to a path which industry had never before trodden. The pioneers who have gone before have, like Marco Polo, or Columbus, or Sir Walter Raleigh, explored, so to speak, unknown seas of industry, have made maps of their paths and records of their soundings. We know where the hidden rocks of enterprise lie, and the shoals and whirlpools of discord and disunity. We know what vortexes to avoid. The humble movement has been one army though it carried no hostile flags. Its advocates were all members of one parliament which though several times prorogued was never dissolved.

The reader who best discerns the difficulties such a party encounters will judge its errors with most leniency. A movement is like a river. It percolates from an obscure source. It runs at best but deviously. It meets with rock, and has to run round it. It makes its way where the soil is most pervious to water, and when it has travelled

through a great extent of country, its windings sometimes bring it back to a spot which is not far in advance of its source. Eventually it trickles into unknown apertures which its own impetus and growing volume convert into a track. Though making countless circuits it ever advances to the sea; though it never goes straight and appears to wander aimlessly through the earth, it is always proceeding; and its very length of way implies more distributed fertilization on its course. So it is with human movements. A great principle has often a very humble source. It trickles at first slowly, uncertainly, and blindly. It moves through society as the river does through the land. It encounters understandings as impenetrable as granite, and has to seek a course elsewhere. It finds a passage through more impressionable minds; it digresses but never recedes. Like the currents which aid the river, principle has pioneers who make a way for it, who, if they cannot blast the rocks of stupidity, excavate the more intelligent strata of society. Though the way is long and lies through many a channel and maze, and though the new stream of thought seems to recede and lose itself, the great current gathers unconscious force, new outlets seem to open of themselves, and in an unexpected hour the accumulated torrent of ideas bursts open a final passage to the great sea of truth. It is then found that the devious, disappointing course has led the mighty river into scenes of richer beauty than otherwise it had found, that on its way it acquired those tributary currents which gave it victorious momentum, that what seemed to spectators on the banks to be craven expediency was fortunate necessity, and that patience and persistence in right endeavour is the true policy of those who conduct a struggling movement.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FUTURE OF CO-OPERATION.

Folks say, a wizard to a northern king
At Christmas-tide such wondrous things did show,
That through one window men beheld the spring,
And through another saw the summer glow,
And through a third the fruited vines a-row,
While still, unheard, but in its wonted way,
Piped the drear wind of that December day.

So with this earthly Paradise it is,
If ye will read aright, and pardon me,
Who strive to build a shadowy isle of bliss
Midmost the beating of the steely sea,
Where tossed about all hearts of men must be;
Whose ravening monsters mighty men shall slay,
Not the poor singer of an empty day.

"The Earthly Paradise." By WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE reader will doubtless feel relief at having arrived at the last chapter. To him I owe an apology for having detained him so long over a story upon which I have lingered myself several years. Unevadable engagements to write on other subjects, have often withdrawn me from these pages, until of late, when I have been able to return to them, it has taken me long to familiarize myself with the materials to be dealt with. I have been like one driving sheep to market, who, having abandoned them for a time, has found difficulty in re-collecting them. This has often been the case with my ideas. No doubt I have lost some of them in this way, and have probably finally driven up some belonging to other persons, without being aware of the illicit admixture.

Mr. Morris' lines, which I prefix to this chapter, are not inapplicable to the story of working class progress, which I now close. For myself I am no "singer," nor do I believe in the "empty day" which the poet modestly suggests. No day is "empty" which contains a poet. Nevertheless I am persuaded that "the isle of bliss" will yet arise "midmost the beatings of the steely sea," and that the "mighty monsters," industrial and otherwise, which now intimidate society, "mighty men" will one day "slay."

The two main purposes for which I have written have been (1) to explain as completely as I could what principles co-operation is naturally founded upon, and induce co-operators to keep their movement on those lines and push it forward upon them. (2) To give such general information of the constructive character of associative industry as shall enable the reader, unacquainted with the subject, to understand it. It only remains to add a few pages on the probable influence of co-operation on society in the immediate future.

Society is improved by a thousand agencies. I only contend that co-operation is one. Bad brains, bred of bad conditions and bad health, generate insane persons. These multiply a mad or half-mad progeny. The truths of physiology can alone arrest this evil. Other great agencies of improvement effects each a new good. The distinctive merit of co-operation is that it will terminate pauperism.

Co-operation is the new force of industry which attains competency without mendicancy, and effaces inequality by equalizing fortunes. The equality contemplated is not that of men who aim to be equal to their superiors and superior to their equals. The simple equality it seeks consists in the diffusion of the means of general competence, until every family is ensured against dependence or want, and no man in old age, however unfortunate or unthrifty he may have been, shall, whether blind or seeing, stumble into pauperism. His want of sense, or want of thrift, may

rob him of repute or power, but shall never sink him so low that crime shall be justifiable, or his fate a scandal to any one save himself. The road to this state of things is long—in many parts the way is so dark that no statesman has made his way through it. Defiles in it are dangerous—cross roads meet and mislead the traveller at many turns; but beyond we know lies the pleasant Valley of Competence.

There is no equality in nature, of strength or stature, of taste or knowledge, of force or faculty. Many may row in the same boat, but, as Jerrold said, not with the same skulls. Nature has taken care of that. But there may be equivalence though not equality in power: the sum of one man's powers may be equal to another's if we knew how to measure the degrees of their diversity. It is in equality of opportunity of developing the qualities for good each man is endowed with, that the equality of equivalence may one day come.

Co-operation seeks the material means of growth. It husbands provisions for its members by creating Stores, and supplies articles of utility by manufactures—it aims at the ownership of land and vessels—it builds—it engages in commerce and farming operations, with a view to the self-employment of its members—it provides for their education and self-government, that society may be self-sustained and self-controlled. Its means are capital and industry. The capital it saves by economy or hires it, using it as an agent, and paying it its fair market value as such, and paying it no more. Its policy is to divide the entire profit made by thought, skill and labour, equitably among those who produce it. This is what co-operation means, and the nature of the principles which will influence the future of industry.

The perplexity of mind concerning society is serious. Machinery has become a power greater than man himself. It is greater than though thirty millions of giants had entered Great Britain to work for our thirty millions of

people. And these giants never feel hunger, or passion, or weariness, and their power is immeasurable. Yet the lot of the poor is precarious, and the very poor amount to millions. Yet somehow the giants have not worked adequately for the many. This is the reason of the public indigence, and why the ranks of industry are degraded by the existence of paupers among them. It is true that a higher scale of life is reached by the poor sort than of old; still they are but mere servants of capital with more power to change their masters, but few are able to escape them. Co-operation is the new means of superseding them.

The two wants of Industry are distribution of profit and education in industrial morality. Co-operation supplies both, and when "Distribution shall undo excess and each man has enough" for secure existence, the baser incentives to greed, fraud, and violence will cease. The social outrages coarseness of life, at which we are shocked, were once and common and thought to be inevitable. Our being shocked and impatient at them now are signs of progress. Progress, like the tide, comes in in great waves. The steps of society are—(1) Savageness; (2) The mastership by chiefs of the more ferocious; (3) The government of ferocity tempered by rude lawfulness; (4) Rude lawfulness matured into a general right of protection; (5) Protection instructed by political representation; (6) Self-control of the people diminishing the impertinence and espionage of government; (7) Self-control matured into self-support and common sense among common people; when the physician and the philanthropist become merely ornamental personages, and charity and disease are regarded as unnecessary evils. We are not in that state yet; but co-operation is the most likely thing apparent to accelerate the march to it.

Communism, therefore, of the "working bugbear" type is not one of the things of the future in England. Sir Arthur Helps has told the public that "What Socialists are always aiming at is paternal government, under which

they are to be the spoilt children." Sir Arthur must have in his mind State Socialists—very different persons from co-operators.

There are only two kinds of Socialism: one in which the State is to be the Public Pedagogue, the nation a great Charity School, in which the pursuits and rations are all to be regulated, and the ears of the refractory boxed by authority. This is the dream of the famished and ignorant poor, reared under priestly and arbitrary governments. This kind of communism is, as M. Thiers described it, the disease of despotic rule, and disappears under governments of liberty. Only political exiles in other countries and the stagnant-minded poor, reared under Tory profession of paternal charity in our own country, take this disease. In England socialistic craving for paternal government is a pure Tory nurtured craze, and is never found in any other political party.*

The other form of communism is the organization of self-help, in which the industrious do everything, and the State nothing; in which the people themselves devise that state of things in which it shall be impossible for honest men to be idle or ignorant, depraved or poor: in which liberty shall be tutelage, and self-help supersede patronage and political paternalism. This is the socialism of co-operation.

The new applications of co-operative association to industry will come of themselves, and come fast. Among others I have noticed the Insurance plan, which I helped to

* In Russia, where government is absolute and brutal when incensed, Communistic schemes are always rife, and Mr. Mackenzie Wallace has explained in the "Fortnightly" at what periods and under what circumstances they appear. In England the Sidmouth cabinet had an ear for them. The Scott-Russell scheme was a Tory contrivance, not in the sense that all Conservatives incline to these projects, for Lord Derby's name will occur as one, to any who have noticed the wise lessons of self-reliance he has given to his countrymen. But, as a rule, Conservatives rule by patronage. When Mr. Owen carried socialism round the continental courts, despots and paternalists chiefly were his auditors.

arrest, because it was in incapable hands. That plan will come again. New classes of stores will one day be devised and spread faster than the old stores did. The organization of co-operative economy has hardly yet commenced. Labour Exchanges will re-appear—a forgotten form of profit, which society can better sustain and more needs than when they were successful fifty years ago. They would be revived now save for the incapacity of "practical" minds to believe in anything which has "failed," although its failure has been brought about by fraud or violence. These kind of people would have stopped the creation of the world on the second day, on the ground that it was no use going on. Had the law of gravitation been explained to them, they would have passed an unanimous resolution to the effect that it was "impracticable." Had the solar system been floated by a company, they would not have taken a share in it, being perfectly sure it could never be made to work: or if it was started they would have assured us the planets would never keep time. Were the sun to be discovered for the first time to-day, they would not look at it—but declare it could never be turned to any useful account, and discourage investments in it, lest it should divert capital from the more important and more practical candle movement. Had these people been told before they were born that they would be "fearfully and wonderfully made," that life would be a great mystery—that the human frame would be very complicated—they would have been afraid to exist. They would have looked at the nice adjustment of a thousand parts necessary to life, and they would have declared it impossible to live.

What a premium it offers to obstructives, conspirators, or adversaries, that if they can but succeed by any means, however fraudulent or base, they may depend on men of honour rising up half a century later, and giving plentiful reasons why the thing suppressed should not be attempted again!

The people Imperial, not the Crown.

One feature in the near future of co-operation will be the cheerfulness introduced into industry. There can be no hopefulness unless there is security of progress, and co-operators have discovered this security and are confident. They have succeeded in the fight for industrial success and know it. In conflict, Englishmen, as a rule, do not know when they are beaten. This is to the credit of their courage; but they are fools who do not know when they have won. The co-operator has the sense to see that the means of social and political redress greatly exceed the use made of them. The day of social despair is certainly past. Hopeless and grim, or sensational and melodramatic fervours, are become now diseases of popular advocacy. Improvement is still arduous and needs pluck and persistence to carry it, but progress need not be cheerless or disagreeable on principle; nor doubtful, since the lines of march are clear.

The hopeless tone of most members of the working class, who used to speak out on their position, has now changed. In these days an artisan begins to see that he is a member of the Order of Industry, which ought to be the frankest, boldest, most self-reliant, and fearless of all "Orders." The Order of Thinkers are pioneers—the Order of Workmen are conquerors. They subjugate nature and turn the dreams of Thought into Realities of life. Why then should not a workman always think and speak with evident consciousness of the dignity of his own order, and as one careful for its reputation?

The "Sovereign people" should be Imperial, not the Crown. It is time therefore that they put on an Imperial tone. It is absurd to see the sovereign people with a perpetual handkerchief to its eyes, and a constant hat in its hands. the imperial people should neither cry, nor beg, nor whine. A workman in this country should ever remember, that having English blood in his veins, he should have some dignity in his manner. Something more is expected from him than from the poor manacled negro, who could only

put up his hands and exclaim "Am I not a man and a brother?" The English artisan ought to say, "I will be a man whether I am a brother or not." I hate the people who wail. Either their lot is not improvable, or it is. If it be not improvable, wailing is weakness: if it be improvable, wailing is folly and cowardice.

When I entered the social agitation, forty years ago, competition was a chopping machine and the poor were always under the knife. Masters have changed from what they were then. Then if an employer had a reasonable regard for the welfare of the operatives engaged by him, his manner was hard (as still is the manner of many) and never indicated a feeling intention. He lacked that sympathy the want of which, the late Justice Talfourd said, was the great defect of the master class in England. The master of the days of my youth, seemed to regard his men as a flock of wayward sheep, and himself as a kind of sheep dog. He kept the wolf from their door, but they were not sensible of the service, because he bit them when they turned aside. Owing to this cause, and owing as much to the ignorance that then existed among workmen, creditable kindness when displayed was not discerned, nor its results appreciated. At no time in my youth do I remember to have heard any expression which indicated cordiality or esteem on the part of the employed towards their employers; and when I listened to the conversation of workmen elsewhere, in foundries and factories in the same town, or to that of workmen who came from distant places, it appeared that this state of feeling was general. The men regarded their masters as commercial weasels who slept with one eye open, in order to see whether they neglected their work; and the employers looked upon their men as clocks which would not go, or which if they did were right only once in twenty-four hours; and that not through any virtue of their own, but because the right time came round to them.

Employers are now, as a rule, a different race of men.

Frugality a virtue of the rich as well as of the poor.

Factory legislation has done much to improve the comfort of workshops and limit the labour of children and women. Farm legislation will come next, and do something to the same effect for agricultural working people. Besides these, the consideration, taste, and pride of employers have done more. The warehouses of great towns are no longer hideous to look upon by the townspeople and dreary to labour in. Workshops are in many places opulent and lofty, and are palaces to work in compared with the penitentiary structures which deformed the streets and high-roads a generation ago. The old charnel houses of industry are being everywhere superseded. Light, air, some grim kind of grace, make the workman's days healthy and pleasant; and conveniences for his comfort and even education, never thought of formerly, are supplied now. The stores and mills erected by co-operators show that they have set their faces against the architects of ugliness, and the new standard can never go back among employers of greater pretensions.

Under the self-supporting example of the common people, the better classes may be expected to improve. Being self-dependent, the working-class will be no more told to look to frugality alone as their means of competence. "Frugality" is oft the fair-sounding term in which the counsel of privation is disguised to the poor. We shall see the opulent advised to practise the wholesome virtue of frugality (good for all conditions). They might then live on much less than they now have need to appropriate. There then would remain an immense surplus, available for the public service, since the wealthy would not want it. Advice cannot much longer be given to the people which is never taken by those who offer it, and which is intended to reconcile the many to an indefensible and unnecessary inequality.

The next generation will find that progress may be more placid without decreasing. The unrest of competition pro-

duce disastrous consequences in diseases which strike down the most energetic men by day and night, without warning. Some quieter method of progress will be wished for and be welcomed. In the old times when none could read, save priest and gentleman, learning was a passion, and the thoughtful monk who had no worldly care or want, toiled in his cell from the pure love of study, and carried on the thought of the world as Bruno did, with no spur, save that supplied by genius and the love of truth. Now the printing press has called into activity the intellect of mankind—ambition, and emulation, industry and discovery, invention and art, will proceed by the natural force of thought, however co-operation may prevail. Indeed, co-operation may facilitate them. If peace hath her victories as well as war—which a poet was first to see—concert in life has its million devices, activities and inspirations. The world will not be mute, nor men idle, because the brutal goad of competition no longer pricks them on to activity. The future will not be less brilliant than the past, because its background is contentment instead of misery.

People who say that the world would come to a standstill were it not for the pressure of hunger and poverty, and that we should all be idle were we not judiciously starved, should spend five minutes in the study of the ceaseless, joyous, and gratuitous activity of the first Lord Lytton. Of high lineage, of good fortune, of capacity which understood life without effort, occupying a position which commanded deference, and of personal qualities which secured him friends, he had only to live to be distinguished—only to smile to be applauded; and yet this man, as baronet and peer, worked as many hours of his own will as any mechanic in the land, and of his own natural love of activity created for the world more pleasant reading than all the House of Lords put together save Macaulay.

In the immediate future—for the present casts its light of change some distance before, and the near future can be

discerned—co-operation bids fair to clear the sight of the industrial class as to what they can do for themselves and dispel the confusion in their minds as to their relations to the employing class.

Men as a rule are not oppressed with sense. They have not half the brains of bees. Bees respect only those who contribute to the common store, they keep no terms with drones, but drag them out and make short work with them. Men suffer the drones to become kings of the hive, and pay them homage. Co-operators of the earliest type set their faces against uselessness. With all their sentimentality they kept no place for drones. They did not mean to be mendicants themselves nor to have mendicants in their ranks. They had no plan either of in-door or out-door relief for them. The first number of the "Co-operative Magazine" for 1826 defined happiness and made its first condition to consist in "occupation." Avoidable dependence will come to be deemed ignominious. As wild beasts retreat before the march of civilization, so pauperism will retreat before the march of co-operative industry. Pauperism will be put down as the infamy of industry. A million paupers—a vast standing army of mendicants—in the midst of the working class—depending for support upon the middle-class—is a reproach to every workman now. Pauperism means more than mendicancy, it implies political feebleness. Workmen have their affairs in their own hands now, and they will learn to clear their way, and pay their way, as the middle-class have learned to do. Every law which deprives industry of a fair chance—whatever facilitates the accumulation of immense fortunes and tends to check the equitable distribution of property, will be stopped—as far as legitimate legislation can stop it. Not long since a politician so experienced as Louis Blanc made a great speech in Paris, in which he said "Mo frankly he admitted that the problem of the extinction of pauperism [politically was understood] which he believed possible, was too vast and complicated to be treated

without modesty and prudence, and he would even add, doubt." In our English Parliament I have heard ministers use similar language, without seeming aware that no Legislature would extinguish pauperism if they could. If the proposal was seriously made in our Legislature—on every bench in the House of Commons, peer and squire and manufacturer would jump up in alarm, dismay and apprehension. The sudden "extinction of pauperism" would produce consternation in town and county throughout the land. Were there no paupers there would be no poor. Nobody would be dependent, service of the humble kind that now ministers to ostentatious opulence would cease. The pride, power, and influence that comes from almsgiving would end. In England, as in America, the "servant" would disappear and in his place would arise a new class, limited and costly, who would only engage themselves as "helpers" and equals. Besides there would, in Great Britain, be opposition among the paupers themselves. The majority of them do not want to be abolished. They have been reared under the impression that they have a vested interest in charity—humiliation sits easy upon them. It is not Acts of Parliament that can do much to alter this. It is the means of self-help which alone can bring it to pass. Co-operation bids fair gradually and surely to do it.

At a public meeting in the metropolis, some years ago, the late Prince Albert was one of the speakers, and he was on the occasion surrounded by many noblemen. The subject of his speech was some improvement in the condition of the indigent. The Prince, looking around him at the wealthy lords on the platform, and to some poor men in the meeting, said, very gracefully, "We," looking again at a duke near him, "to whom Providence has given rank, wealth, and education, ought to do what lies in our power, for the less fortunate." This was very generous of the Prince, but men look now for a surer deliverance. Providence is no Tory, he does not wait

on dukes alone with blessings. He gave them no possessions. They got them in a very different way. The wealth of nature is given to all, not to the few, and co-operation furnishes means of acquiring it to all who have honesty, sense, and unity.

Nothing is more astounding to students of industrial progress than to observe, in conversation among commercial men and politicians, the utter absence of any idea of distribution of gains among the people. The only concern is that the capitalist, or the individual dealer, shall profit. It is nobody's concern that the community should profit. It is nobody's idea that everybody should profit by what any man's genius creates. It does not enter into any mind that disproportionate wealth is an aggressive accumulation of means in the hands of a few which ought to be, as far as possible, diffusible in equity among all for mutual protection.

It was stated by the editor of the "Co-operative Magazine," in 1826, in very explicit terms, that "Mr. Owen does not propose that the rich should give up their property to the poor; but that the poor should be placed in such a situation as could enable them to create *new wealth* for themselves."* This is all co-operation wants to do, and this it will do; and that means much. Any one who can think, can foresee what changes will come in a nation in which the common people are assured of modest competence.

The instinct of co-operation is self-help. Only men of independent spirit are attracted by it. The intention of the co-operator has always been never to depend upon parliamentary consideration for any help, nor upon the sympathy of the rich for charity, nor upon the pity, nor the prayer of the priest, however much he may respect such source of aid. The co-operator may be a believer, and generally is, but he is self-reliant in the first place, and a believer in

* "Co-operative Magazine," No. 1, Jan., 1826, p. 31.

the second. Pity is out of his way, because he does not like to distress people to give it. Help by prayer is the most compendious and easy way of getting it, but the co-operator, who is generally a modest man, does not like to give the priest the trouble of procuring it—who, indeed, is apt to make so many conditions in doing it that his machinery seems never in order when it is most wanted to work. When the working class have learnt the lesson of self-support, self-dependence, and self-protection there will be piety and devotion, and the love of God among them, but they will owe their spirit of worship, as they will owe their fortunes, to themselves. Many of the co-operators, indeed, came to the conclusion that however excellent faith might be, it was not business. They could not fail to observe that no trades union could obtain an increase of wages by any profession of faith. No employer will give a man a good engagement in consideration of what he believes. His chances entirely depend on what he can do. The most celebrated manufacturing firm would be ruined in repute, if the twelve apostles worked for it, unless they knew their business. Piety, ever so conspicuous, fetches no price in the labour market. There is no creed the profession of which will induce a chancellor of the exchequer to remit the assessed taxes, or a magistrate to excuse the non-payment of local rates. People have been misled by the well-intentioned but mischievous lessons which has taught them, to depend upon mendicant supplication. When the evil day comes—when the parent has no means of supporting his family or discharging his duty as a citizen, the churches can render no help—the State admits of no excuse: it accords nothing but the contemptuous charity of the poor law. The day of self-help has come, and this will be the complexion of the future.

Co-operation, in imparting the power of self-help, abates that distrust which has kept the people down. Above all projects of our day, co-operative industry has eradicated

the wholesale suspicion of riches and capitalists. This means good understanding in the future between those who have saved money, and the many who need to save it, and mean to save it. The old imbecility of poverty has nearly disappeared. The foolish, because incapacitating, objection to paying interest for money, is scarcely visible anywhere. What does it matter how rich another grows, whether he be capitalist or employer; whether he be called master or millionaire, providing he who is poor can contrive to attain competence by his aid? Jealousy or distrust of another's success is only justifiable when he bars the way to those below him, equally entitled to a reasonable chance of rising too. War upon the rich is only lawful when, not content with their own good fortune, they close every door upon the poor below them; give no heed to their just claims; deny them, whether by law or combination, fair means of self-help, discouraging the honest, the industrious, and the thrifty, from ascending the same ladder of prosperity on which they have mounted. Property has no rights in equity when it owns no obligations of justice, and ceases to be considerate to others. If the wealthy proposed to kill the indigent, they would provoke a war in which the slain would not be all on one side; and since the powerful must consent to the weak existing, that consent implies the right of the weak to live, and the right to live includes the right to a certain share of the wealth of the community, proportionate to the labour and skill they contribute in creating it. Property has to provide for this or must permit it to be effected by others, or it will be itself in jeopardy. The power of commanding a pacifying distribution of means is afforded by the sagacity of co-operation. I have proved, as I have proceeded, what I said in the beginning, that it asks no aid from the State; it petitions for no gift from individuals; it disturbs no interests; it attacks nobody's fortune; it attempts no confiscation of existing gains; but stands apart, works apart, clears its own ground,

gathers in its own harvest, distributes the golden grain equitably among all the husbandmen; and without needing favours or incurring obligations, it establishes the industrious classes among the possessors of the fruits of the earth. As the power of self-existence in Nature includes all other attributes, so self-help in the people includes all the conditions of progress. Co-operation is organized self-help—that is what the complexion of the future will be.

The progress of that future will be accelerated in proportion as the story, by whomsoever told, of the new Industrial movement shall interest the outside reader, disposing him to enter the co-operative ranks: but the progress to come much more depends on the unity and persistence of those in whose hands this great cause is. To that party I say:—

> In thy halls
> Let faction so convolve her serpent councils
> That art may ne'er untwist them; let them in
> Perplexed entanglement, unravelled rot,
> And so be buried in forgetfulness.
> Leagued friendship clip thy people in one bond
> Of compact guard, for very lack of cunning
> To plot a mischievous division—so farewell.

Thus ends my story of the rise, vicissitudes, and growth of the new Force of Industry. In a story spreading over a field so diversified, there must be statements incomplete, and some no doubt erroneous. Impressions of the same facts must often vary, according to the views and capacities of individual reporters. Prejudice, strong bias, and different religious and personal convictions, have no doubt lent an unconscious colouring to versions of the same occurrences. For myself, I have considered with patience and respect the views of others, and studied with equal interest and candour whatever information I have obtained, desiring to do justice, irrespective of any personal opinion entertained, or any local party to which the real promoters of the great movement belonged. If injustice has been done to any, it has been done

unintentionally. If I have spoken words of honour of any who did not deserve it, it has been only from lack of discernment; if I have omitted to name any who ought to be mentioned, it has been from lack of information which I have studiously and perseveringly sought, it has not been from wilfulness, or omission, or predeliction on my part. I have cared mainly for the truth of my story, and the honest repute of the co-operative cause. The early generation of pioneers have nearly disappeared, and their successors will soon follow; other generations will arise who will carry the great cause forward, make applications of the principle unforeseen now, until the fortunes of the many who labour shall be consolidated and assured in our midst. Some day in the future, when the curious and passionless gaze of other writers shall review the rise and progress of the co-operative principle, they will find in these pages the record of early experience which might otherwise be lost, and which I hope will be found to have value, instruction, and use hereafter, in making universal the principle of co-operative self-help among the working people of the world.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AN OUTSIDE CHAPTER.

Reply to "Fraser's Magazine."

The only notice of my first volume to which I desire to reply is one which Professor Newman did me the honour to make in "Fraser."* Mr. Newman is alike incapable of being unfair or unjust, and to me he has been neither, but he has misconceived what I have said about State socialism and capitalists, and as the public mind is excited on these questions, and will be more so soon, I ought to make what I mean clear, if I can. I blame no one who misconceives what I say—I blame myself. It is the duty of a writer to be so clear that obtuseness cannot misapprehend him, and so explicit that malice cannot pervert what he says. Mr. Newman is neither obtuse nor malicious. Few men see so clearly as he into social questions, or are so considerate as he in his objections. He scrupulously says I have "unawares" and "inconsistently" with my known views, fallen into errors. Mr. Newman does me the honour to remember that I try with what capacity I have, not to be foolish—which I see does not often save me from it—and that I regard unfairness and even inaccuracy of statement as of the nature of a crime against truth.

* "Fraser's Magazine," December, 1875.

I quoted the edict of Babœuf (p. 40, vol. I.), "That they do nothing for the country who do not serve it by some useful occupation," to show that the most extreme communists kept no terms either with "laziness or plunder"—the two sins usually charged against these theorists. From this Mr. Newman concludes that I would deny persons the right to enjoy inherited property. Writers on property are accustomed to enumerate but three ways of acquiring it, namely, to earn it, to beg it, or to steal it. Mr. Newman's sagacity enables him to point out a fourth way—persons may inherit it. I confess this did not occur to me, nor did I ask myself whether Babœuf thought of it. I took his edict to apply only to persons for whose welfare the State made itself responsible. It was in this sense only that I thought it right that all should be "usefully occupied."

Mr. Newman says, "I would fain pass off" Mr. Owen's administration of the New Lanark Mills "as co-operation." Surely I would not. Mr. Newman says, "Mr. Owen patronized the workman." Certainly—that is exactly what he did, and that is what I do not like. It was at best but a good sort of despotism, and had the merit of being better than the bad sort. He proved that equity, though paternally conceded, *paid*, which no manufacture had made publicly clear before.

One who has not written on this subject, and therefore I may not name him, but who is as famous for his familiarity with it, as for his readiness in repartee, said to me, "There is one thing in your book to which I object, you speak of the tyranny of capital." "But it was not in my mind," I rejoined. "But it is in your book," was the answer. No reply could be more conclusive. Capital may be put to tyrannical uses; but capital itself is the independent, passionless means of all material progress. It is only its misuse against which we have to provide, and I ought to have been careful to have said so.

For State socialism I have less than sympathy, I have dislike. Lassalle and Marx, of the same race, Comte and Napoleon III.—are all identifiable by one sign, they ridicule the dwarfish efforts of the slaves of wages to transform capitalistic society. I have quoted their sayings. Like the Emperor of the French they overflow with what seems eloquent sympathy for helpless workmen, ground to powder in the mill of capital. They all mean that the State will grind them in a more benevolent way of its own, if working men will abjure politics, party and self-effort, and submit themselves to the paternal operators who alone know what is best for everybody.

There was a German Disraeli of the same race as our own. Bismarck befriended the German Jew as Lord Derby did the English one. It was Ferdinand Lassalle, handsome, unscrupulous, a dandy with boundless bounce. A Sybarite in his life, beaming in velvet, jewellery, and curly hair, he affected to be the friend of the working class. Deserting the party to which he belonged for not appreciating him, he turned against it, and conceived the idea of organizing German workmen as a political force to oppose the middle class, exactly as the Chartists were used in England. Lassalle's language to the working men was that "they could not benefit themselves by frugality or saving—the cruel, brazen law of wages made individual exertion unavailing—their only trust was in State help." With all who disliked exertion Lassalle was popular; for there were German Jingoes in his day. By dress and parade he kept himself distinguished, and also obtained an annuity from a Countess much exceeding his age. The author of "Vivian Grey" was distanced by Lassalle who told the world that "he wrote his pamphlets armed with all the culture of his century." In other respects he showed less skill than his English rival. Mr. Disraeli insulted O'Connell whom it was known would not fight a duel, and then challenged his son Morgan, whom he had not insulted, and who declined to fight until he was. His assailant omitted to act upon the

hint. Lassalle, less wary, discerned no discretionary course, and Count Rackonitz shot him, otherwise Bismarck would have been superseded at the Berlin Congress, and a German Beaconsfield had been President. In blood, religion, and policy, in manners and ambition, and in success (save in duelling), both men were the same. Our Conservative Lassalle had an incubator of State socialism for this country and the Young England party came out of it.

Co-operative Methods in 1828.

Exactly fifty years ago, when Lord John Russell was laying the foundation stone of the British Schools in Brighton, Dr. King was writing to Lord Brougham, then Henry Brougham, M.P., an account of the then new scheme of Co-operative Stores. It is a practical well-written appeal to a statesman, and enables us to see what Brougham had the means of knowing at that early period of the nature of co-operation as a new social force. The following is Dr. King's statement:—

"A number of persons in Brighton, chiefly of the working class, having read works on the subject of co-operation, conceived the possibility of reducing it to practice in some shape or other. They accordingly formed themselves into a society, and met once a week for reading and conversation on the subject; they also began a weekly subscription of 1d. The numbers who joined were considerable—at one time upwards of 170; but, as happens in such cases, many were lukewarm and indifferent, and the numbers fluctuated. Those who remained began at once an evident improvement of their minds. When the subscriptions amounted to £5, the sum was invested in groceries, which were retailed to the members. Business kept increasing. The first week the amount sold was half-a-crown; it is now about £38. The profit is about 10 per cent.; so that a return of £20 a week pays all expenses, besides which the members have a large room to meet in and work in. About six months

ago, the society took a lease of twenty-eight acres of land, about nine miles from Brighton, which they cultivate as a garden and nursery out of their surplus capital. They employ on the garden, out of seventy-five members, four, and sometimes five men, with their own capital. They pay the men at the garden 14s. a week, the ordinary rate of wages in the country being 10s., and of parish labourers 6s. The men are also allowed rent and vegetables. They take their meals together. One man is married and his wife is housekeeper.

"The principle of the society is,—the value of labour. The operation is by means of a common capital. An individual capital is an impossibility to the workman, but a common capital not. The advantage of the plan is that of mutual insurance: but there is an advantage beyond, viz., that the workman will thus get the whole produce of his labour to himself; and if he chooses to work harder or longer, he will benefit in proportion. If it is possible for men to work for themselves, many advantages will arise. The other day they wanted a certain quantity of land planted before the winter. Thirteen members went from Brighton early in the morning, gave a day's work, performed the task, and returned home at night. The man who formerly had the land, when he came to market, allowed himself 10s. to spend. The man who now comes to market for the society is contented with 1s. extra wages. Thus these men are in a fair way to accumulate capital enough to find all the members with constant employment; and of course the capital will not stop there. Other societies are springing up. Those at Worthing and Finden are proceeding as prosperously as ours, only on a smaller scale. If co-operation be once proved practicable, the working classes will soon see their interest in adopting it. If this goes on, it will draw labour from the market, raise wages, and so operate upon pauperism and crime. All this is pounds, shillings, and pence; but another most important feature remains. The members see immediately

the value of knowledge. They employ their leisure time in reading and mutual instruction. They have appointed one of their members librarian and schoolmaster: he teaches every evening. Even their discussions involve both practice and theory, and are of a most improving nature. Their feelings are of an enlarged, liberal, and charitable description. They have no disputes, and feel towards mankind at large as brethren. The *élite* of the society were members of the Mechanics' Institution, and my pupils, and their minds were no doubt prepared there for this society. It is a happy consummation.

"In conclusion, I beg to propose to your great and philanthropic mind the question, as to how such societies may be affected by the present state of the law; or how far future laws may be so framed as to operate favourably to them. At the same time, they ask nothing from any one but to be let alone, and nothing from the law but protection. As I have had the opportunity of watching every step of this society, I consider their case proved; but others at a distance will want further experience. If the case is proved, I consider it due to you, sir, as a legislator, philosopher, and the friend of man, to lay it before you. This society will afford you additional motives for completing the Library of Useful Knowledge—the great forerunner of human improvement."

The First Sales of the Rochdale Pioneers.

In 1866, when Mr. Samuel Ashworth left the Rochdale store to manage the Manchester Wholesale Society, a presentation was made to him in the Board Room of the Corn Mill. A correspondent of the "Working Man" sent to me at the time these particulars, not elsewhere, save in that journal, published. In the course of the proceedings, Mr. William Cooper related how he and Samuel Ashworth were among the first persons who served customers in the store in Toad Lane, when it was opened, in 1844, for the

sale of articles in the grocery business. "We then," said Mr. Cooper, "sold goods at the store about two nights in the week, opening at about eight o'clock p.m., and closing in two hours after we had opened. Mr. Ashworth served in the shop one week, and I the week following. We gave our services for the benefit of the society the first three months, except that the committee bought each of us a pair of white sleeves—something like butchers wear on their arms, to make us look tidy and clean, and, if the truth is to be owned, I daresay they were to cover the grease which stuck to and shone upon our jacket sleeves as woollen weavers. At that time every member that worked for the store, whether as secretary, treasurer, purchaser, or auditor, did it for the honour and the good of the society, without any reward in wages or salary.

"When Samuel Ashworth joined the society, in 1844, he was only nineteen years of age. He was behind the counter on the 21st of December, 1844, that memorable day when the shutters were first taken down from the shop-front in Toad Lane, and was one of those stared at by every passer-by. The stock with which the co-operators opened the shop was as follows:—1 qr. 22 lb. of butter, 2 qrs. of sugar, 3 sacks of flour at 37s. 6d., and 3 sacks at 36s., 2 dozen of candles, and 1 sack of meal. The total cost of this stock was £16 11s. 11d.; and it appeared they must have had a fortnight's stock of flour, for there was none bought the second week. The second week the stock was slightly decreased, the amount of purchases for the fortnight being £24 14s. 7d." Those goods Samuel Ashworth and William Cooper had the pleasure of selling as unpaid shopkeepers—"a bad precedent," remarked Mr. Ashworth, in the course of a speech made by him, "because even now some of their members did not like to pay their servants the best of wages." It is instructive to compare the difference between the weekly sale of goods during the first fortnight of the society's existence, and their weekly sales twelve years later:

Weekly Sales in 1844.		Weekly Sales in 1866.
Butter	50 lb. ...	220 firkins, or 15,400 lb.
Sugar	40 lb. ...	170 cwt., or 19,040 lb.
Flour	3 sacks ...	468 sacks.
Soap	56 lb. ...	2 tons 13 cwt., or 5,936 lb.

Subsequently when the price of sugar was rapidly rising, Mr. Ashworth ordered 50 tons of sugar in three days, and on another occasion he gave an order for 4,000 sacks of flour at once. The weekly receipts during the first fortnight of the society's operations did not average £10, twelve years later, in 1866, the weekly sales were £4,822.

The End of the Orbiston Community.

The most interesting and authentic account of Orbiston, its objects, principles, financial arrangements, and end, is that given in the newspapers of 1829 and 1830. The following appeared under the head of "Law Intelligence—Vice Chancellor's Court":—Jones *v.* Morgan and Others. —The Socialists.—This case came before the court upon the demurrer of a lady, named Rathbone, put in to a Bill filed by several shareholders of the Orbiston Company, on the ground that such shareholders had contributed more than was justly due from them, and to recover the excess. The grounds of the demurrers were want of equity. Our readers will recollect that the case came before the court during the last term, upon the demurrer of a person named Cooper, and upon that occasion the court ordered the demurrer to be overruled. The case now came before the court upon the demurrer of another party, and there are also several other demurrers set down for hearing. The facts appeared to be these:—In the year 1825 a number of persons joined together, for the purpose of forming a socialist or communist society, under the superintendence of Mr. Robert Owen, the professed object of which was to promote the happiness of mankind by abating, or extinguishing the evils which flesh is heir to. The company was to consist of shareholders, the shares being fixed at

£250 (though after the formation of the company they were reduced to £200 each), and it being further agreed that for the first year no shareholder should be allowed to hold more than ten shares, but that after the lapse of one year from the formation of the society, such stock as should then be unappropriated might be disposed of among the members of the company. The capital was not to exceed £50,000. The company eventually purchased 280 acres of land from General Hamilton, at Orbiston, in Scotland, as the site of the proposed establishment, for which they consented to pay £19,995. This money was borrowed in three several sums of £12,000 from the Union Scotch Assurance Company, £3,000 from a Mr. Ainslie, and the remainder from another quarter. The articles of agreement were then drawn up, providing for the internal regulations of the society. The right of voting was to be vested in the shareholders proportionably to the amount of their respective shares. The necessary buildings were to be erected, and the necessary utensils supplied, and the company were to be empowered to borrow money upon the security of the joint property, under certain specified restrictions. Several trustees were named, the first being a Mr. Coombe, to whom the estate was accordingly conveyed. The following are some of the general articles agreed on:—"Whereas the assertion of Robert Owen, who has had much experience in the education of children, that principles as certain as the science of mathematics may be applied to the forming any general character, and that by the influence of other circumstances not a few individuals only, but the population of the whole world, may in a few years be rendered a very far superior race of beings to any now on the face of the earth, or who have ever existed, an assertion which implies that at least nine-tenths of the crime and misery which exist in the world have been the necessary consequence of errors in the present system of instruction, and not of imperfection implanted in our nature by the Creator, and that it is quite practical

to form the minds of all children that are born so that at the age of twelve years their habits and ideas shall be far superior to those of the individuals termed learned men. . . . . And that under a proper direction of manual labour Great Britain and its dependencies may be made to support an incalculable increase of population." The articles then prescribed rules for the management of the affairs of the company. The 21st article then went on to provide for a dissolution of the society if it should be found necessary :—"That if, unhappily, experience should demonstrate to the satisfaction of the majority of proprietors that the new system introduced and recommended by R. Owen has a tendency to produce, in the aggregate, as much ignorance in the midst of knowledge, as much poverty in the midst of excessive wealth, as much illiberality and hypocrisy, as much overbearing and cruelty, and fawning and severity, as much ignorant conceit, as much dissipation and debauchery, as much filthiness and brutality, as much avarice and unfeeling selfishness, as much fraud and dishonesty, as much discord and violence, as have invariably attended the existing system in all ages, then shall the property be let to individuals acting under the old system, or sold to defray the expenses of the institution." In 1825 the society entered upon the estate, and the lands were divided among the tenants. Among the original shareholders was the present demurring defendant, Cooper, who took one share, for which he paid £20 as an instalment, that he had borrowed from Mr. Hamilton, on the understanding, that unless the loan were repaid by Cooper within two years, the property should belong to Mr. Hamilton. At the several meetings that subsequently took place, Cooper did not attend, but deputed the trustee, Mr. Combe, to act for him, as he was permitted to do by the original agreement. In 1827, it was ascertained that the speculation did not answer, as the company was proved to be involved in debt to a considerable amount, so as to make it necessary that the property should be sold, and

the establishment broken up. Accordingly, in 1828, the sale of the estate was effected, and £15,000, the purchase-money, subject to certain deductions, transferred to the Scotch Assurance Company, as a repayment of their loan. A considerable balance of debts to other parties, however, still remained due, for which the shareholders became liable. Several suits were prepared in Scotch courts, during which the estates of the shareholders were declared liable, and several accordingly had paid much beyond what was due, proportionately on the amount of their shares. Of the original shareholders many were now dead, many out of the jurisdiction of the court, and many in hopelessly insolvent circumstances.—Mr. Rolt appeared in support of the demurrer.—In consequence of the absence of Mr. James Parker, who was engaged in the Lord Chancellor's Court, the further arguments were ordered to stand over. The "further arguments" I have not been able to procure.

The End of the Queenwood Community.

The reader has seen in the chapter on "Lost Communities" in the previous volume the closing days of Queenwood. Twenty years after, in 1865, a suit in Chancery being instituted the property was sold and the assets distributed.

After paying the expenses allowed by the Court, and one creditor, who was held to be entitled to be paid in full to the extent of £15 10s. 10d., there remained for division £6226 19s. 5d. amongst the several persons in the proportions hereunder mentioned.

All those who had to receive less than £10 obtained it from Messrs. Ashurst, Morris & Co., of 6, Old Jewry, London; those whose dividends exceeded £10 received payment from the Accountant-General, on being identified by a solicitor upon such application.

The following is a list of the persons and amounts payable to them :—

Loan holders of Queenwood.

	£	s.	d.
Joseph Craven & Mary Craven	16	7	8
Ann Craven	20	10	1
Green, Charles F. ...	11	13	6
Pare, William ...	191	17	5
William Pare	2679	14	5
Galpin, Thomas D. ...	1020	15	3
Travis, Henry	205	1	0
Trevelyan, Arthur ...	41	0	2
Barton, J. W.	82	0	2
Robinson, Thomas ...	4	19	4
Sutton, James W. ...	38	19	2
Scoular, William ...	4	2	0
Russell, Wallace . .	4	2	0
Stapleton, Joseph G....	1	8	4
Smith, Thomas ...	57	17	0
Tolmee, William F. ...	16	8	0
Marchant, Thomas F.	61	9	10
Marchant, Elizabeth...	2	9	2
Dornbusch, George ...	55	7	2
Banton, William ...	0	8	2
Barnes, John	2	1	0
Bartlett, William ...	19	4	9
Barton, Charles .	4	2	0
Beveridge, William S.	20	9	6
Betram, James ...	2	1	0
Berwick, John ...	4	1	10
Bracher, George ...	574	1	4
Buxton, John	20	9	6
Clement, Charles ...	0	8	2
Collier, John	3	5	7
Dean, Hannah ...	4	2	0
Dean, Mary A. ...	4	2	0
Duly, Thos. & Mary A.	8	12	4
Farn, J. C.	6	2	10
Garside, John G. ...	8	12	3
Gooding, James ...	5	14	2
Green, James	8	3	10
Hardy, Charles ...	2	18	6
Sarah McHugh ...	27	16	6
Holloway, James H. ...	0	16	4
Holliday, John H. ...	0	8	2
Howard, Samuel ...	1	16	0
Howard, Ashton ...	1	16	0
Ironsides, Isaac ...	1	12	8
Jackson, John... ...	28	18	7
Jackson, William ...	8	3	10
Jervis, James	4	1	6
Lauton, William ...	10	3	11
Lees, Robert	16	6	4
Matthison, Robert ...	8	3	2
Meadowcroft, William	3	16	8
Milson, John	2	0	9
Mellalieu, William ...	2	0	9
Messider, Isaac	0	8	2
Miller, Trusty	3	13	4
Paterson, Robert ...	3	16	4
Perry, James	6	2	4
Pilling, Andrew ...	3	12	7
Plant, James	2	0	9
Punter, William ...	21	12	4
Rhodes, William ...	0	8	2
Rhodes, William ...	1	12	7
Richard, James H. ...	11	6	6
Rose, William	1	12	7
Richa. l, James H. ...	11	6	6
Rose, William	8	3	2
Sturzaker, John ...	12	4	9
Sturzaker, Elizabeth ...	4	1	7
Trustees of Social Reformers' Benefit Society	20	9	7
Sturges, John	26	12	8
Smithies, James ...	5	14	10
Simpson, George ...	16	16	6
Simpson, Thomas ...	5	6	9
Tapping, James ...	19	4	0
Tithn, Charles ...	2	1	0
Walker, George ...	2	1	0
Wilson, Thomas ...	18	8	8
Whitely, John ...	69	3	9
Watterson, William ...	2	17	6
Wolfenden, Betsy ...	2	1	0
Wolfenden, William ...	1	4	6
Webley, John ...	3	13	2
Whitehead, John ...	0	8	2
Thomasson, Thomas ...	8	4	0
Mitchell, Samuel ...	0	12	4
Pearson, Charles, Executor of Elizabeth Pearson	86	0	10
Pearson, Charles, Administrator of Amelia Pearson	86	0	10
Gurney, John ...	0	8	2
Carr, John	19	19	8
Trustees of the Hall of Science Bldng. Socty.	12	6	5

Famous decision of Lord Romilly.

	£	s.	d.
Boyce, James ...	6	8	2
Browne, John ...	6	10	8
Healey, George ...	7	4	0
Harrison, Francis ...	2	9	2
Samuel, George W. ..	20	9	7
Lees, Thomas P. ..	8	4	0
Palmer, Edward, ...	6	3	0
Robinson, Samuel ...	4	2	0
Smith, Samuel ...	2	0	9
Truelove, Edward ...	8	11	3
Black, Richard H. ...	265	11	0
The Trustee of the Good Samaritan Lodge of Odd Fellows of Manchester Union, Lodge 1337	12	9	0
Ardhill, John... ...	41	4	0
The Trustees of Lodge No. 201 of the Order of Free Gardeners...	4	17	0
Lamb, Lewis	1	19	6
Batt, Philip; Whitely, Thomas; and Robinson, John, Executors of Hirstwood, R. ...	10	4	4
Ramdens, William ...	0	16	6
Shepherd, Samuel ...	1	4	8
Lees, Edward ...	0	8	2
	£ [illegible]	19	5

The expenses incurred by Mr. Pare in carrying out this suit amounted to £360. The suits were conducted by Mr. George Davis of Mr. Ashurst's firm, and it was owing to his skill, resource, and mastery of the case that the money recovered reached so large an amount. The defaulting trustees endeavoured to defame the principles of Mr. Owen, and to prejudice the Master of the Rolls against the case, it was a matter of justice that they should be defeated. Sir John Romilly exceeded all that was to be expected of any judge, and he refused to suffer the trustees to escape by these means, which in days not then long gone, would have been successful. Mr. Davis's control of the case was surrounded with difficulties which would have deterred many solicitors, and placed the creditors who benefited by his judgment and success under great obligation to him.

Reciprocity in Shop-keeping.

After contending in several places in this work that it was in the power of shop-keepers of wit to apply Co-operation to their own business, a circular reaches me from Glasgow, issued by a sagacious tradesman there, a Tea Merchant who has a large establishment at 508, Gallowgate, written with evident candour and business explicitness,

setting forth the new method of dealing. Being the first document of the kind, it will be instructive to many tradesmen, if I insert it here. Mr. John McKenzie, the tea merchant in question, thus states the principle of Reciprocity he has introduced :—

"Every one, whether he has been in business or not, knows that the natural competition of trade keeps the shopkeeper's profits low ; and if he makes any gift to his customers upon small purchases, he must be a loser by it. If, therefore, a customer is offered such gifts, he has good reason to suppose that the articles he buys are inferior to what they ought to be, and if he does suppose it, he will commonly be right.

"The only ways in which profits can be made in business is by numerous customers and consequently large sales, which enable the shop-keeper to buy in the best markets. It is by this reciprocity alone that profit can arise, which can be divided with purchasers. Therefore, if customers make purchases to the necessary amount, a real reciprocal plan of giving dividends on purchases can be carried out.

"The tea trade is one of the best fitted of any business for applying this reciprocity principle, and we have arranged to make the experiment for one year, dating from January, 1878.

"Therefore upon every purchase of tea of the amount of 4d. and upwards a metal warrant will be given, and when these warrants amount to 5s. a return will be made of 4d. in money, which amounts to a dividend of 1s. 4d. in the £ sterling.

"We prefer paying the dividend to purchasers in money as the honest way. When the public have the money in their hands they know that they have their money's worth, which they are not sure of when they are paid a dividend in articles of doubtful value and more doubtful use. We try this experiment because we think a practical and simple form of reciprocity is possible in shop-keeping, and

believe that if the public understand it they will try it, and if they do try it they will find it satisfactory.

"The public are not generally aware what interest they have in buying the best teas. The Government duty is uniform, and is sixpence each pound weight upon good and bad teas alike; so that if a purchaser buys twenty shillings worth of 'cheap' tea, at 1s. 8d. per pound, he pays six shillings in duty, or a Government tax of 30 per cent. while if he bought twenty shillings worth of very fine tea, at 3s. 4d. per pound, he only pays three shillings duty, or a Government tax of 15 per cent., and has the value of the other 15 per cent. in high quality. Thus the public, not being acquainted with the subject, buy 'cheap' tea, not knowing that it is the dearest tea, and not only dear, but often dangerous, and they are taxed enormously for drinking it. Whereas, the best tea is not only greatly cheaper but a luxury to drink, and goes further, because it has real quality. We have never sought to sell 'cheap' but 'good' teas. We have made our business by it, and we do not doubt being believed by any who make the experiment of buying from us.

"With accessible, convenient, and commodious premises, and a well organised service, it is possible for us to sell a larger quantity of tea without increased expenses, and it is the profit upon increased sales, without increased expenses, that enables a dividend to be given. We can thus give (with a dividend of 1s. 4d. in the £) the same superior quality of tea which we have always supplied.

"This is our whole case. Were it not explained, the public might think it a new device to allure custom by seeming to make a gift for which the purchaser paid either in price or quality of the article he bought. Any sensible person can understand the good faith of the plan. We make no change in price—no change in quality. The dividend is given out of economy made by larger sales. It would be dishonest to promise what we could not perform, and foolish to promise what the public did

not see could be performed. We have therefore frankly explained the grounds on which we ask the support of the public in this experiment of honest and substantial dividends in the tea trade, on the fair Principle of Reciprocity."

Progress of Co-operative Workshops.

The Marquis of Ripon's address to the Congress of Manchester, 1878, which drew attention to the tardy progress of Co-operative Production, has increased public interest in it. As yet competitive employers in many towns are before co-operative employers in extending the participation of profits to labour. What any visitor to Nottingham hears from workmen in Mr. Samuel Morley's lace factories in that town, would make a remarkable and pleasant chapter in the history of workshops Some time ago I received from an eminent auctioncer's firm in London their scheme of the recognition of skill, goodwill, and assiduity in business among their employers, which had many equitable and kind features. The statement had been prepared for the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, who is known to have established similar arrangements in his great business. The great Co-operative Wholesale Society, described in a previous Chapter, has now several productive works. There is no reason why they should not set the example of instituting real co-operative workshops; build and stock them, paying their managers and workpeople the ordinary wages of the day for the services they respectively render, then (after discharging interest on capital and other costs of materials and taxes, providing funds for the redemption of the works, for their depreciation, a reserve fund for casualties, and one for education,) divide the profits equally between the Wholesale as order givers and consumers, and all persons employed according to their wages, which are the measure of their merits. When the works were redeemed and interest on capital ceased, the half profits to the Wholesale would be the greater; besides

their being owners of the works in reward for their enterprise and wisdom in providing capital. And labour would thus win a substantial share of the profits. Thus Co-operative Workshops would exist which might be pointed to with pride.

Co-operation Proposed to Pope Pius IX.

Astute Co-operators, with a turn of mind for State Socialism, followed in the footsteps of Mr. Owen, and sought to interest courts and clergy in their schemes. Mr. John Minter Morgan was so sanguine of this kind of success, that he sought an audience with the Pope in 1847. In May, 1846, he had held a public meeting in Exeter Hall, London, at which the Bishop of Norwich, Lord John Manners, and Sir Harry Verney were present. The object was to promote self-supporting villages for people destitute of employment. The number of persons in each village was to be 300, and £40,000 was the capital required for the undertaking. A vague reference occurred in the prospectus to "the period when the inmates would become proprietors;" but whether self-government was then to be a right was not mentioned. The village was to be a place under favourable conditions of religion, morals, health, and industry, into which people were to be invited to come and be good. There were to be two rulers, a resident clergyman and a director: and if they were genial and tolerant gentlemen, a pleasant tame life, undisturbed by Nonconformists or politics, could be had. In 1847 Mr. Morgan carried his scheme. The Secretaries of the scheme were the Rev. Edmund R. Larken, afterwards one of the principal proprietors of the "Leader" newspaper, the Rev. Joseph Brown, who gave poor London children happy days at Ham Common every year, and Mr. Morgan himself. If the projected villages were to be directed in the spirit of these gentlemen they would surely have been happy and popular. There were three bishops, those of

Exeter, St. David's, and Norwich, Vice-Presidents of the Village Society. Considering how angry the Bishop of Exeter was at Mr. Owen's community schemes, it was a great triumph of Mr. Morgan to induce this bishop to be Vice-President of another. Lord John Manners, Mr. Monckton Milnes, M.P. (now Lord Houghton), the Hon. W. F. Cowper, M.P. (now Mr. Cowper-Temple, M.P.), were upon the committee, which included eighteen clergymen. Though these probably had Church objects in view, the majority, like Mr. Cowper-Temple, whom we know as a real friend of co-operation, were doubtless mainly actuated by a sincere desire to advance the social improvement of the people. Their prospectus said that "competition in appealing to selfish motives only, enriching the few and impoverishing the many, is a false and unchristian principle engendering a spirit of envy and rivalry."

In 1847 Mr. Morgan carried his model and paintings * of his village scheme to Rome; he says contemptuously that "the British Consular agent, being more favourable to Free Trade and the general principles of Political Economy, took no interest in the plan." At length Monsignor Corboli Bussi, Private and Confidential Secretary to the Pope, "devoted nearly an hour and a half to an examination of the plan, and informed Mr. Morgan that His Holiness would meet him at three o'clock or half-past three, as he descended to walk that day, February 23rd, 1847, and that Mr. Morgan was to attend on Monsignor Maestro de Camera, in his apartment a little before three."

On that afternoon, the Peripatetic Communist and the Pope were to be seen in consultation together. His Holiness commended the object, and said the painting had been explained to him. Mr. Morgan asked the Pope to commend his plan to the Catholics. He said he would speak to Mr. Freeborn, the Consular Agent. Mr. Morgan

* Where are they now? They were of some merit as works of art, for Mr. Morgan was a gentleman of wealth and taste. They ought to be preserved in the Social Museum of the Central Board—when it puts up one.

wrote to that unsympathetic Consular Agent who never replied. Then Mr. Morgan prayed Monsignor Bussi that "His Holiness should be pleased to direct that he, Mr. Morgan, should be honoured with a letter, implying, in such terms as his superior wisdom and goodness would dictate, that the theory of the plan appeared to be unobjectionable, and that he would be glad to hear of experiments being made according to local circumstances." "Such a letter," Mr. Morgan added, "would not be incompatible with the rule, which he understood His Holiness observed of not interfering with the temporal affairs of our countries."

Mr. Morgan's transparent painting was sent back to him with the civil intimation, that the Holy Father and August Sovereign had "gone so far as to remit the printed exposition which accompanied Mr. Morgan's project to the examination of the Agricultural Commission, presided over by His Eminence Cardinal Massimo."

The Christian Village propagandist had interviews with Cardinal Massimo, and sent to the Pope the assurance that "that which peculiarly distinguished the proposed Christian colony from the constitution of society in general, was the power which it afforded of maintaining the supremacy of religion, not only in theory and in precept, and in framing the laws and regulations, but by suppressing and prohibiting all institutions, practices, and influences calculated to impair the love of God and man as the ruling principle of action."

There is no more instructive example than this of what state or clerical socialism comes to. Never was a more ignominious proposal carried to Rome by an English Protestant gentleman. It was an offer to place co-operative Industrialism under the conditions of an absolute clerical despotism, which might include an Inquisition in every village. No poverty, no precariousness of competitive life is so abject or humiliating as this ignominious tutelage and control.

Mgr. John Corboli Bussi wrote Mr. Morgan from Quirinal Palace, April 18th, 1847, saying, "Very willingly I will place under the eyes of His Holiness, my august sovereign, the note you have remitted: and afterwards, as I suppose, it will be communicated to the Agricultural Commission. But I am not able to foresee the result. Certainly I cannot but praise your moral principles and judgment, and I believe every generous and religious heart would partake of them. But as to the application of these principles to the economy of a country like ours I could not dare to have an opinion."

Thus ended the negotiation between Mr. Morgan and the Pope. Some respect is due to the Vatican for allowing the proposal made to it—to pass out of sight.

When old feudality disappeared, and the serf-class passed into dependence upon the capitalist class, anybody with eyes that could see social effects, discerned that wages, which gave industrial freedom would lead to growing intelligence and social aspiration, which being constantly checked by the larger foresight and more powerful ambition of capital, there would be never-ending hostility between capital and labour, until labour learned to acquire capital and self-direction for its own advantage. This opened a field which unscrupulous adventurers could enter and obtain a following among workmen, by promising a political deliverance which no political contrivance can give. When working people come to have votes, the same adventurers taught them distrust of their own efforts, distrust of the middle class who were nearest to them in sympathy and in industry, and who alone stood between the people and the sole rule of the aristocracy. When this distrust was well diffused, these skilful professors of sympathy with the people who had been their enemies in all their contests for freedom, asked for their confidence at the poll, which, as soon as it was obtained,

they set up Personal Government, and put a sword to the throats of those who had given them power, as the Emperor Napoleon did. State Socialism means the promise of a dinner, and a bullet when you ask for it. It never meant anything else and never gave anything else. Co-operation is the discovery of the means by which an industrious man can provide his own dinner (without depriving any one else of his), and the certainty of eating it with pride, security, and independence.

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