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The peculiar position of registered Trade Unions is next explained together with the formalities necessary to obtain and the advantages and obligations obtained by registration.

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The movement, as we have said, had two sources in England. One of these began in 1881 when the Democratic Federation was founded by Mr. H. M. Hyndman. It was intended to be, as its name implies, a federation of London Radical Clubs for the promotion of radical measures such as the abolition of the House of Lords, and of Land Nationalisation. This federal plan was never in fact realised. Its leading members were not exclusively Socialists, and included William Morris, Belfort Bax, Herbert Burrows, Dr. Edward Aveling, and

Helen Taylor, the step-daughter and literary executor of John Stuart Mill. Mr. Hyndman published his *Historic Basis of Socialism* in 1883, and this introduced the ideas of Marx to the English-speaking world. The Federation soon became openly Socialist, and in August 1884 it changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation, which it retained until 1908 when it substituted 'Party' for 'Federation.' *Justice*, the organ of the Federation, and recently of the British Socialist Party, was founded as a weekly paper in January 1884.

Marx himself died in 1883 before the new movement was well on foot, and it was in this year also, some six months after his death, that with the Fabian Society the English Socialist movement began to take shape.

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- APPENDICES.  
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"*The Truth About Woman* is one of the most astounding books it has ever been my lot to read. It is extraordinarily well written, with a fluency and ease that yet never misses a point. *It is packed from cover to cover with real knowledge acquired at the expense of long and laborious research, but it has not a dull page in it.* It bristles with controversial matters, but it is never ill-tempered or shrill. It is absolutely outspoken and fearless, but it is totally free from offence. The utter sincerity of purpose of the writer breathes through every line. *It is the work of a remarkable mind, and it is a book that challenges the attention of, and that ought to be read by, every thinking man and woman . . .* her book will raise an outcry . . . Mrs. Gallichan has elected to speak out on subjects about which there is a conspiracy of silence. Moreover, in expounding what she believes to be the truth she does not hesitate to throw over deep-rooted conventions, prejudices, and centuries-old convictions."

#### GLOBE

"One of the most interesting discussions on the relations of the sexes that we have seen . . . an important contribution to the literature of the subject."

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"I don't know that any modern writer has probed an exceedingly difficult and complicated subject more lucidly, more clearly, and, in these days of many authors, may I add, more interestingly."

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### CONTENTS

CHAP.

I INTRODUCTION—THE STARTING-POINT OF THE INQUIRY.

#### PART I—BIOLOGICAL SECTION

II THE ORIGIN OF THE SEXES.

III GROWTH AND REPRODUCTION.

I The Early Position of the Sexes.

II Two Examples—The Beehive and the Spider.

IV THE EARLY RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEXES.

V COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND THE FAMILY.

I Among the Birds and Mammals.

II Further Examples of Courtship, Marriage, and the Family among Birds.

PART II—HISTORICAL SECTION

CHAP.

VI—THE MOTHER-AGE CIVILISATION.

- I Progress from Lower to Higher Forms of the Family Relationship.
- II The Matriarchal Family in America.
- III Further Examples of the Matriarchal Family in Australia, India, and other Countries.
- IV The Transition to Father-right.

VII—WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE GREAT CIVILISATION OF ANTIQUITY

- I In Egypt. II In Babylon. III In Greece. IV In Rome.

PART III—MODERN SECTION : PRESENT-DAY ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN PROBLEM

VIII SEX DIFFERENCES.

IX APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING CHAPTER WITH SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON SEX DIFFERENCE

- I Women and Labour.
- II Sexual Differences in Mind and the Artistic Impulse in Women.
- III The Affectability of Woman—Its Connection with the Religious Impulse.

X THE SOCIAL FORMS OF THE SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP.

- I Marriage. II Divorce. III Prostitution.

XI THE END OF THE INQUIRY.

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By B. L. HUTCHINS

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ii, The Individualistic View: the Weak Side of the  
Patriarchal Ideal—iii, The Weak Side of the Indi-  
vidualistic Ideal—iv, The Anomaly—v, The Young  
Woman—vi, The Married Woman—vii, The  
Married Woman Working—viii, The Social Care  
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Some view women's work other than domestic as a modern innovation, but others again view it as a relic of barbarism which should be gradually got rid of by social progress and by educating them so that their interests should centre in the family. Others again see in woman the originator of industry and manufactures and consider that she has been excluded from the skilled mechanic arts and crafts of to-day by the jealousy and domineering spirit of man.

This book traces the origin of these widely diverse views and raises the question as to how far they are due to the pressure of economic needs and circumstances. The author hopes that a statement of these opposing views may perhaps effect something to clear the ground and possibly even help the combatants to think a little better of one another.

---

\**Conflicting Ideals: Two Sides of the Woman's Question*, by B. L. HUTCHINS. Published by THOMAS MURBY & Co., 6, Bouverie Street, London, E.C.

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*PALL MALL GAZETTE*.—'Miss Brooke has a fine gift for handling the fundamental passions of life in a primitive setting.'

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*SCOTSMAN*.—'Miss Emma Brooke's new novel has the charm which comes of power in the handling of elemental passions and of earnestness in the portrayal of simple character.'

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FRIDAY, MAY 24TH, TO WEDNESDAY, MAY 29TH, 1912.

(For particulars see this month's issue of *Fabian News*.)

To the Secretary, Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

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To the Secretary, Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

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## FABIAN SOCIETY.

A DEBATE on SOCIALISM will take place at Queen's Hall, Langham Place (Sole Lessees: Chappell & Co., Ltd.), W., between BERNARD SHAW & HILAIRE BELLOC, on Tuesday, January 28, 1913. Chair will be taken at 8 p.m.

SEATS:—Sofa Stalls (numbered and reserved), 10/- 5/- and 2/6. Grand Circle (numbered and reserved), 5/- and 2/6. Platform (lower rows of Orchestra, numbered and reserved), 5/- and 2/6. Balcony, Area, and Orchestra (numbered and reserved), 1/-

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# Fabian Summer School.

*Fifth Session, 1911.*

HOTEL MONTE MORO, SAAS-GRUND,  
VALAIS, SWITZERLAND.



*The Village of Saas-Grund.*

*G. P. Abraham, Keswick.*

## **Managing Committee :**

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CLIFFORD SHARP.

C. H. O'DONOGHUE.

**J. W. SHAW, *Secretary.***

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SOCIALISTS, of all people, should not be insular. The Committee, therefore, feels that it is taking a step which will appeal to members in choosing a centre among the Alps, for the Session to be held in the coming Summer. Not only will members enjoy the magnificent Swiss scenery, and a more bracing atmosphere than in the past, but they will have the opportunity of acquainting themselves somewhat with the methods of government and administration of the country.

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In this beautiful valley a good hotel has been secured, which will, with its *dependances*, accommodate some eighty guests. The Hotel is surrounded by extensive gardens containing croquet and tennis courts and also a pavilion for lectures, discussions, and social meetings. The hotel and its appendages are to be reserved exclusively for members of the school. Guests will further have the advantage of visiting the Hotel Weissmies, situated at an altitude of 9,000 feet, at a small additional cost. From this point can be viewed one of the finest panoramas of snow-crested mountain in Switzerland,

and early risers will be able to see the morning blush on Monte Rosa, from which that famous peak is popularly supposed to have gained its name. So much for the attractions of the neighbourhood.

The Educational work of the school will be divided into three periods, each covering about a fortnight, and presided over by a Director. The meetings will commence on Sunday, July 30th, and will continue till September 7th. There will be three in each week supplemented by occasional debates and papers. Whenever possible the lectures will be given in the open air. Excursions will be arranged, and a list of walks and climbs drawn up for those who prefer to go independently.

The aim of the Committee is to combine a healthy and pleasant holiday with facilities for studying social problems, and also to give members the opportunity of social intercourse with those who are engaged in different branches of reform work.

The Lectures to be given in each fortnight will be connected with some definite aspect of the Socialist Movement. From July 31st to August 12th, the present position of Socialism in England, Germany, France, etc., will be dealt with by competent authorities. The lectures in the second fortnight will deal with the growth of Economic Democracy in England. The third fortnight will be devoted mainly to a consideration of some of the problems of Socialism—theoretical and practical.

In these surroundings and in this bracing air, the educational side of the School should prove more than ever stimulating and helpful. It is believed that members, after such a holiday, will find themselves strengthened in their faith and possessed of renewed vigour to help forward the cause of Socialism.

**As each party is strictly limited, those wishing to join should send in an application, accompanied by a deposit of 10/=-, to the Secretary, Fabian Summer School, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.**

**The balance must be paid in full at least 14 days before the departure of the party joined.**



*Photo by*

*The Path from Stalden to Saas.*

*G. P. Abraham, Keswick.*

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### ITINERARY.

Members will meet at Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., at 9 a.m. on the dates of departure for the 10 o'clock boat train to Newhaven, in which special carriages will be reserved for them. They will travel by Dieppe and Paris (Gare St. Lazare), arriving there at 6.43 p.m., where omnibuses will be waiting to convey the party to the Gare de Lyon, thence departing at 10.10 p.m. for Lausanne, which is reached at 7.55 next morning. Here a plain breakfast will be served. At 9.10 a.m. they will proceed (travelling the rest of the way 3rd class) to Stalden, where lunch will be provided at about 1 p.m. After a good rest members will complete the journey on foot. The walk from Stalden to Saas-Grund is one of the most beautiful in Switzerland, the footpath winding for the most part close to the river in a steady ascent. At Huttigen, which is about half way



between Stalden and Saas, there will be a halt for tea and another rest. The luggage, as well as those who do not feel equal to the walk,\* will be conveyed the whole way on mules.

**Short Sea Route.**—It is possible to arrange for a limited number of members to travel by Folkestone-Boulogne if desired, for an extra payment of 15/- return.

**Break of Journey at Stalden.**—Arrangements can be made for a limited number to spend the night at the hotel at Stalden on payment of 7/6 extra if notice be given on the form of application.

**Railway Facilities.**—Members travelling from the Provinces can, in most cases, obtain through the Secretary return tickets to London at a fare and a quarter. Those wishing to avail themselves of this arrangement should forward the cost of this ticket when remitting the balance due from them.

**Return.**—Tickets are available for 25 days,† and members must travel the whole way out together. They may travel back independently and break the journey at intermediate stations, provided they do not exceed the time limit of the ticket.

**Cost.**—For the fortnight including the School fee:—

	£	s.	d.
(a) To those sharing rooms ... ..	8	12	6
(b) To those requiring single-bedded rooms or accommodation on the best floor of the hotel ... ..	9	15	0

For the week for those staying beyond the fortnight, or travelling independently:—

(a) To those sharing rooms ... ..	2	5	0
(b) To those requiring single-bedded rooms, &c.	2	16	0

**These charges will include:—**

1. Second class return London-Lausanne.‡
2. Conveyance on the outward journey across Paris.
3. Third class Lausanne to Stalden and back.
4. Conveyance of luggage, Stalden to Saas-Grund and back.
5. Plain breakfast, lunch and tea on the journey out.
6. All gratuities to hotel servants.
7. Hotel accommodation from before dinner on day of arrival to after lunch on the following Friday week. This includes plain breakfast, lunch at 12.30, dinner at 7 p.m., bed, lights and attendance.
8. The use of croquet and tennis courts.

\* The walk from Stalden takes about 4 hours. Those who wish to ride this distance can do so at an extra charge of 10/-, by giving 14 days' notice. Members may jointly hire mules.

† Those who join the School, and wish to prolong their stay abroad for more than 25 days, can get tickets available for 60 days at an extra cost of £2, but notice must be given at the time of booking.

‡ Members may travel 1st class to Lausanne by paying £1 10s. extra, or 1st class on the boat (both journeys) for an extra 5/-, provided the number so desiring reaches 30.

**Luggage.**—In order to avoid unnecessary expense, members should bring only as much luggage as they can easily carry. The Directors cannot be responsible for any charge for extras, porters' tips, etc. Luggage should be registered to Stalden; 56 lbs. is allowed free on English and French railways, the charge for excess being  $\frac{3}{10}$  for every 20 lbs., or part thereof. There is no free allowance on the Swiss railways (except for hand luggage), the charge being 10d. for every 20 lbs., or part thereof. From Stalden to Saas luggage up to 40 lbs. is allowed free, all over that involves extra expense to the owner.

**General Hints.**—

All luggage should be clearly labelled, with labels that will be sent with ticket.

Members should bring food for the journey to Lausanne or arrange to dine in Paris.

At high altitudes nights are cold and warm clothing will be necessary.

Bring light mackintosh, rug, field glasses, drinking cup, light string bag or strap wallet, thick boots with nails, spare labels and soap.

On the journey out wear walking attire.

**Vegetarians.**—Those wishing it can be provided with a vegetarian diet if notice is given on application.

**Extras.**—For the following items, which are not included in the above cost, special rates have been secured for members, and will be charged for in their private bills:—

Afternoon Tea	...	...	...	...	Fr. 1.00
Pot of Tea	...	...	...	...	„ 0.50
Sitz baths, cold	...	...	...	...	„ 0.40
„ „ hot	...	...	...	...	„ 0.60
Large bath in bathroom, cold	...	...	...	...	„ 1.00
„ „ „ hot	...	...	...	...	„ 2.00
Extra payment for meals taken at Hotel Weissmies	...	...	...	...	„ 0.50
Bedroom at Hotel Weissmies	...	...	...	...	„ 4.50

**PROGRAM FOR SUMMER SESSION, 1911.**

*Directors of the School:*

From July 28 to August 11	...	F. LAWSON DODD.
„ August 11 to August 25	...	PERCY ALDEN, M.P.
„ August 25 to Sept. 8	...	EDWARD R. PEASE.

*General Manager:*

MISS MARY HANKINSON.

**FIRST FORTNIGHT.**

- FRIDAY, JULY 28. Members meet Director, Victoria Station (London), L. B. & S. C. Rly., 9 a.m. for 10 a.m. boat train to Newhaven.
- SATURDAY, JULY 29. Arrive Saas Grund.
- SUNDAY, JULY 30. 3 p.m. General Assembly of members. Inaugural address by the Director.
- MONDAY, JULY 31. Lecture on "Moral Evil and Moral Order," by Dr. JAMES WARD, Professor of Mental Philosophy, Cambridge.
- TUESDAY, AUGUST 1. Organised Excursion.
- WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2. Lecture on "The Elements of Socialism," by F. LAWSON DODD.
- THURSDAY, AUGUST 3. Organised Excursion.
- FRIDAY, AUGUST 4. Lecture on "Present Position of Socialism in France," by ROBERT HERTZ, Graduate of Ecole Normale, Paris.
- SATURDAY, AUGUST 5. Organised Excursion.
- SUNDAY, AUGUST 6. Lecture on "Faith," by Professor JAMES WARD.
- MONDAY, AUGUST 7. Lecture on "Present Position of Socialism in Germany," by Fraulein HELENE SIMON.
- TUESDAY, AUGUST 8. Organised Excursion.
- WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9. Lecture on "Labor Movements and Labor Laws in Germany," by Fraulein HELENE SIMON.
- THURSDAY, AUGUST 10. Lecture on "Women's Economic Position in German Trade and Commerce," by Fraulein HELENE SIMON.
- FRIDAY, AUGUST 11. Departure of members.

**SECOND FORTNIGHT.**

- FRIDAY, AUGUST 11. Members meet Director, Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., at 9.0 for 10 a.m. boat train.
- SATURDAY, AUGUST 12. Arrive Saas Grund.
- SUNDAY, AUGUST 13. General Assembly. Address by Director.
- MONDAY, AUGUST 14. First of a series of lectures on "Growth of Economic Democracy in England," by PERCY ALDEN, M.P.  
I. "Democracy and the Child."
- TUESDAY, AUGUST 15. Organised Excursion.
- WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16. Lecture II. "Democracy and Unemployment," by PERCY ALDEN.
- THURSDAY, AUGUST 17. Organised Excursion.
- FRIDAY, AUGUST 18. Lecture on "The Elements of Socialism," by R. CLIFFORD ALLEN, B.A.
- SATURDAY, AUGUST 19. Organised Excursion.
- SUNDAY, AUGUST 20. General Assembly. Address on "Personal Service," by Miss TCHAYKOVSKY, M.D.
- MONDAY, AUGUST 21. Lecture III. "Democracy and the Labor Movement," by PERCY ALDEN.
- TUESDAY, AUGUST 22. Organised Excursion.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23. Lecture IV. "Democracy and Insurance," by PERCY ALDEN.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25. Departure of members.

### THIRD FORTNIGHT.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25. Members meet Director, Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., 9 a.m. for 10 a.m. boat train.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26. Arrive Saas Grund.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27. General Assembly. Address by Director.

MONDAY, AUGUST 28. Lecture on "The Growth of International Solidarity," by MABEL ATKINSON, M.A.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29. Organised Excursion.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30. Lecture on "The Distinctive Ideas of Fabianism," by EDW. R. PEASE, Secretary of the Fabian Society.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 31. Organised Excursion.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1. Lecture on "State Banking," by EDW. R. PEASE.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2. Organised Excursion.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. General Assembly.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4. Lecture on "The Rural Problem and Its Solution," by EDW. R. PEASE.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5. Organised Excursion.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6. Lecture on "The Black-coated Proletariat," by MABEL ATKINSON.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7. Lecture on "Democracy in Theory and Practice," by EDW. R. PEASE.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8. Departure of members.

The times of lectures will be fixed by the Director after arrival, and will depend upon local conditions of weather, etc.

Anglican Services are conducted each Sunday at Saas Grund. The religion of the Canton is Roman Catholic.

### A LIST OF EXCURSIONS.

- |                                  |                                   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Hotel Weissmies.              | 8. The Belvédère.                 |
| 2. Mattmark and Monte Moro Pass. | 9. Plattje (hotel), abt. 8000 ft. |
| 3. Saas Fee and Glacier.         | 10. Hallig Alp, abt. 8000 ft.     |
| 4. Trift Glacier.                | 11. Almagell Thal (hotel).        |
| 5. Weissmies Glacier.            | 12. Egginerthal, 7000 ft.         |
| 6. The Laquinjoch.               | 13. Lange Fluh, 9000 ft.          |
| 7. The Rossboden Glacier.        | 14. Trift Alp, 8000 ft.           |

PRELIMINARY—subject to alteration.

# Fabian Summer School.

*Fifth Session, 1911.*



HOTEL MONTE MORO, SAAS-GRUND,  
VALAIS, SWITZERLAND.



**Managing Committee :**

F. LAWSON DODD, *Chairman.*

MISS M. ATKINSON.

GERALD T. HANKIN.

MISS HANKINSON.

EDWARD R. PEASE.

MISS ENID STEELE.

W. STEPHEN SANDERS.

R. CLIFFORD ALLEN.

CLIFFORD SHARP.

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The Educational work of the school will be divided into three periods, each covering about a fortnight, and presided over by a Director. The organised lectures will commence on Monday, July 31st, and will continue till September 8th. There will be three in each week supplemented by occasional debates and papers. Whenever possible the lectures will be given in the open air. Excursions will be arranged, and a list of walks and climbs drawn up for those who prefer to go independently.

The aim of the Committee is to combine a healthy and pleasant holiday with facilities for studying social problems, and also to give members the opportunity of social intercourse with those who are engaged in different branches of Reform work.

The Lectures to be given in each fortnight will be connected with some definite aspect of the Socialist Movement. From July 31st to August 12th, the present position of Socialism in England, Germany, France, Switzerland, etc., will be dealt with by competent authorities. The lectures in the second fortnight will deal with the growth of Economic Democracy in England. The third fortnight will be devoted mainly to a consideration of the difficulties of Socialism— theoretical and practical.

In these surroundings and in this bracing air, the

educational side of the School should prove more than ever stimulating and helpful. It is believed that members, after such a holiday, will find themselves strengthened in their faith and possessed of renewed vigour to help forward the cause of Socialism.

**As each party is strictly limited, those wishing to join should apply, accompanied by a deposit of 10/-, to Secretary, Fabian Summer School, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.**

**The balance requires to be paid in full at least ten days before the departure of the party joined.**

#### ITINERARY.

Members will meet at Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., at 9.15 a.m. on the dates of departure for the 10 o'clock boat train to Newhaven, in which special carriages will be reserved for them. They will travel by Dieppe and Paris (Gare St. Lazare), arriving there at 6.43 p.m., where omnibuses will be waiting to convey the party to the Gare de Lyon, thence departing at 10.20 p.m. for Lausanne, which is reached at 7.55 next morning. Here a plain breakfast will be served. At 9.10 a.m. they will proceed (travelling the rest of the way 3rd class) to Stalden, where lunch will be provided at about 1 p.m. After a good rest members will complete the journey on foot. The walk from Stalden to Saas-Grund is one of the most beautiful in Switzerland, the footpath winding for the most part close to the river in a steady ascent. At Huttigen, which is about half way between Stalden and Saas, there will be a halt for tea and another rest. The luggage, as well as those who do not feel equal to the walk,\* will be conveyed the whole way on mules.

**Short Sea Route.**—It is possible to arrange for a limited number of members to travel by Folkestone-Boulogne if desired, for an extra payment of 15/- return.

**Railway Facilities.**—From towns in South of Scotland, and also from some places in the North of England, excursions are run to London on Thursday nights, from July to September, at greatly reduced fares. (*See Railway Handbills.*)

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\* The walk from Stalden takes about 4 hours. Those who wish to ride this distance can do so at an extra charge of 10/-, and by giving 14 days' notice members may jointly hire mules.



**Return.**—Tickets are available for 25 days,\* and members must travel the whole way out and back as far as Lausanne together. From Lausanne they may travel independently and break the journey at all intermediate stations, provided they do not exceed the time limit of the ticket.

**Cost.**—For the fortnight including the School fee:—

	£	s.	d.
(a) To those sharing rooms ... ..	8	12	6
(b) To those wishing single-bedded rooms or accommodation on the first floor of the hotel ... ..	9	15	0

**These charges will include:—**

1. Second class return London-Lausanne.†
2. Conveyance on the outward journey across Paris.
3. Third class Lausanne to Stalden and back.
4. Conveyance of luggage, Stalden to Saas-Grund and back.‡
5. Plain breakfast, lunch and tea on the journey out.
6. All gratuities to hotel servants.
7. Hotel accommodation from before dinner on day of arrival to after lunch on the following Friday week. This includes plain breakfast, lunch at 12.30, dinner at 7 p.m., bed, lights and attendance.
8. The use of croquet and tennis courts.

**Luggage.**—In order to avoid unnecessary expense, members should bring only as much luggage as they can easily carry. The Directors cannot be responsible for any charge for extras, porters' tips, etc. Luggage should be registered to Stalden; 56 lbs. is allowed free on English and French railways, hence the charge levied, which is quite small, is for the Swiss railways out. From Stalden to Saas luggage up to 40 lbs. is allowed free, all over that involves extra expense to the owner.

**General Hints.**—

- All luggage should be clearly labelled.
- Members should bring food for the journey to Lausanne or arrange to dine in Paris.
- At high altitudes nights are cold and warm clothing will be necessary.
- Bring light mackintosh, field glasses, drinking cup, light string bag or strap wallet, thick boots with nails, spare labels and soap.

\* Those who join the School, and wish to prolong their stay abroad for more than 25 days, can get tickets available for 60 days at an extra cost of £2, but notice must be given at the time of booking.

† Members may travel 1st class to Lausanne by paying about £1 10s. extra, or 1st class on the boat (both journeys) for an extra 5/-, provided the number so desiring reaches 30.

‡ Luggage should be registered to Stalden, free allowance.

**Vegetarians.**—Those wishing it can be provided with a vegetarian diet if notice is given on application.

**Extras.**—For the following items, which are not included in the above cost, special rates have been secured for members, and they will be charged for in their private bills.

<b>Afternoon Tea</b> ... ..	Fc. 1.00
<b>Pot of Tea</b> ... ..	„ 0.50
Sitz baths, cold ... ..	„ 0.40
„ „ hot ... ..	„ 0.60
Large bath in bathroom, cold ... ..	„ 1.00
„ „ „ hot ... ..	„ 2.00
Extra payment for meals taken at Hotel Weissmies ... ..	„ 0.50
Bedroom at Hotel Weissmies ... ..	„ 4.50

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### PROGRAM FOR SUMMER SESSION, 1911.

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*Directors of the School :*

From July 28 to August 11 ...	F. LAWSON DODD.
„ August 11 to August 25 ...	PERCY ALDEN, M.P.
„ August 25 to Sept. 8 ...	EDWARD R. PEASE.

*General Manager :*

MISS MARY HANKINSON.

#### FIRST FORTNIGHT.

FRIDAY, JULY 28. Meet Director, Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., 9.15 a.m. for 10 a.m. boat train to Newhaven.

SATURDAY, JULY 29. Arrive Saas Grund.

SUNDAY, JULY 30. 3 p.m. General Assembly of members. Inaugural address by the Director.

MONDAY, JULY 31. First of a series of lectures on "Present Position of Socialism." I. "Socialism in France," by ROBERT HERTZ, of Paris.

- TUESDAY, AUGUST 1. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2. First of two lectures on "The Elements of Socialism."  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 3. Organised Excursion.  
 FRIDAY, AUGUST 4. "Present Position of Socialism," Series II.  
 SATURDAY, AUGUST 5.  
 SUNDAY, AUGUST 6. General Assembly.  
 MONDAY, AUGUST 7. "Present Position of Socialism," Series III.  
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 8. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9. II. "The Elements of Socialism."  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 10. "Present Position of Socialism," Series IV.  
 FRIDAY, AUGUST 11. Departure of members.

### SECOND FORTNIGHT.

- FRIDAY, AUGUST 11. Members meet Director, Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., at 9.15 for 10 a.m. boat train.  
 SATURDAY, AUGUST 12. Arrive Saas Grund.  
 SUNDAY, AUGUST 13. General Assembly. Address by Director.  
 MONDAY, AUGUST 14. First of a series of lectures on "Growth of Economic Democracy in England," by the Director, Percy Alden, M.P. I. Introductory and Historical.  
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 15. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16. Lecture II. "The Child."  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 17. Organised Excursion.  
 FRIDAY, AUGUST 18. Lecture III. "Unemployment."  
 SATURDAY, AUGUST 19.  
 SUNDAY, AUGUST 20. General Assembly.  
 MONDAY, AUGUST 21. Lecture IV. "Land."  
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 22. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23. Lecture V. "Labour Movement."  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 24. Lecture VI. "Insurance."  
 FRIDAY, AUGUST 25. Departure of members.

### THIRD FORTNIGHT.

- FRIDAY, AUGUST 25. Members meet Director, Victoria Station (London) L. B. & S. C. Rly., 9.15 a.m. for 10 a.m. boat train.  
 SATURDAY, AUGUST 26. Arrive Saas Grund.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27. General Assembly.  
 MONDAY, AUGUST 28. Lecture.  
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 29. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30. Lecture.  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 31. Excursion.  
 FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1. Lecture.  
 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.  
 SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. General Assembly.  
 MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4. Lecture.  
 TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5. Organised Excursion.  
 WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6. Lecture.  
 THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7. Lecture.  
 FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8. Departure of members.

In addition to the organised lectures, there will be occasional debates and addresses at the School.

The times of lectures will be fixed by the Director after arrival, and will depend upon local conditions of weather, etc.

Anglican Services are conducted each Sunday at Saas Grund. The religion of the Canton is Roman Catholic.

#### A LIST OF EXCURSIONS.

- |                                     |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Hotel Weissmies.                 | 5. Weissmies Glacier.     |
| 2. Monte Moro Pass and<br>Mattmark. | 6. The Lequinjock.        |
| 3. Saas Fee and Glacier.            | 7. The Rossboden Glacier. |
| 4. Tuft Glacier.                    | 8. The Belvédère.         |

# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

BARROW HOUSE, *near* KESWICK, CUMBERLAND

1912



## MANAGING COMMITTEE:

F. LAWSON DODD - - - - - *Chairman*  
W. STEPHEN SANDERS - - - - - *Secretary*

MABEL ATKINSON  
EMIL DAVIES  
JACK GIBSON

MARY HANKINSON  
JAMES MYLLES  
CHAS. H. O'DONOGHUE  
EDWARD R. PEASE

Miss SANDHAM  
C. F. TOWNSEND  
A. W. WATKINS

# *List of Lecturers*

SESSION 1912,

SATURDAY, JULY 13, to SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

Sidney Webb.

Mrs. Sidney Webb.

Philip Snowden, M.P.

Professor E. A. Gardner, *London University.*

W. C. Anderson, *Chairman I.L.P.*

J. Lionel Tayler, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

H. D. Harben.

F. E. Green.

R. E. Dell.

F. Lawson Dodd, M.R.C.S., etc., etc.

Edward R. Pease, *Secretary, Fabian Society.*

J. J. Mallon, *Secretary, Anti-Sweating League.*

Wm. Stephen Sanders, *Organising Secretary,  
Fabian Society.*

Dr. Letitia Fairfield.

Miss Mary MacArthur.

The Rev. Canon Rawnsley.

Miss Clementina Black.

# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL.

## FORM OF APPLICATION FOR ENTRY.

I send herewith Booking Fee of Ten Shillings. Please enrol my name as a Member of the Fabian Summer School from Saturday ..... to Saturday ..... , 1912, I shall require accommodation @ ..... per week for ..... persons (see note at foot). I agree to conform to such regulations as may be made by the Committee for the efficient conduct of the School.

Special requirements :\* (1) Vegetarian Diet ; (2)

*\* Please strike out if not required.*

(Signed)

NOTE.—To ensure accommodation, this should be filled in and posted as soon as possible to the Secretary of the Fabian Summer School, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C. The balance of fees must be paid at 3, Clement's Inn, one clear week before the date of arrival.

**A complete Prospectus will be sent on application.**

## SCHOOL FEES.

### 1. Resident Members.

	PER WEEK.			PER DAY.		
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.	
(a) Single bedded rooms . . . . .	2	5	0	or	7	0
(b) Two persons sharing room . . . . .	1	17	6	„	6	0
(c) For three or four persons sharing room	1	15	0	„	5	6
(d)* Campers (two or four persons to a tent)	1	8	0	„	4	6

\*Campers will be expected to keep their tents and the camp in order themselves. These fees include charge for lectures and gratuities to servants.

**Swedish Gymnastics, 2/6 per week.**

### 2. Non-Resident Members may join the School, i.e., may attend all lectures and debates, have free access to grounds, or join excursions for a weekly fee of 5/-

Vegetarians will be catered for.

Applications for membership must be made on the form on other side, and must be accompanied by a booking fee of 10/- in part payment of the fees charged. The signature of the form will be taken as an agreement to abide by such rules as the Committee may from time to time draw up.

The balance of fees must be paid a clear week before the date of arrival.

## RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS.

Book to Keswick L. & N. W. R.

Fares from Euston Station : Tourist 45/3; Excursion (8, 10, or 15 days) 27/-; Week-ends 28/- (Friday to Tuesday).

Times of Trains from London, Manchester, Glasgow, &c., &c., are announced in the complete prospectus, which can be had on application.

## EXCURSIONS.

A long list of excursions to Skiddaw, Scawfell, Thirlmere, Buttermere, &c., &c., is being prepared. Members of the School should bring nailed boots with them for climbing.

At Easter and Whitsuntide parties will be arranged for at Barrow House, and during the other months the Committee are prepared to arrange for Conferences, Reading Parties, etc., on terms which can be had from the Secretary.



PRELIMINARY PROSPECTUS.

# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

BARROW HOUSE, *near* KESWICK, CUMBERLAND

1912



*Managing Committee :*

F. LAWSON DODD - - - - - *Chairman*  
W. STEPHEN SANDERS - - - - - *Secretary*

MABEL ATKINSON  
EMIL DAVIES  
JACK GIBSON

MARY HANKINSON  
JAMES MYLLES  
CHAS. H. O'DONOGHUE  
EDWARD R. PEASE

Miss SANDHAM  
C. F. TOWNSEND  
A. W. WATRINS

# *First List of Lecturers*

SESSION 1912.



- Mr. Sidney Webb ... ..
- Mrs. Sidney Webb ... ..
- Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P. ... ..
- Mr. Robert Hunter, *Author of "Socialists at Work"*
- Mr. J. Lionel Tayler, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. ... ..
- Mr. H. D. Harben ... ..
- Mr. F. E. Green ... ..
- Mr. R. E. Dell ... ..
- Mr. F. Lawson Dodd, M.R.C.S., etc., etc. ... ..
- Mr. Edward R. Pease, *Secretary, Fabian Society* ...
- Mr. J. J. Mallon, *Secretary, Anti-Sweating League...*
- Monsieur Robert Hertz, *Ancien Élève de l'Ecole  
Normal Supérieure, Agrégé de l'Université (Paris)*
- Wm. Stephen Sanders, *Organising Secretary, Fabian  
Society* ... ..



Arrangements are being made with other well-known lecturers, whose names will appear in the next issue of the prospectus.

# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL.

## FORM OF APPLICATION FOR ENTRY.

I send herewith Booking Fee of Ten Shillings. Please enrol my name as a Member of the Fabian Summer School from Saturday \_\_\_\_\_, 1913. I shall require accommodation @ \_\_\_\_\_ per week for \_\_\_\_\_ persons (see note at foot). I agree to conform to such regulations as may be made by the Committee for the efficient conduct of the School.

Special requirements: \* (1) Vegetarian Diet; (2) \_\_\_\_\_

*\* Please strike out if not required.*

(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE.—To ensure accommodation, this should be filled in and posted as soon as possible to the Secretary of the Fabian Summer School, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C. The Balance of fees must be paid at 3, Clement's Inn one





DERWENTWATER AND SKIDDAW, TAKEN FROM THE FRONT OF BARROW HOUSE.

## FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

BARROW HOUSE, *near* KESWICK, CUMBERLAND

1912

**A**FTER a temporary sojourn abroad, the Summer School will hold its sixth Session in the Lake District, where a large house has been taken and furnished by the Committee.

The new Centre, called Barrow House, is situate on the east side of Lake Derwentwater, about two miles south of Keswick.

It occupies an elevated position, whence the grounds slope down to the margin of the lake, with a landing stage, bathing place, and the site for an encampment. On this side is the tennis lawn and a fine walled-in vegetable

garden. Behind the house the land rises abruptly, and a steep and winding path leads through the woods past the very beautiful and well-known Barrow Falls to the mountains, which here rise to about 1,500 feet. To the north a woodland path leads to a stone building called the "Fort," where a small second camp is to be formed. A large area of land south of the house has been planned as an old English garden, and is quite a unique feature of the estate, with its paths winding their way through rockeries and beds stocked with a great variety of flowering plants, ferns and shrubs.

Barrow House itself is a well-built roomy XVIIIth century home, which is well adapted for the purpose of a Summer School. The Conferences will be held in the drawing room, which is exceptionally large, being capable of seating nearly 200 people. In addition to the drawing room there is an excellent library for the studios, and also a smoking room. From all the front rooms the views of the Lake and distant mountains are very grand, and the rooms at the back look out on to the falls and get a peep of Scawfell and the neighbouring heights.

Special attention has been paid to the sanitation of the house, and all has been put in perfect order and a sanitary certificate granted by the owner. The drainage system has been completely remodelled and laid out in the most modern way on lines suggested by the Summer School Committee. The water supply is ample and very soft and pure, coming directly from the moors to the house.

There will be in all accommodation for about sixty resident students in the house and the two encampments, but for those wishing to join the School as non-residents a list of suitable hotels and lodgings is given at the end of the syllabus.

The aim of the School is to bring together workers in the various grades of Social and Socialist work for mutual intercourse, and to afford opportunities for courses of lectures, debates and conversation dealing with the most modern problems of Sociology and Economics. But while study is one great object of the School, it is not forgotten that recreation and rest will be needed by those who come there. This locality has, therefore, been chosen on account of its being an excellent centre for mountaineering, walking and lake excursions; and picnics and organised outings will be arranged once or twice a week.

The outdoor recreations will include tennis, croquet, cricket, bathing, boating and fishing. Golf can be obtained at the links of the Keswick and Embleton Golf Clubs. Drives and motor excursions can also be arranged for parties.

The School will be open to members of the Fabian and of other Socialist Societies, and their friends, from July 13th to September 14th. The organised lectures will commence on July 21st and end on September 13th.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME—SUBJECT TO ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS.



THE HEAD OF DERWENTWATER AND SCAWFELL, SHOWING BARROW HOUSE AND GROUNDS.

## PROGRAMME FOR SUMMER SESSION, 1912.



### FIRST WEEK.

*Saturday, July 20th.* Arrival of members.

*Sunday, July 21st.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Inaugural Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, July 22nd.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special Lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, July 23rd.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures by **Dr. Lionel Tayler** on "Eugenics." *Lecture I.* The Study of Eugenics.

SYLLABUS.—The early beginnings of the Subject in Medical and Popular Literature—Weaknesses and defects of the body and mind—Those which are eradicated and those which are not—Predispositions to disease, healthy and unhealthy—Three methods of study—Huxley's view of Eugenics—What can be done.

*Wednesday, July 24th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures by **Dr. Lionel Tayler** on "Eugenics." *Lecture II.* The Scientific Demands of Eugenics.

SYLLABUS.—These are two ; one, for a healthy inheritance, the principles underlying the thought (examples, pedigrees of tuberculous, cancerous, insane and feeble-minded stocks) ; two, for a progressively mental inheritance and the problem raised by this, how far genius and talent can be inherited.

*Thursday, July 25th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Friday, July 26th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures by **Dr. Lionel Tayler** on "Eugenics." *Lecture III.* The Scientific Demands of Hygiene as distinct from Eugenics.

SYLLABUS.—The pre-parental problem—Healthy conditions of pre-natency, infancy and the whole immature period—Adult life and its demands—Is modern hygiene anti-eugenic ?

*Saturday, July 27th.* Arrival of members.

Organised Excursion.



## SECOND WEEK.

*Sunday, July 28th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.

8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, July 29th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Special lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion

*Tuesday, July 30th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures by **J. J. Mallon** on "Women in Industry." *Lecture I.*

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, July 31st.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures by **J. J. Mallon** on "Women in Industry." *Lecture II.*

SYLLABUS.—



*Thursday, August 1st.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Debate.

*Friday, August 2nd.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures by **J. J. Mallon** on "Women in Industry." *Lecture III.*

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, August 3rd.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.



### THIRD WEEK.

*Sunday, August 4th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, August 5th* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, August 6th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures by **Philip Snowden, M.P.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, August 7th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures by **Philip Snowden, M.P.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Thursday, August 8th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Debate.

*Friday, August 9th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures by **Philip Snowden, M.P.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, August 10th.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.



### FOURTH WEEK.

*Sunday, August 11th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, August 12th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special Lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, August 13th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures on "Colonising England" by **F. E. Green.** *Lecture I.* Individual and National Difficulties.

SYLLABUS.—Unsuitable land and high valuation—The County Council and corrupt practices—The Parish Councillor as Democrat—The three-fanged Cerberus—The lack of capital—The lack of reliable salesmen and markets—Romantic trading—The producer as salesman—Salesmen's vested interest—A good market a great stimulus to new productive methods—Mr. Fels and home colonising—Arithmetical agriculture—The uneconomic grass field—The fox and the hen—Throttled on transit—The self-binder versus the sickle—The thrashing engine versus the flail—The small owner—The cottage problem and the obstacle race—The Liberal Party an Urban Party—Hodge and a "Form."

*Wednesday, August 14th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures on "Colonising England" by **F. E. Green.** *Lecture II.* Lessons from "John Bull's Other Island."

SYLLABUS.—A Council versus a One-Man Show—The peasant proprietor—The Gombeen man: English and Irish—The English bureaucrat and the Irish Helpmate—Education: The practical Irish and the academic English—A cow preferred to a leaflet—The thirty-acre holding and its equipment—The Credit Bank—Farmers' wives rather than the "gentry's" servants—Tory State Socialism—The co-operative creamery and thrashing machine—The labourer's cottage and the dismay of the doctrinaire.

*Thursday, August 15th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Debate.

*Friday, August 16th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures on "Colonising England" by **F. E. Green.** *Lecture III.* Birth of a New England.

SYLLABUS.—Successful fertile districts: Evesham and the Wash—Poor soil and comparative success: and why—Striking individual cases—Hodge as producer beating the capitalist—The effort unnecessarily strenuous—The new efficient stroke—Tuning up the rusty machinery—The lack of initiative effort in decaying villages—Work for pioneers—The need for housing commissioners—The economic rent—The farmer's boy: his outlook—The minimum wage—The making of Board of Trade Returns—Ancillary crafts—The axe and the spinning wheel—The State as landlord, banker, and machine minder.

*Saturday, August 17th.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.



## FIFTH WEEK.

*Sunday, August 18th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, August 19th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special lecture by **Sidney Webb.**

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, August 20th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures by **Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, August 21st.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures by **Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Thursday, August 22nd.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Friday, August 23rd.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures by **Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb.**

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, August 24th.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.



### SIXTH WEEK.

*Sunday, August 25th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members  
in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, August 26th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special Lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, August 27th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures by **R. E. Dell.**  
*Lecture I.* Socialism and Roman Catholicism.

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, August 28th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures by **R. E. Dell.** *Lecture II.*  
Socialism and Roman Catholicism.

SYLLABUS.—

*Thursday, August 29th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Friday, August 30th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures by **R. E. Dell.** *Lecture III.*  
"New Social Movements in France."

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, August 31st.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.



### SEVENTH WEEK.

*Sunday, September 1st.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members  
in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8 p.m. Address and Discussion.

*Monday, September 2nd.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, September 3rd.* 10.30 a.m. First of two lectures by **Robert Hunter** on  
"Socialism in America." *Lecture I.*

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, September 4th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Second of two lectures by **Robert Hunter** on "Socialism  
in America." *Lecture II.*

SYLLABUS.—

*Thursday, September 5th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Friday, September 6th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Lecture by **Robert Hunter** on "An American View of  
English Socialism."

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, September 7th.* Arrival of members.  
Organised Excursion.

## EIGHTH WEEK.

*Sunday, September 8th.* 10 a.m. Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Address by the Director.  
8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Monday, September 9th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Special lecture (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Tuesday, September 10th.* 10.30 a.m. First of three lectures (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

*Wednesday, September 11th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Second of three lectures (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

*Thursday, September 12th.* 10.30 a.m. Organised Excursion.  
8.30 p.m. Discussion.

*Friday, September 13th.* 9.30 to 10 a.m. Swedish Drill Class.  
10.30 a.m. Third of three lectures (to be arranged).

SYLLABUS.—

*Saturday, September 14th.* Departure of members.



The Library will be supplied with books bearing on the subjects to be dealt with, and this room will be secured for those who wish a silent place for study.

Fabian literature will be on sale at the School.



## SCHOOL FEES.

### 1. Resident Members.

	£	s.	d.	
(a) Single bedded rooms - - -	2	5	0	per week.
(b) Two persons sharing room - -	1	17	6	„ „
(c) For three or four persons sharing room	1	15	0	„ „
(d)* Campers (two persons to a tent) -	1	8	0	„ „

\*Campers will be expected to keep their tents and the camp in order themselves.

**2. Non-Resident Members may join the School, i.e., may attend all lectures and debates, have free access to grounds, or join excursions for a weekly fee of 5/-**

**Vegetarians will be catered for.**

**Applications for membership must be made on the form issued at the office, and must be accompanied by a booking fee of 10/- in part payment of the fees charged. The signature of the form will be taken as an agreement to abide by such rules as the Committee may from time to time draw up.**

**The balance of fees must be paid a clear week before the date of arrival.**



### **RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS.**

Book to Keswick L. & N. W. R.

Fares from Euston Station : Tourist 45/3 ; Excursion (10 days) 27/- ;  
Week-ends 28/-, Friday to Tuesday.

Times of Trains from London, Manchester, Glasgow, &c., &c., will be announced in the next issue of the prospectus.



Members who give two clear days' notice to the Housekeeper, Barrow House, near Keswick, will be met at Keswick Station with conveyance for themselves and their luggage. Charge 1/- each way. There will be an additional charge of 1/- for luggage over 56 lbs.



### **HOTELS AND LODGINGS.**

A list of suitable Hotels and Lodgings will be included in the next issue of the prospectus.



### **EXCURSIONS.**

A long list of excursions to Skiddaw, Scawfell, Thirlmere, Buttermere, &c., &c., is being prepared, and will be included in the next issue of the prospectus. Members of the School should bring nailed boots with them for climbing.



At Easter and Whitsuntide parties will be arranged for at Barrow House, and during the other months the Committee are prepared to arrange for Conferences, Reading Parties, etc., on terms which can be had from the Secretary.

# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

## BARROW HOUSE, near KESWICK, CUMBERLAND

### 1913



Barrow House.

*Managing Committee of the School :*

F. LAWSON DODD = = = Chairman.

W. STEPHEN SANDERS = = = Secretary.

MABEL ATKINSON.

MARY HANKINSON.

J. MYLLES.

T. R. BANISTER.

H. D. HARBEN.

E. R. PEASE.

JACK GIBSON.

ETHEL F. MOOR.

BEATRICE E. THOMSON.



Derwentwater and Skiddaw, taken from the front of Barrow House.

## FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

*Barrow House, near Keswick, Cumberland*

The Summer School will hold its seventh session in the Lake District at Barrow House, which the Committee rented and furnished last year. Barrow House is situated on the east side of Derwentwater, about two miles south of Keswick. It occupies an elevated position whence the grounds slope down to the margin of the lake, with a landing stage, bathing place, and the site for an encampment. On this side is the tennis lawn and a fine walled-in vegetable garden. Behind the house the land rises abruptly, and a steep and winding path leads through the woods past the very beautiful and well-known Barrow Falls to the mountains, which here rise to about 1,500 feet. To the north a woodland path leads to a stone building



called the "Fort." A large area of land south of the house has been planned as an old English garden, and is a feature of the estate, with its paths winding their way through rockeries and beds stocked with a great variety of flowering plants, ferns, and shrubs.

Barrow House is a well-built roomy eighteenth century house, which is well adapted for the purposes of a Summer School. The Lectures will be given in the open air or in the common room, which is exceptionally large, being capable of seating nearly 200 people. In addition to the drawing room there is an excellent library for students and also a smoking room. From all the front rooms the views of the Lake and distant mountains are very fine, and the rooms at the back look out on to the falls and get a peep of Scafell and the neighbouring heights.

Special attention has been paid to the sanitation of the house, and all has been put in perfect order and a sanitary certificate granted by the owner. The drainage system has been completely remodelled and laid out in the most modern way on lines suggested by the Summer School Committee. The water supply is ample and very soft and pure, coming directly from the moors to the house.

There will be in all accommodation for about sixty resident students in the house and the encampment, but for those wishing to join the School as non-residents suitable hotels and lodgings can be found in the neighbourhood.

The aim of the School is to bring together workers in the various grades of Social and Socialist work for mutual intercourse, and to afford opportunities for courses of lectures, debates, and conversation dealing with the most modern problems of Sociology and Economics. But while study is one great object of the School, it is not forgotten that recreation and rest will be needed by those who come there. This locality has, therefore, been chosen on account of its being an excellent centre for mountaineering, walking, and lake excursions; picnics and organised outings will be arranged once or twice a week.

The outdoor recreations will include tennis, croquet, bathing, boating, and fishing. Golf can be obtained at the links of the Keswick and Embleton Golf Clubs. Drives and motor excursions can also be arranged for parties.

The School will be open to members of the Fabian and of other Socialist Societies, and their friends, from July 5th to September 14th. The organised programme will begin on July 19th.



The Head of Derwentwater and Scafell, showing Barrow House and Grounds.

## Programme for Summer Session, 1913.

### I.—CONFERENCE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY ON THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

During the week ending July 26th, the Committee of Inquiry into the Control of Industry (Fabian Research Department) has arranged to hold a Conference at which a general discussion of the subject matter and the main lines of the Committee's Report will take place. A considerable proportion of the members of the Committee, including Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, the Chairman and Secretaries of the four Sub-Committees, and nearly all the most active workers, have already arranged to be present, and it is expected that they will be joined by many of those living in the North of England and Scotland, who are unable to attend the London meetings; by other members of the Fabian Society; by some of the representatives of the Co-operative Movement who are actively helping in the inquiry; by expert advisers connected with various branches of industry; and by other sympathisers. Members of the Committee (including Consultative members), together with friends specially invited to assist in the discussions, will have preference for the accommodation still remaining unallotted, but applications from other persons wishing to attend are also invited and these will be dealt with according to the space available.

## PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE,

SATURDAY, July 19th.—Arrival of Members.

SUNDAY, July 20th.—10 a.m.—Reception of Members (including Non-Residents) by Mrs. Sidney Webb, who will give an Address on “The Spheres of Science and Religion in Social Reconstruction.”

8 p.m.—Report by the Hon. Secretary (C. Morgan Webb) on The Progress of the Inquiry ; and general discussion.

MONDAY, July 21st.—9.30 a.m.—Subject for discussion : The Present State of Trade Unionism in Great Britain, and the Problems immediately before it. (a) The sphere of the Trade Union in the Control of Industry ; (b) Local Autonomy versus Centralisation in regard to the making of War and Peace ; (c) Industrial Unionism or Amalgamation versus Federation as the future form of organisation ; (d) German Trade Unionism—its lessons, and their application to Great Britain.

4.30 p.m.—Subject for discussion : Syndicalism—What validity does our Inquiry show it to possess ? What influence have the Syndicalist ideal and the Syndicalist methods had on English Trade Unionism and the Labour Party ?

TUESDAY, July 22nd.—9.30 a.m.—Subject for discussion : Co-operative Production on the basis of the “Self-governing Workshop”—the lessons from its failure.

4.30 p.m.—Subject for discussion : Co-operative Production—the Compromise of Profit-sharing and Industrial Co-partnership—how do we find it to affect, in fact, the workman’s Standard of Life, and the problem of Industrial Self-government.

The Programme for Wednesday and Thursday will be subject to a possible allocation of one of these days—whichever may prove to be the sunniest!—for a General Excursion, if this is desired. In that case the Business Meeting, here put down for Friday morning, will be held by those concerned on the morning of the Excursion at 9 a.m. ; and Friday morning will be occupied by the discussion displaced by the Excursion.

WEDNESDAY, July 23rd.—9.30 a.m.—Subject for discussion : the Co-operative Store and the Wholesale Society as manufacturers and distributors: their success in competing with (i) the village grocer, (ii) the “department store,” (iii) the capitalist factory, (iv) the multiple shop: Limits to growth.

8 p.m.—The Co-operative Movement—Frictions and Tensions : (a) The “Wholesale” Productive Departments versus the Commercial Traveller ; (b) the Enthusiast and the “Divi”-hunter ; (c) the Members’ Meeting, the Salaried Official and the Employee. The Co-operative Ideal.

THURSDAY, July 24th.—9.30 a.m.—Subject for discussion : Collective Ownership (State or Municipal)—to what industries or services has it been applied, or can it, within the near future, be extended ?—conditions of its success.

4.30 p.m.—The Evils of Bureaucracy—what are they, and how can they be prevented ? Is there any other way than State or Municipal Ownership by which the aggregate of Rent or “Surplus Value” can be secured for the whole community ?

FRIDAY, July 25th.—(Available for General Excursion.)—9 a.m.—Business meeting of the Chairman, the Hon. Secretary, the Chairman and Hon. Secretaries of the four Sub-Committees, and any other members wishing to attend ; to settle the ways and means of completing the Inquiry during the ensuing Autumn and Winter, and the draft outline of the Report for the evening's discussion.

8 p.m.—General discussion on a Draft Outline of the eventual Report of the Committee.

SATURDAY, July 26th.—Departure of Members.

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## II.—CONFERENCE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY AND THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

IN response to requests from Trade Unionists, Co-operators, and leading members of the Labour Party, the Joint Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society has arranged for a Conference during the last week of July. The Joint Committee has taken over, for that week, the whole accommodation of the School, and will be responsible for all the arrangements.

Already a number of representative Trade Unionists, Co-operators, Fabians, Socialists, and other members of the Labour Party have agreed to take part in the Conference.

### PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE.

SATURDAY, July 26th.—Arrival of Members.

SUNDAY, July 27th.—10 a.m.—General Reception of Members by Mr. W. C. Anderson, Chairman of the Joint Committee. Inaugural Address by Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

8 p.m.—Discussion on the Relation between Political Action and Trade Unionism (past, present, and future). The Syndicalist Propaganda and its effects on Trade Unionism and the Labour Party. To be opened if possible by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., failing him, by Mr. or Mrs. Sidney Webb.

MONDAY, July 28th.—9.30 a.m.—Immediate Steps in Collective Ownership—the Nationalisation of Mines and Railways.

8 p.m.—Immediate Steps in Collective Ownership—Municipal Free Services and Municipal Trading.

TUESDAY, July 29th.—9.30 a.m.—The Sphere of Co-operation (the Store and the Wholesale Society) in the State of To-morrow.

8 p.m.—The Self-governing Workshop, Profit-sharing and Industrial Co-partnership ; have they any future ?

WEDNESDAY, July 30th.—General Excursion.

8 p.m.—The Land : the scope of Nationalisation.

THURSDAY, July 31st.—9.30 a.m.—The Trade Union Movement—its problems of internal organisation (amalgamation or federation; the election and powers of the Executive; how to get good officials, etc.).

8 p.m.—What is the best relation of the Trade Union to the Co-operative Store and Wholesale Society, the Municipal Council and the Government Department.

FRIDAY, August 1st.—9.30 a.m.—The National Minimum (Legal Minimum Wage, Maximum Day, Adequate Housing, Complete Provision against Sickness, Child Nurture, and Abolition of the Poor Law)—how best to continue the Campaign?

8 p.m.—Business meeting to discuss Programme and arrangements for proposed Autumn Campaign of Joint Propaganda, in which the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Labour and Socialist organisations and other bodies may be asked to join.

SATURDAY, August 2nd.—Departure of Members.

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## Programme for School Session, 1913.

### FIRST WEEK.

Director: S. K. RATCLIFFE.

SATURDAY, August 2nd.—Arrival of Members.

SUNDAY, August 3rd.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident members in Assembly Room. Inaugural Address by the Director.

8 p.m.—Address and discussion.

MONDAY, August 4th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture.

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

TUESDAY, August 5th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—First of two Lectures by **Frederic Keeling** on “The Organisation of Casual Labour.” *Lecture I.*

SYLLABUS.—The significance of the casual labour problem—The scope of the problem—The history of casual labour—The realization of the problem in 1908-9, and the theory of “de-casualization.”

WEDNESDAY, August 6th.—Organised Excursion.

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

THURSDAY, August 7th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Second of two Lectures by **Frederic Keeling** on “The Organisation of Casual Labour.” *Lecture II.*

SYLLABUS.—What has been achieved since 1909—The position to-day in Liverpool, London, and other casual labour centres—How much can Labour Exchanges do?—The next steps to be taken.

FRIDAY, August 8th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture by **Frederic Keeling** on “Child Labour Regulation.”

SYLLABUS.—History of child labour regulation outside the Factory Acts—The problem to-day (a) the wage-earning school child; (b) Children exempted from school; (c) Street trading—The action of local authorities—The need for a more effective policy.

SATURDAY, August 9th.—Arrival of Members. Organised Excursion.

## SECOND WEEK.

Director: S. K. RATCLIFFE.

SUNDAY, August 10th.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident members.  
Address by the Director.

8 p.m.—Address and Discussion.

MONDAY, August 11th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture by **Miss Anna Martin** on “Mothers v. Committees.”

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

TUESDAY, August 12th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—First of three Lectures by **A. G. Walkden** (General Secretary Railway Clerks Association) on “Railway Nationalisation: Lessons from the Continent.” *Lecture I.*

SYLLABUS.—

WEDNESDAY, August 13th.—Organised Excursion.

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

THURSDAY, August 14th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Second of three Lectures by **A. G. Walkden** on “Railway Nationalisation: Lessons from the Continent.” *Lecture II.*

SYLLABUS.—

FRIDAY, August 15th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Third of three Lectures by **A. G. Walkden** on “Railway Nationalisation: Lessons from the Continent.” *Lecture III.*

SYLLABUS.—

SATURDAY, August 16th.—Arrival of Members. Organised Excursion.

## THIRD WEEK.

Director: E. R. PEASE.

SUNDAY, August 17th.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident Members. Address by the Director.

8 p.m.—Address and Discussion.

MONDAY, August 18th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture by **Sir Sidney Olivier, K.C.M.G.**, on “White Capital and Coloured Labour.”

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

TUESDAY, August 19th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—First of three Lectures by

SYLLABUS.—

WEDNESDAY, August 20th.—Organised Excursion.

8.30 p.m.—Debate.

THURSDAY, August 21st.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Second of three Lectures by

SYLLABUS.—

FRIDAY, August 22nd.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Third of three Lectures by

SYLLABUS.—

SATURDAY, August 23rd.—Arrival of Members. Organised Excursion.

#### FOURTH WEEK.

Director: E. R. PEASE.

SUNDAY, August 24th.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident Members. Address by the Director.

8 p.m.—Address and Discussion.

MONDAY, August 25th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture by Dr. M. Greenwood on "Eugenics."

SYLLABUS.—

8.30 p.m.—Discussion.

TUESDAY, August 26th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—First of three Lectures by **St. John G. Ervine** on "Socialism and the Drama." *Lecture I.*

SYLLABUS.—The beginning of English Drama—Its relation to religion and general life—The rise of the Elizabethans—The Restoration Comedies—The establishment of the Censorship—The deplorable outbreak of *Albert the Goodery*, following upon decline of old aristocracy and ascendancy of new, and effect of same on drama.

WEDNESDAY, August 27th.—Organised Excursion.

8.30 p.m.—Debate.

THURSDAY, August 28th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Second of three Lectures by **St. John G. Ervine** on "Socialism and the Drama." *Lecture II.*

SYLLABUS.—The feebleness of the drama—The cause of its feebleness—Comparison between Elizabethan and modern dramatists—Comparison between modern drama and modern novel—The neglect of great wealth of English dramatic literature—The control of the theatre—The actor-manager and the syndicate—The syndicate and the newspapers—The actor-managers wife—The selection of plays and players—The general imbecility of the theatre-manager—The influence of Mr. Shaw—The rise of the Repertory theatre—The perils and dangers of the Repertory theatre.

FRIDAY, August 29th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Third of three Lectures by **St. John G. Ervine** on "Socialism and the Drama." *Lecture III.*

SYLLABUS.—The need for a National Theatre—The purpose of a National Theatre—Its relation to Private Adventure Theatres—The need for freedom in the theatre—The Gross Drama: its value—The Refined Drama: its danger—The Mingling of Moods—The unity of the Arts—The mood of the New Dramatist—The relationship of the New Drama to Religion and general life.

SATURDAY, August 30th.—Arrival of members. Organised Excursion.

#### FIFTH WEEK.

Director: F. LAWSON DODD.

SUNDAY, August 31st.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident Members. Address by the Director.

8 p.m.—Address and Discussion.

MONDAY, September 1st.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

10.30 a.m.—Lecture by **Charles A. Parker, F.R.C.S., etc., etc.**, on "The Socialist, the Doctor, and the Insurance Act."

SYLLABUS.—

TUESDAY, September 2nd.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.  
 10.30 a.m.—First Lecture by **Mr. Norman Angell**, on “The Great Illusion.”  
 SYLLABUS.—

WEDNESDAY, September 3rd.—Organised Excursion.  
 8.30 p.m.—Debate

THURSDAY, September 4th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.  
 10.30 a.m.—Second Lecture by **Mr. Norman Angell**, on “The Great Illusion.”  
 SYLLABUS.—

FRIDAY, September 5th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.

SATURDAY, September 6th.—Arrival of Members. Organised Excursion.

### SIXTH WEEK.

Director: HENRY D. HARBEN.

SUNDAY, September 7th.—10 a.m.—Reception of resident and non-resident Members. Address by the Director.  
 8 p.m.—Address and Discussion.

MONDAY, September 8th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.  
 10.30 a.m.—Lecture by **H. D. Harben**.  
 SYLLABUS.—

TUESDAY, September 9th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.  
 10.30 a.m.—First of two Lectures by **Mr. Cyril Scott**, on “Modernism in Art.”  
*Lecture I.*  
 SYLLABUS.—

WEDNESDAY, September 10th.—Organised Excursion.  
 8 p.m.—Debate.

THURSDAY, September 11th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill Class.  
 10.30 a.m.—Second of two Lectures by **Mr. Cyril Scott**, on “Modernism in Art.”  
*Lecture II.*  
 SYLLABUS.—

FRIDAY, September 12th.—9.30 to 10 a.m.—Swedish Drill.

SATURDAY, September 13th.—Departure of Members.

The Library will be supplied with books bearing on the subjects to be dealt with, and this room will be secured for those who wish a silent place for study.

Fabian literature will be on sale at the School.

### SCHOOL FEES.

I. Resident Members.	PER WEEK			PER DAY	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
(a) Single bedded rooms .. .. .	..	2	5	0	or 7 0
(b) Two persons sharing room .. .. .	..	1	17	6	„ 6 0
(c) For three or four persons sharing room .. .. .	..	1	15	0	„ 5 6
(d)*Campers (two or four persons to a tent) .. .. .	..	1	8	0	„ 4 6

\*Campers will be expected to keep their tents and the camp in order themselves.

These fees include charge for lectures and gratuities to servants.

Swedish Gymnastics, 2s. per week.

Charge for use of Boats, 2s. per week.



2. Non-Resident Members may join the School, *i.e.*, may attend all lectures and debates, have free access to grounds, or join excursions for a weekly fee of 5s. Single lectures, 1s.

Vegetarians will be catered for.

There is a dark room in the house for photographers.

Applications for membership must be made on the form issued at the office, and must be accompanied by a booking fee of 10s. in part payment of the fees charged. The signature of the form will be taken as an agreement to abide by such rules as the Committee may from time to time draw up.

The balance of fees must be remitted to the Fabian Office a clear week before the date of arrival.

### RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS.

Book to Keswick, L. & N. W. R.

Return Fares from Euston Station :—

Tourist 45s. 3d.; Excursion (3 or 5 days) 20s.; (8 days) 24s. 9d.; (8, 15 or 17 days) 27s.; Week-ends 28s. (Friday to Tuesday).

### ORDINARY TRAINS FROM EUSTON TO KESWICK.

(Available for tourist and week-end ticket holders.)

EUSTON.				KESWICK.			
<i>Leave.</i>				<i>Arrive.</i>			
5.0	A.M.	..	..	..	..	2.9	P.M.
7.10	„	..	..	..	..	3.54	„
10.5 <sup>r</sup>	„	..	..	..	..	5.50	„
11.25 <sup>r</sup>	„	..	..	..	..	6.28	„
2.0 <sup>r</sup>	P.M.	..	..	..	..	9.10	„
10.0	„	..	..	..	..	8.20	A.M.
12.5 <sup>c</sup>	MIDNIGHT	..	..	..	..	10.9	„

<sup>r</sup> Restaurant car.

<sup>c</sup> Saturdays excepted.

Excursion trains leave Euston for Keswick on Friday nights at 12.30, and on Saturdays (except August 2nd and 9th), at 11.25 a.m. Excursion tickets at 20s. and 24s. 9d. are only available by the Friday night train. Excursion ticket holders must return on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Saturdays (according to availability of ticket) by advertised train from Keswick.

Times of trains and particulars of excursions from Manchester, Glasgow, Newcastle, etc., etc., to Keswick should be obtained from the chief local railway stations.

Members who give two clear days' notice to the Housekeeper, Barrow House, near Keswick, and who arrive by the 6.28 p.m. train will be met at Keswick Station with conveyance for themselves and their luggage. Charge 1s. Members arriving by other trains must make their own arrangements for driving to Barrow House. There will be an additional charge of 1s. for luggage over 56 lbs. Members arriving by the 9.10 p.m. train can dine in the train, or must otherwise provide for their evening meal. Visitors are requested to bring as little luggage as possible, preferably flat trunks to go under beds.

## HOTELS AND LODGINGS.

For non-resident members of the school the Royal Oak Hotel, Keswick, and the Lodore Hotel (about a mile from Barrow House) are recommended. A list of boarding houses will be sent on application.

## EXCURSIONS.

Members of the School should bring nailed boots for climbing.

**THE CATBELLS, EEL CRAGS, AND BORROWDALE.** Walk to Lodore, thence by meadow path to Brandelhow Park, Catbells, Maiden Moor, Eel Crags, and Grange.

**CAUSEY PIKE.** Walk via Lodore, Manesty, and Littleton to Causey Pike; return same route or by Stair and Brandelhow Park and meadow path to Lodore.

**BORROWDALE, BUTTERMERE AND CRUMMOCK WATER.** Drive or Walk to Seatoller, thence walk over Honister Pass to Buttermere and Crummock. Return by same route or by Buttermere Hause, Newlands, Little Town, Manesty, and Lodore.

**BLENCATHRA.** Drive or walk to Threlkeld. Ascend Blencathra (2,847 feet) and descend via Knowe Crags, rejoining brakes at Threlkeld. This excursion involves about five hours steady walk and climb.

An easy alternative is to walk from Threlkeld along the foot of the mountain and through the Brundholme Woods, joining brakes at either Brigham or Keswick.

**GREAT GABLE.** Drive through Borrowdale to Seathwaite and thence walk and climb by Sty Head Gill to Great Gable (2,949 feet), returning over Brandreth, Green Gable, and Honister Pass, rejoining conveyances at Seatoller. 5-6 hours climbing and walking. This excursion is suitable only for good climbers. An alternative route for others is from Seathwaite to Sty Head Tarn, thence to Sprinkling Tarn and back to Seathwaite by Grain Gill. 6 miles.

**LORD'S SEAT AND BARF.** Walk via Braithwaite to Lord's Seat and return by Whinlatter Pass. 12-14 miles.

**ASCENT OF SKIDDAW.** Via Crosthwaite and Underscar and Jenkin Hill to the summit (3,054 feet) and descend via Carlside to Millbeck, and drive to Barrow House.

**WATENDLATH, ROSTHWAITE AND GRANGE.** Walk by moorland road to Watendlath, thence to Rosthwaite, Bowder Stone, Grange, and Lodore.

**THIRLMERE.** Walk to Watendlath, thence over moor to Thirlmere. Return by same route or walk down to the end of lake and return to Watendlath via Harrop Tarn.

**SCAFELL PIKE.** Start as for Great Gable as far as Sty Head thence by Sprinkling Tarn.

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Easter and Whitsuntide parties will be arranged at Barrow House, and during the other months the Committee are prepared to arrange for Conferences, Reading Parties, etc., on terms which can be had from the Secretary.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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THE INSURANCE BILL AND  
THE WORKERS.

"I appeal to the House of Commons to help the Government not merely to carry this Bill through, but to fashion it where it is weak, to improve it where it is faulty."—Mr. LLOYD GEORGE, *in the House of Commons*.

CRITICISMS AND AMENDMENTS OF THE NATIONAL  
INSURANCE BILL, PREPARED BY THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE.

Published by  
THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 3, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

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June, 1911.

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## THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL, 1911.

ANY criticism of the National Insurance Bill must be based upon a general appreciation of its intrinsic value. Therefore it would be well at the outset to draw attention to its place in the movement towards Social Reform, which is carrying the nation into Socialism.

It is already the accepted duty of the community as a whole to care for its disabled members. This duty has been grudgingly acknowledged for centuries in the Poor Law and more generously in modern times by increasingly large associations of private persons. It is high time that the nation advanced to a less niggardly and spasmodic acceptance of its collective responsibility with regard to health, and devoted an adequate portion of the national wealth to the organised gratuitous assistance of all disabled persons. A contributory scheme is but a halting step in that direction, and it carries with it the disadvantage that from its very nature it is so far from being National. Moreover, it lays the heaviest burden on those least able to bear it, involving, as it does, a compulsory contribution of the nature of a tax from the very poorest workers. If its benefits are conditional upon a share contributed to the insurance funds from individual earnings, then only those can be benefited who earn money from which to contribute. This excludes, except so far as maternity benefit is concerned, something like ten million children and infants, and a considerable majority of the women of the United Kingdom, many of whom, though they earn no income, are engaged in useful work. A measure which leaves out so large a proportion of the population of the country can scarcely be called National. Mr. Lloyd George has said of his own scheme:—"Socialism means the management of everything by the State. In this Bill we are taking *an absolutely contrary line*, and we leave the whole of the management of the scheme to the people themselves without any interference from the State. This is a Bill for providing for Social Reform, but *it is not a Socialist measure.*"

This is true. For a scheme, the whole machinery of which is to be run by private societies, while the bulk of the expense is to be borne by individual contributions, cannot be called Socialistic. Nevertheless, the Insurance Bill now before Parliament is a considerable extension of the public acknowledgment of national responsibility in the matter of health, and it is an acknowledgment which, on the analogy of other such advances, will very shortly be forced by the practical exigencies of the situation to go much further.

The national education Acts began as a contributory scheme; but experience proved this to be hard on individuals and troublesome in the working; it was therefore quickly put on a broader and more socialistic basis, purely as a matter of practical expediency. Old Age Pensions, again, began within pitifully narrow limits, but even already

these are being extended, and the Socialistic element in the scheme has given proof of its vitality—by growing.

There is no argument in favour of State-provided Old Age Pensions that does not apply with still greater force to sickness or maternity. An old man laid by can never render back the money spent upon him; but the money spent on securing health in Childbirth, or on saving the workmen from the slippery slope of illness, is returned to the community in two directions:—

- (1) In actual productive power.
- (2) In saving of future expenses involved by the waste of life and health.

We may therefore hope that the health insurance scheme, affirming imperfectly as it does the Socialist view of national responsibilities, may yet develop in no distant future in the direction of a sound collective provision for all sick and disabled citizens, young and old. It is our business from the outset to criticise and as far as possible amend it with that end in view.

The following pages are not intended to be a full commentary on the Bill, but merely to call attention to certain points affecting the working classes as to which amendment seems desirable. (An Appendix with details of suggested amendments will be found at the end.)

#### WHOM DOES THE BILL AFFECT?

The Bill is in two parts, dealing as to Part I. with Sickness, as to Part II. with Unemployment.

Under Part I. the contributors are to be—

- (a) Compulsory, i.e. all those under contract of service for less than £160 a year (with certain exceptions).
- (b) Voluntary, i.e. all who live mainly by their own earnings.

The workers insured under Part I. will be in two different categories:—

- (1) Members of approved societies.
- (2) Deposit contributors in the Post Office.

Their numbers are estimated as follows:—

	Members of Approved Societies.		Deposit Contributors.	Total.
	Compulsory.	Voluntary.		
Men ... ..	8,579,000	625,000	638,000	9,842,000
Women—				
Spinsters and Widows ...	3,080,000	204,000	191,000	3,475,000
Married ... ..	548,000	—	53,000	601,000
Total Women ... ..	3,628,000	204,000	244,000	4,076,000
Both Sexes ... ..	12,207,000	829,000	882,000	13,918,000

[Table on p. 9 of Actuarial Memorandum (Cd. 5681)].

In addition to the above there are 813,000 children under 16, who will come in as contributors, but who are ineligible for benefits except

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for medical and sanatorium benefit. Of these, 493,000 are boys, 320,000 girls.

### CONTRIBUTIONS.

The contributions are as follows :—

- (a) When wages exceed 2s. 6d. per day.
  - (1) Men 4d. per week and women 3d. per week.
  - (2) Employer 3d. per week.
  - (3) State 2d. per week.
- (b) If the wages do not exceed 2s. 6d. a day, the contributor pays 3d.; if they do not exceed 2s. a day, 2d.; and if they do not exceed 1s. 6d. a day, 1d. only, the employer paying :—for men 4d., 5d. and 6d. respectively; for women 3d., 4d. and 5d. respectively. But this only applies to workers over the age of 21 years.

Voluntary contributors will pay the equivalent of the employers' contribution as well as their own, *i.e.*, at least 7d. per week for men, and 6d. a week for women.

### CRITICISMS.

1. The wage limit of 15s. for men and 12s. for women is obviously far too low. In these cases Parliament might pay more, the employer might pay more; but in any case the wage limit should be raised. The flat rate should not begin till £1. [Appendix.]
2. The provision for an increased contribution by the employer of workers earning under 2s. 6d. a day only applies to persons over the age of 21. A premium is thus put upon the employment of young persons at a low wage, and they will have to pay the full contribution out of their pittance. Why should a girl of 20 pay 3d. a week, when a girl of 21 pays a 1d.? [Appendix.]
3. No married woman can become, or after marriage can remain, a voluntary contributor, even if she be earning her own living by a regular occupation. This is a great hardship for women self-employed in small shops and other businesses, alone, or working with other members of the family, more especially as there is no provision that the money standing to their credit as voluntary contributors at the time of their marriage shall not be confiscated. [Appendix.]

### BENEFITS.—A.

The rate of benefits depends on whether the insured person is a member of an "approved society" or not.

A member of an "approved society," provided he is not in arrears of contributions, gets the following :—

- (1) Free medical attendance for life, including the necessary medicines.
- (2) Sickness benefit from the 4th day at the following rate :—
  - (a) From age 21 to 70 (or from 16 if married):
 

1st 13 weeks—males ...	...	10s. 0d. a week.
,, ,, —females ...	...	7s. 6d. ,,

2nd 13 weeks—both sexes ...	5s. od. a week.
After which, disablement benefit ... ..	5s. od. „
(b) Age 16 to 21 unmarried:	
Whole 26 weeks—males ...	5s. od. „
„ „ —females ...	4s. od. „
After which, disablement benefit—both sexes ...	4s. od. „

(N.B. There are special reduced rates for persons over 50, who have joined late in life).

- (3) Sanatorium benefit for consumptives.
- (4) Maternity benefit of value of 30s., payable in the case of insured women from their own insurance, and in other cases from that of their husbands. This benefit is not payable in cash.

When the above have been provided, and after making every allowance for wiping out in 15 years the deficit with which the scheme must start, it is calculated that there will be a 10 per cent. margin over for additional benefits.

This 10 per cent. is an average. Well-managed societies, and societies in which the standard of lives is good, will have far more; others far less; and provision is made in the Bill to deal with societies which show a deficit.

#### CRITICISMS.

1. As the result of the advantages offered by the Bill to successful societies, there will undoubtedly be a tendency for good lives to band together into prosperous societies, to the exclusion of others, who will be thrown together into societies where the standard is less high, and the benefits therefore proportionately less, and so on down the scale until the weaklings are driven into the Post Office.

This is most unjust. It is an acknowledged experience of the Friendly Societies that workers in the best paid trades are as a rule the best lives, and that the cost of friendly benefits increases as the wages decrease. Under the Bill, therefore, the men and women who have most already will get most for their money; those who can least afford to pay the contributions will only get the minimum, while the weaklings of the population will be driven to become "deposit contributors" only.

2. Some curious cases of unfairness will arise in connection with the special rates for those who join late in life.

For example, persons over 50 are not eligible until they have paid premiums for 500 weeks.

A man of 50 who has contributed regularly for 9½ years will get sickness benefit at a reduced rate of 7s. a week; a woman at 6s. a week; while a man of 49, who has only contributed six months, will get the full benefit of 10s., and a woman in like case her full 7s. 6d.

This and other anomalies of a like nature will disappear when the present generation has passed away, when all the insured persons will

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be workers who have joined at the commencement of their working lives. But they could be avoided even now, if, instead of trying to meet the starting deficit on an actuarial basis, Parliament were to vote a grant for the first few years.

This would be the fairest and the most businesslike way of meeting the case of the elder persons.

3. *Women* will get a lower rate of benefit than men. In the case of persons earning more than 15s., a woman contributes less and receives less for the first thirteen weeks. In the case of persons earning less than 15s. both sexes pay the same, and the lower scale of benefits for women is due to the fact that the employer pays less in her case. This explanation may be actuarially satisfactory; but it is small consolation to the woman who gets less for her money.

As a compensation for this, a woman, who before marriage has been an employed compulsorily insured person in an approved society, gets the following advantages:—

- (1) When she resumes employment, she can rejoin as an employed compulsorily insured person at any age, at the ordinary rate of insurance, as if she had been contributing all the time, arrears being wiped out.
- (2) If she remains in employment after marriage, no arrears are to be incurred by her for two weeks before and four weeks after confinement.
- (3) If she is left an invalid at her husband's death, even if she has remained unemployed all through her married life, she can claim a disablement allowance of 5s. a week as long as she needs it.

It is impossible to say how many women will actually reap these advantages, but the proportion of the total number of working women must be small. The majority of women who return to work after their husband's death, obtain employment of a casual nature, such as charwomen, daily dressmakers, washerwomen, etc., and are excluded from the Bill, under schedule I., part II., section 9. It would appear that there will be a larger margin in the case of women than of men, owing to the lower cost of benefit. If so, this should be clearly earmarked for them, and not be used for additional benefits for men.

4. Wives and children of insured persons are excluded from any benefits—with the single exception of maternity benefit—yet wives dependent on their husbands' earnings virtually share in the contributions; for in the great majority of cases, at all events amongst those receiving low wages, the 4d. or 3d. per week will be deducted from what would otherwise be expended on the household. It would be easy to awake interest on their behalf and that of the children, who could not be suspected of malingering. The one hope that the Bill holds out to them is that they may share in the additional benefits that will be distributed in a few years' time, as the deficit showed in providing for elderly people as though they had contributed from the age of 16, is wiped off.



5. *Sanatorium benefit* for consumptives is not available for the wives of the insured. This is a point that should be altered on two grounds:—

- (1) The sanatoria are to be built out of public money, not out of the contributions of the insured.
- (2) For the purpose of stamping out phthisis, it is important that all cases should be treated.

6. Where maternity benefit is payable from the father's insurance, the mother gets what she would not get in the case of ordinary illness. It is so much extra. This is as it should be. But when it is payable out of the mother's insurance *it is not extra*, but in substitution for what she would get in a case of ordinary illness, and is actually less valuable because the medical benefit is docked. In this case she should get both, for as the maternity benefit is not paid in cash the woman gets no money at all in place of her wages for four weeks. [Appendix.]

7. Among the additional benefits there is no mention of funeral benefits. Why not?

There may be arguments for not including them among the ordinary benefits; but why approved societies should actually be forbidden to apply their surplus under the scheme to this purpose is not clear.

There is no reason why the State should be so solicitous for the interests of the Industrial Insurance Companies. [Appendix.]

#### BENEFITS.—B.

Those who cannot get into approved societies will become deposit contributors in the Post Office.

Deposit contributors are not entitled to sickness benefit until they have paid 52 weekly contributions, but they get medical benefit at the end of six months.

Their share of the cost of medical and sanatorium treatment, and also of administration, is to be deducted at the beginning of the year from the sum standing to their credit, after which they are entitled to benefit only as long as that sum lasts, and in addition to medical and sanatorium benefit to the end of the current year. When they die, the balance standing to their credit is forfeited.

#### CRITICISMS.

1. Deposit contributors get no insurance at all except as regards medical benefit. They are compelled to deposit, but may not draw out—not even for a sick wife, or dying child—unless they themselves are sick. Then they can only draw out as long as their credit lasts. While they live, they stand to gain but little; and when they die, they lose all that is left.

What does this mean? A deposit contributor has 9d. per week placed to his credit. If he never gets into arrears this means 39s. a year. The Government will presumably take 10 per cent. for adminis-

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tration (see Actuarial Memorandum)=3s. 10d. Also 6s. for doctor and something for drugs. At least 10s. of the 39s. then will go, leaving 29s. to be placed to his credit every year. At the end of four years he will have £5. 16s. 0d. accumulated. Supposing during that time his wife has two babies, 60s. of that will have gone in maternity benefit, leaving £2. 16s. 0d. or barely enough for 6 weeks' sick pay. He will have to subscribe for many years before he accumulates enough to be of any real use to him, even if he is a healthy man, which a deposit contributor is seldom likely to be. This is not good enough to compensate for the compulsory risk of losing all that has been contributed.

The intention avowedly is to compel the worker to join an approved society. The Post Office is only for the weaklings, who cannot gain admittance anywhere else. But the weaklings are to remain weaklings still; the benefit they will get will seldom meet their case. This is the most glaring instance of a defect that underlies the whole Bill, namely, that it treats the weakest worst.

The proper course would be to take the weaklings who cannot get into approved societies out of the system altogether, and to provide for them on different lines, giving them such maintenance as may be found necessary to promote their recovery to health, and prevent them and their dependents from suffering from their disablement. [Appendix.]

Failing this, there are two things that might be done. (1) The deposit contributor's balance might be credited to the widow or the next of kin. But as this would be equivalent to a funeral benefit, the Government might decide against doing this. (2) The balance might be credited to the widow, or the next of kin, or any person appointed, to swell their credit if they are in the Post Office, or in discharge of future arrears if they are members of approved societies. [Appendix.]

### HOW THE TRADE UNIONS WILL BE AFFECTED.

A great danger to the trades unions has been already pointed out by the members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons; and the Government, in response to their criticisms, has promised to amend the Bill to obviate the danger. ("Hansard," 29th May, cols. 771-772.) But the words of the amendment have not yet been published; and until they are it is necessary to keep the following important points in mind.

(A) *They cannot become approved societies.*

The intention of the Government is to draw as many people as possible into "approved societies." If the worker joins one of these, he or she will get a good deal; if not, as will be seen below, he or she will come off very badly indeed. The explanatory memorandum issued by the Chancellor assumes that trade unions will be "approved," but the conditions laid down in the Bill itself are such that *no trade union can become an "approved society" for health insurance.*

Here are the conditions according to the Bill as drafted. To be accepted the trade unions would have:—

(1) To number 10,000 members. Out of 1,200 trade

unions only about 20 can fulfil this condition, unless, of course, they federate.

- (2) To deposit permanently with the Government funds invested in securities equal to about £1 per member [Clause 20 (1)], at least; a sum which may be raised at the discretion of the Insurance Commissioners. *These could never be withdrawn for any purpose whatever.*
- (3) It must be precluded by its constitution from distributing any of its funds otherwise than by way of benefits (whether benefits under this Act or not) amongst its members. (Clause 18 (2) ii.) It would, therefore, have to give up the power to spend its own funds as its members might determine.

In particular, it could not pay the expenses of negotiations with employers over trade matters; it probably could not maintain organisers to keep up the standard rate; it could not pay the expenses of strikes; it could not make donations or grants to other trade unions, or to assist other workmen in a strike or lock-out; it could not subscribe to the Trade Union Congress or to a trades council; it could not subscribe to a Parliamentary fund or pay the election expenses even for its own members whom it wished to send to Parliament or the town council. *In a word, it must cease to be a trade union.*

- (4) It would have to submit to a Government valuation of its assets and liabilities every three years *on the lines of a friendly society*; and if it was considered unable to meet its *future* liabilities it would have at once to raise extra levies on its members or reduce its benefits, as the Government might order.

Now, the very essence of a trade union is that it provides for its members another kind of security than the friendly society does, and every trade union is—judged by a friendly society basis—insolvent. An ordinary good friendly society is expected to have invested £7 to £10 per head of its membership. A good trade union is rich if it has half as much.

Hence it is clear that, as the Bill now stands, *no trade union can be admitted as an approved society*, although the Memorandum distinctly says that they shall. It is apparently contemplated that the trade union shall form a separate department dealing with health insurance; if so, the Bill must be amended to allow of this. If his Union is not admitted as an approved society, the trade unionist will have only two courses open to him:—

- (1) To become a “deposit contributor” in the Post Office.  
 (2) To join another society, approved by the Government.

(B) *They will, if they have friendly benefits, lose more than half their income.*

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The trade unions will be driven to reduce their contributions and give up their sick benefits, and when thus relieved of their "friendly" obligations will also lose the funds by which these obligations are now met.

If their members have to give 4d. a week to some other society, this will mean 17s. 4d. per member per annum irretrievably lost for purposes of industrial disputes.

(C) *They will dwindle in numbers.*

Every young man will be drafted at 16 into an approved society, and encouraged to take part in its management. The more efficiently his society is governed, the greater will be the benefits he will get for his money. His interest, his leisure, his intelligence will thus far be mortgaged in advance—and will not be available to anything like the same extent for a trade union. The unions will be deprived of nearly all their recruits from the year the Bill passes, and will sink into dwindling knots of elderly members struggling with their superannuation benefits.

(D) *Suggested Amendment.*

The best means of meeting the difficulty is for Trade Unions to demand that the Bill be altered so as to admit them as approved societies. This can be done by exempting them from the conditions imposed by Clause 18, inserting others applicable to their case.

[See amendments in Appendix.]

### EXCESSIVE SICKNESS.

The idea underlying Clause 46, if made workable, might become of immense value. The first section runs:—

"Where it is alleged by any approved society or local Health Committee that the sickness which has taken place among insured persons for the administration of whose sickness and disablement benefits the society or committee is responsible, is excessive, and that such excess is due to the conditions or nature of employment of such persons, or to bad housing or insanitary conditions in any locality, or to a defective or contaminated water supply, or to the neglect on the part of any person or authority to observe or enforce the provisions of any Act relating to the health of workers in factories, workshops, mines, quarries, or other industries, or relating to public health, or the housing of the working classes, or any regulations made under any such Act, or to observe or enforce any public health precautions, the society or committee making such allegation may apply to the Secretary of State or the Local Government Board, as the case may require, for an inquiry, and thereupon the Secretary of State or Local Government Board may appoint a competent person to hold an inquiry."

The words "may appoint" should be altered into "shall appoint."

There is no reason why the Local Government Board should not be bound to hold such an inquiry when approached by an approved society or by the committee. The powers given under the Bill to remove the causes of excessive sickness after such an inquiry are too valuable to be left unused, as they might easily be if the matter were left to the discretion of some reactionary official at the Local Government Board. In any case the machinery set up in this clause appears to be cumbersome.

## PART II.

The scheme for insurance against unemployment in Part II. of the Bill applies, so far as it is compulsory, to 2,421,000 workers, made up as follows:—

Engineering, ship-building and construction of vehicles ... ..	1,100,000
Building and works of construction ... ..	1,321,000

### Contributions:

From the worker	2½d. per week.
„ Employer	2½d. „
„ State, one-third of the total contributions of the two, viz.,	1⅓d. per week.

If the unemployment fund becomes insolvent the contributions of both workers and employers may be raised by 1d. per week, and the rate of benefit reduced.

### Benefits:

For the 1st week of unemployment ... ..	nothing.
Afterwards, (a) in building or construction of works ... ..	6s.
(b) in engineering, ship-building, and construction of vehicles	7s.

Benefit shall be limited to 15 weeks in any one year, and to not more than one week for every 5 contributions.

There is also a provision that the Board of Trade may, in addition, repay associations (such as trade unions) giving out-of-work benefit a sum up to one sixth of what they expend in this way, out of moneys provided by Parliament.

## CRITICISMS.

1. This part of the Bill is, of course, only a beginning, and is avowedly of a tentative nature. Here, however, as in Part I., there is a fundamental objection that can be urged against the *contributory* aspect of the scheme.

Most of the burden falls on the individual employer and workman. This is unsound, because the great bulk of unemployment is due to causes outside the control of individuals altogether. The fluctuations of trade are considerably influenced by the policy of the State; it is the State which should bear the main responsibility for unemployment. When unemployment is greater than usual, it is not the workman's fault; moreover, he is in greater need. But under the Bill he will

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have to pay a larger contribution, and his benefit will be reduced. If, on the other hand, it were only the State whose contribution were increased, there would be a tendency for the State to inquire into the causes of unemployment, and use its influence to root them out.

2. Clause 62 gives a list of conditions which a workman must fulfil if he is to receive benefit, and provides "that a workman shall not be deemed to have failed to fulfil the statutory conditions by reason only that he has declined an offer of employment in a situation vacant in consequence of a trade dispute involving a strike or lock-out, or an offer of employment at a rate of wage lower than the rate which he habitually earns when in employment, or, in the case of an offer of employment in a district other than that in which he resides, at a rate of wage lower than the rate current in the district in which the employment is offered."

The phrase "a rate of wages lower than that which he habitually earns" might tend to keep down the rate of wages. It should be made abundantly clear that awards and determinations under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act shall be maintained, as also any collective agreements between employers and employed. [Appendix.]

3. Clause 79 provides for the payment of unemployed benefits in the case of members of trade unions providing out-of-work benefits through the medium of the trade union to which they belong. But this is left to the absolute discretion of the Board of Trade, who may arrange accordingly on the application of the trade union. It is essential that the trade unions should, for their own protection, obtain the absolute right to receive this privilege, on their complying with the prescribed regulations. [Appendix.]

### ADMINISTRATION.

#### CRITICISMS.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the objections to this part of the Bill, or the confusion that will arise unless the machinery is amended.

1. The Central Authority at the present time, in all matters of public health is the Local Government Board. The Bill sets up the Insurance Commissioners, appointed by the Treasury, as a new authority. The L.G.B. will only approve the buildings, but the Treasury officials will have to approve the arrangements for medical service, etc. Thus overlapping will certainly occur and a large share of the control of public health will fall into the hands of a purely financial authority.

2. Local Authorities under the Bill are of two kinds :—

(a) Approved societies, which will be chiefly friendly societies, and also, in all probability, many insurance companies. The sick may thus be farmed out directly and indirectly to societies which make profits. Stringent codes determining the essentials for the approval of a

society are thus needed and should be incorporated in the Bill itself.

- (b) Health Committees, which will be composed of persons nominated by County Councils, approved societies, deposit contributors and insurance commissioners. They are therefore removed from popular control; their work overlaps with existing public health authorities. They are to make arrangements for the medical treatment of deposit contributors, and, if required, for members of approved societies.

They may apply to the Treasury and County Council for funds, and if the application is "reasonable" it is to be approved, and each is to pay half the cost of any deficit which may result. Here again the Treasury is to give an opinion on a medical question.

No provision is made for disagreements between the Treasury and County Councils as to the "reasonableness" of expenditure.

The Health Committee is the sole authority for administering sanatorium benefits, and all members of approved societies must be accepted by the Health Committee as suitable for admission. On the other hand, the County Council are to provide the sanatorium.

Thus in sanatorium treatment two local authorities with two sets of doctors are set up, and most of them will be at variance.

3. Miscellaneous duties "to consider generally the public health of the district" and make reports are cast on the local Health Committee, but the only authority that has power under the Public Health, Factory and other Acts to make a proper local inspection is the Public Health Authority of the district. Thus the duty cast on the Local Health Committees under the Bill is an impossible one to fulfil.

The proper course is to give the powers of the Local Health Committees to the already existing Local Authorities, strengthened in the manner proposed in the Appendix. In this way overlapping is prevented, and one central authority, the Local Government Board, will control all public health work.

4. *Position of Women.*—In view of the fact that the Bill will intimately affect the lives of large numbers of women, women should have a share of the management both as paid officers and as voluntary administrators. One of the paid commissioners should be a woman, and on local committees a minimum number of women should serve. Women contributors, or the wives of contributors desiring the services of medical women or trained midwives, should be permitted to employ them.

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## LIST OF AMENDMENTS.

*N.B.—Some of the following Amendments are alternative.*

*Page 2: Clause 1, Section 3, line 9:—*

After "occupation" insert "(including married women, whether engaged in carrying on occupations apart from a husband or not)";

*And Page 30: Clause 34, Section 4:—*

Omit Section 4.

[NOTE.—The Married Women's Property Acts only apply to wives trading apart from their husbands, and as the Bill stands, married women are not permitted to become voluntary contributors. These two amendments are to enable them to become voluntary contributors and protect their individual business interest.]

*Page 2: Clause 2, line 39:—*

After "Committees" insert "which shall contain at least two women."

*Page 2: Clause 2 (2), line 39:—*

Omit "Local Health Committees" and insert "the Local Insurance Authority as hereinafter defined."

This raises, at the earliest possible point, the question whether the new Local Health Committees are to be set up in rivalry with the Town and County Councils. If passed, this would necessitate several drafting amendments all through the Bill. The local Insurance Authority proposed by these amendments is the Local Health Authority strengthened by the addition of members of the approved societies and of the Post Office contributors.

*Page 3: Clause 3:—*

Add at the end an additional Section (2) as follows:—

"Provided that when arrears have accrued in the opinion of an Insurance Officer as defined in Section 64 of this Act during periods of involuntary unemployment, the contributions which in periods of employment would have been paid by the employer shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament."

[NOTE.—The obligation on a member of an approved society to defray the employer's contribution in arrears resulting from involuntary unemployment presses very heavily on women in seasonal trades often exceedingly ill paid.]

Amendments following upon above:—

*Page 3: Clause 4, Section 3, line 28:—*

Omit "in respect of," insert "by."

*Page 10: Clause 10, Section 5, line 35:—*

Omit "or in respect of."

*Page 6: Clause 8, Section 1 (e), line 25:—*

After "woman" insert "married or unmarried."

After "Maternity Benefit" add "without prejudice to other benefits to which she may be entitled."

[NOTE.—To raise the question of (1) medical (2) sickness benefit for the insured mother at the earliest possible moment. Why should maternity be treated worse than other illness by docking these?]

In connection with the above take—

*Page 7: Clause 8, Sub-clause 6, line 22:—*

Omit Sub-clause 6, or if impracticable omit the words "sickness benefit, disablement benefit or."

[NOTE.—This would secure sickness benefit in place of her wages and maternity benefit for special expenses.]



*Page 7: Clause 8:—*

After sub-Clause (6) insert new sub-Clause—

“A woman for whom maternity benefit is provided, whether as an immoral person or not, may claim to be attended by a certified midwife.”

[NOTE.—This is necessary, because a large number of the working classes rely on midwives for services which the doctor cannot perform, such as nursing the mother and washing the baby. The midwife alone is quite sufficient in a normal case; the doctor alone is not.]

*Page 8: Clause 8 (7), (3), line 8:—*

Add—“Provided that the amount of sickness benefit that would otherwise have been payable in such cases shall be credited in the case of persons insured in an approved society in prospective discharge of any future arrears of contributions; and in the case of deposit contributors to the credit of their account.”

This makes up to the domestic servant or shop assistant, or other resident person, what they would otherwise be deprived of. They will have paid the same contribution as others, why should not they get the same benefit?

*Page 6: Clause 8 (f), line 29:—*

After “benefits” insert “including either funeral benefit in respect of the insured person or any of his dependents.”

This raises at the earliest possible point the curious omission of funeral benefit (due to the opposition of Industrial Insurance Companies). This should also be added in Schedule 4, page 2.

*Page 8: Clause 9, Section 1, line 25:—*

After the word “of” omit “twenty-one,” insert “eighteen”; after the word “years” omit “and unmarried.”

[NOTE.—Many young persons over the age of eighteen are entirely on their own resources. They are obliged to pay the full contribution, whatever their wage is. Their wages being presumably low they would especially need the full benefit. The omission of “unmarried” does away with direct incentive to early marriage.]

*Page 10: Clause 10 (4) (b), line 26:—*

After “confinement” insert “or in the case of maternity benefit payable in respect of the posthumous child of an insured person, during the period since the deceased father ceased to be in employment.”

[NOTE.—Otherwise there will be arrears.]

*Page 12: Clause 12 (1), line 34:—*

After “Act” insert “except in the case of maternity benefit payable in respect of the wife of an insured person.”

As the Clause stands, if the insured *husband* happens to be in an institution the wife will lose her maternity benefit.

This is obviously not intended, and the amendment corrects it.

*Page 13: Clause 12, line 11:—*

After “granddaughter” insert “nephew, niece, grand-nephew, grand-niece.” (Why should they be omitted if they are dependent?)

*Page 13: Clause 12 (3), line 12:—*

Add to end of sub-clause “and in case of any of them, whether legitimate or illegitimate.”

*Page 14: Clause 13 (4), line 23:—*

After “sickness” insert “maternity.”

As the Clause stands, a woman who has been compulsorily made to contribute would not be allowed even medical attendance if she has an illegitimate child.

*Page 17: Clause 18 (2), line 6:—*

After “society” insert “not being a trade union registered under the Trade Union Acts.”

[NOTE.—This, coupled with a subsequent amendment, will admit trade unions as approved societies.]

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*Page 17 : Clause 18, line 8 :—*

Leave out "ten" and insert "two."

[NOTE.—Too small societies are not desirable ; but 10,000 is too large a number to require.]

*Page 17 : Clause 18, line 25 :—*

At end of Clause add new sub-clause (4), "No Trade Union registered under the Trade Union Acts shall receive the approval of the Insurance Commissioners unless it satisfies the following conditions :—

- (1) Its affairs must be subject to the absolute control of its members:
- (2) Its constitution must provide for the election of all its committees, representatives and officers by its members."

*Page 17 : Clause 19 :—*

Omit whole clause.

(It is not desirable that the Bill should assist employers in forming societies of their own workpeople which, as experience shows, limit the freedom of the worker and damage the trade union.)

*Page 21 : Clause 24, Section 2, line 8 :—*

After word "age" add "or sex."

[NOTE.—Otherwise women may find a difficulty in getting into approved societies.]

*Page 21 : Clause 26 (1), line 24 :—*

After "person," omit "or in the case of a deposit contributor the amount standing to his credit in the Post Office Fund."

*Page 21 : Clause 26 (2), lines 35 and 36 :—*

Omit "or the Post Office Fund."

*Page 21 : Clause 26 (2), line 37 :—*

And insert "the Committee of a Council of a county or county borough as hereafter prescribed."

This seems to be the first point at which the question of the Post Office contributors can be raised.

*Page 22 : Clause 27, line 8, and lines 11 and 12 :—*

Omit "deposit" and insert "non-society."

*Page 22 : Clause 27, line 22 :—*

Omit "Post Office" and insert "non-society."

Any such amendment serves to protest against the denial of insurance to such persons (see Clause 32). If passed this would involve consequential amendments of a similar nature all through the Bill.

*Page 27 : Clause 32 (1), line 8 :—*

Omit "deposit" and insert "non-society."

*Page 27 : Clause 32, line 12 :—*

Omit the rest of the clause, and substitute—

"(a) Contributions by or in respect of a non-society contributor shall be paid to the Local Insurance Authority, which shall be responsible for providing for such persons as under :—

"(b) Non-society contributors shall be entitled when rendered unfit to provide their own maintenance by some specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement to such medical treatment, domiciliary or institutional, as the Local Insurance Authority shall deem necessary in each case, and subject to such conditions as to diet, conduct and method of life as the Local Insurance Authority may prescribe. Provided that where by reason of such illness or infirmity some provision for the maintenance of the non-society person or his dependents is required, in order to promote his recovery to health, or to prevent ill-health in him or them, the Local Insurance Authority may if it thinks fit make such payment

for maintenance not exceeding as a maximum the sum of one shilling per day per person to be maintained under such conditions and for such period as the Local Authority shall prescribe."

This provides for the weaklings in a more satisfactory manner than deposit insurance; and in the present state of public opinion, Parliament would probably vote the money.

*Page 27: Clause 32:—*

(1) Omit (a) and (b).

*Page 28:—*

Omit (2) (a) and (b),

And insert after word "Society"—page 27, line 12—"his transfer value shall be paid to the Local Insurance Authority, provided that if a reserve value is credited to the society in respect of him that reserve value shall be cancelled and the difference between the transfer value and the reserve value shall be paid to the Local Insurance Authority."

Alternatively—

*Page 28: Clause 32, line 10:—*

Leave out "forfeited," and insert, "be carried to the credit of his widow, if any; or in the case of a woman deposit contributor, who on marriage ceases to be employed within the meaning of the Act, shall be placed to her credit in the Post Office Savings Bank as an ordinary deposit, withdrawable on demand; otherwise it shall be forfeited."

[NOTE.—This is a practical way out of the difficulty if nothing like death benefit can be accorded.]

*Page 29: Clause 34, line 26:—*

After "shall," insert "be entitled to become a voluntary contributor on the scale of contributions specified in the Schedule to this Act, but if she does not become a voluntary contributor she shall."

*Page 29: Clause 34, line 26:—*

After "shall" insert "be entitled to become a deposit contributor on the scale of contributions specified in the Schedule to this Act, but if she does not become a deposit contributor, she shall."

*Page 30: Clause 34, line 17:—*

Leave out sub-section (4).

*Page 30: Clause 34, Section 4, line 20:—*

Add at end "and the amount credited to the society in respect of her, calculated in the prescribed manner, shall be placed to her credit in the Post Office Savings Bank as an ordinary deposit withdrawable at her demand."

[NOTE.—Otherwise it will be confiscated by the society.]—See amendment to abolish this Section altogether.

*Page 31: Clause 35, Section 2, line 9:—*

Omit "widow" insert "woman."

[NOTE.—British woman married to a foreigner being an insured person should obtain full benefits.]

*Page 32: Clause 36, Section 4, line 28:—*

After "week" insert "and maternity benefit in the case of the confinement of their wives, at the rate of 30s."

NOTE.—This refers to wives of soldiers and sailors. If they are to come in for sickness and disablement, why not for maternity?]

*Page 34: Clause 39, line 7:—*

Leave out "approved societies and."

*Page 34: Clause 39, line 7:—*

At end, insert "The Insurance Commissioners shall remit to the approved societies every thirteen weeks all moneys received by way of contributions"

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by employers from insured persons, in respect of insured persons who are members of such approved societies. The approved societies shall meet all expenditure properly incurred for the purposes of the benefits administered by them and the administration of such moneys, and shall invest the balance of such contributions in accordance with the provisions of the Friendly Societies Act for the future benefits of such insured persons. Five-ninths of the benefits and of the expenses of administration shall be paid by the Insurance Commissioners to the approved society of which the insured person is a member."

*Page 35 : Clause 41, Section 1, line 17 :—*

Add "provided that one at least of such Commissioners shall be a woman."

*Page 36 : Clause 42, line 4 :—*

After "persons" insert "including women."

*Page 36 : Clause 42, line 2 :—*

After the second "of" insert "elected."

*Page 35 : Clause 42, line 39 :—*

After "Committee" insert "which shall contain at least two women."

*Page 35 : Clause 42, line 39 :—*

Leave out "appoint" and insert "be assisted by."

*Page 36 : Clause 42, line 4 :—*

Add at end "provided that not fewer than one-third of the whole number of the Committee shall be women."

*Page 36 : Clause 43, line 39 :—*

At end of page add "provided that not fewer than one-third of the whole number of the Committee shall be women."

*Page 36 : Clause 43 :—*

Omit the whole clause and substitute—

"(1) The Local Insurance Authority shall be—

(a) In a County Borough, the Council of the Borough.

(b) In an administrative County, except as hereinafter provided, the County Council.

(c) In a Non-County Borough or Urban District entitled to be a Pensions Authority under the Old Age Pensions Act, 1908, or an Authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1908, the Council of the Borough or Urban District.

"(2) Every Local Insurance Authority shall appoint an Insurance Committee consisting partly of members of the Council and partly of non-members in such numbers as the Council may determine; provided (a) that the number of non-members of the Council shall not exceed one-third of the total number of the Committee; (b) that such non-members shall be chosen by the Council from among members of approved societies resident within the area of the Council after nominations by such societies have been invited by the Council; and (c) that such non-members shall include at least two women.

"(3) All matters relating to the exercise by the Local Insurance Authority of powers under this Act shall stand referred to the Insurance Committee."

*Page 37 : Clause 44 :—*

Omit whole Clause.

*Page 41 : Clause 47, line 38, New Section :—*

(4) "In the provision of sanatoria under this section as nearly as possible equal accommodation shall be provided for women as for men."

*Page 43 : Clause 51 (1), line 23 :—*

Insert after "sickness" "disablement, maternity or."

Why should execution be illegal during the first six months of ordinary sickness, but not during disablement or maternity?

*Page 44 : Clause 53 (1), lines 33-34 :—*

Omit "being a member of an approved society."

Again, the unfairness to the non-society man. Why should not he be protected against the employer's fraud or evasion?

*Clause 46 : page 39, line 8 :—*

Omit "may" and insert "shall."

[NOTE.—This is to ensure that the powers given by the clause shall be used.]

*Page 49 : Clause 59, Section 4 (a), line 23 :—*

Add at end "Provided that every such County Society shall be open to women as well as to men."

*Page 50 : Section 5, line 25 :—*

Add at end "Provided that not fewer than one-third of the whole number of such committee shall be women."

*Page 51 : Clause 59, Section 8, line 38 :—*

Add "Provided that in such sanatoria as nearly as possible equal accommodation shall be provided for women as for men."

*Page 54 : Clause 62, line 10 :—*

Insert after "employment" "or than the rate current in the district, or upon terms in contravention of any award or determination under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, or less advantageous to him than the working rules or other collective agreements by representatives of employers and employed in force in the district."

*Page 64 : Clause 79, line 8 :—*

Omit "may" and insert "shall."

[NOTE.—This is to ensure that payment shall be made through the trade unions.]

*Page 70 : Schedule 2, lines 29 and 30 :—*

Leave out "over the age of 21."

[NOTE.—Otherwise there is direct encouragement to the employment of young persons at a low wage.]

*Pages 70 and 71 : Second Schedule :—*

For "1s. 6d. a day" read "at the rate of 2s. per day."

For "2s. a day" read "at the rate of 2s. 6d. per day."

For "2s. 6d. a day" read "at the rate of 3s. 6d. per day."

*Page 73 : Part II., line 12 :—*

Insert at beginning "Funeral benefit on the death of an insured person or any of his dependents."

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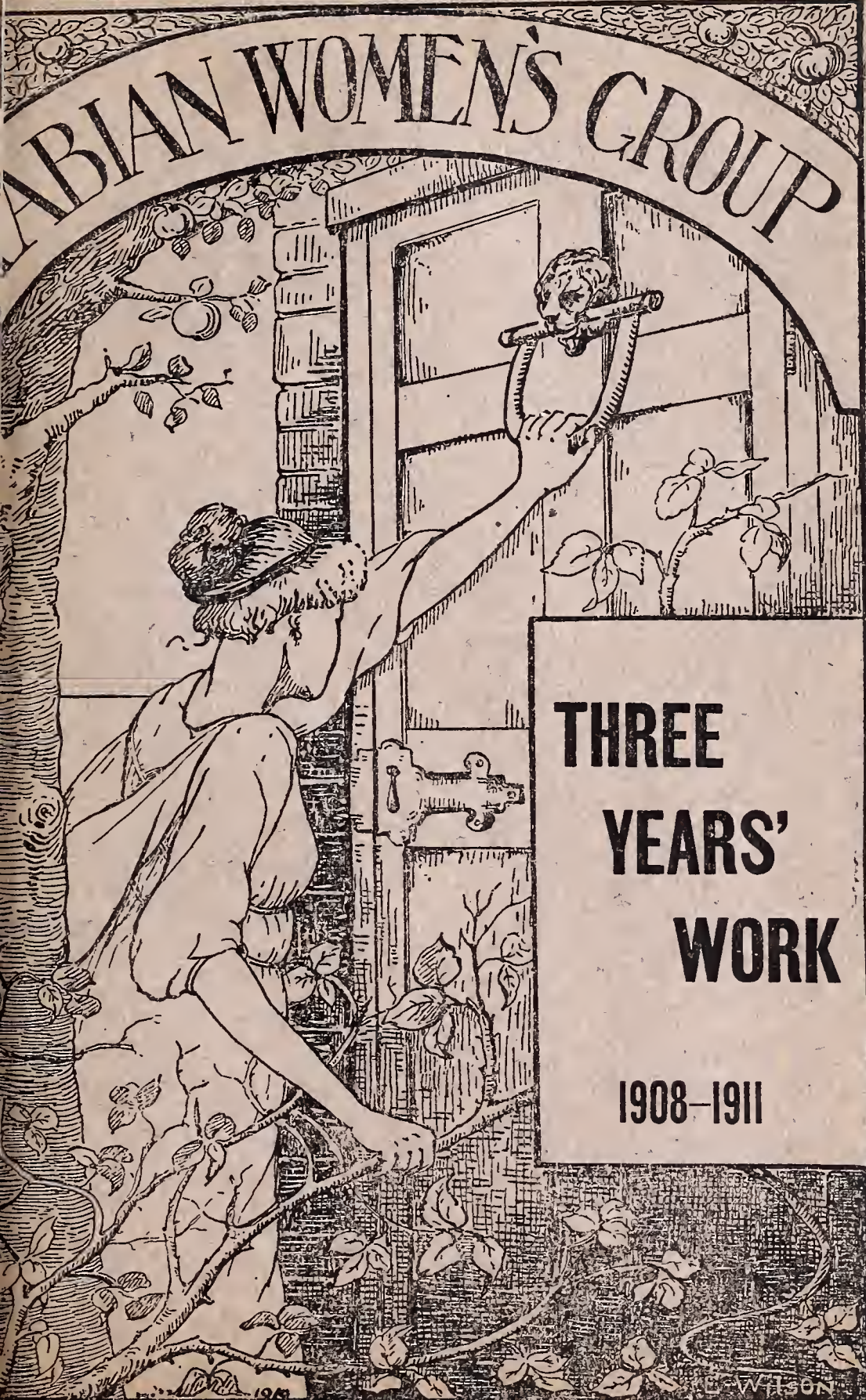
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ABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP

**THREE  
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WORK**

1908-1911

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## CONTENTS.

### INTRODUCTION.

The Formation of the Fabian Women's Group and its Purpose.

### PART I.

The Group's Work in Furthering the Citizenship of Women.

1. Local Government: the County Council Election in North Kensington.
2. The Suffrage Agitation and the Fabian Society.

### PART II.

The Group's Inquiry Concerning the Economic Position of Women.

1. The Problem.
2. Women's Disabilities as Workers.
3. British Women as Producers and Consumers.

### PART III.

Miscellaneous Activities.

1. Occasional Lectures.
2. The Fabian Conference in 1910.
3. Dr. Bentham's Evidence before the Divorce Commission.
4. The International Socialist Congress.
5. Women and the Right to Work.

### PART IV.

Group Organisation and Finance.

# THREE YEARS' WORK OF THE WOMEN'S GROUP.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The Fabian Women's Group has now been in existence for three years. It was formed to concentrate and to promote activities which have now so far developed that the Executive Committee thinks well to issue a general report covering the whole period, from the Spring of 1908 to the Spring of 1911.

### THE FORMATION OF THE GROUP AND ITS PURPOSE.

The winter of 1908 was a period of activity and unrest amongst women within the Fabian Society as well as outside. The suffrage movement was rapidly growing in volume and force, and encountering increasingly bitter opposition, and many ardent suffragists amongst Fabian women felt that the Society was not keeping pace with a movement to which it had recently committed itself by the insertion of a new clause in its basis. Also thoughtful women everywhere were becoming conscious that much more than a disputed claim for a political right lies behind both the ostensible demands of the woman movement and the opposition to it.

On March 14th, in that year, a little party of Fabian women met in Mrs. Pember Reeves' drawing room to discuss the situation. They resolved to form themselves into a Group with two main objects:— Firstly, to make the equality in citizenship advocated in the Fabian basis an active part of the Society's propaganda and an active principle in its internal organisation; Secondly, to study women's economic independence in relation to Socialism. Mrs. Charlotte Mary Wilson was chosen as Group secretary.

A circular to this effect, containing an invitation to a general meeting, was sent to all the women of the Society. On April 4th, a large gathering assembled in Miss Wallace Dunlop's studio, and resolved to issue the following announcement:—

### THE FABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

We have formed a Women's Group, and appealed to the women of the Society to join us on the following grounds:—

Difference of sex function causes, and must necessarily cause, some difference between men and women in mental outlook.

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This natural difference has been artificially exaggerated and distorted by the subjection of women.

At the present time there is a rising spirit of revolt amongst women against subjection in all its forms, and against the morbid mental outlook it has engendered in both sexes.

The mainspring of this revolt is the growing consciousness of women that their mental faculties are essentially similar to those of men, whilst the naturally distinctive mental outlook of each sex is equally valuable in social evolution.

In the Socialist movement, the consciousness of common mental faculties and a distinctive mental outlook in men and women, is taking practical shape in the growing desire of women to study and work out amongst themselves the complex problem of their economic independence under Socialism, before contributing their views upon it to the general consensus of Socialist opinion.

The Fabian Society has always implicitly conceded the principle of equality of opportunity between men and women, and has lately put a formal recognition of their equal rights of citizenship upon its basis. It is therefore meet and right that the Fabian should be the first Society to try definitely to define the intimate relation between the two most vital movements of the time, Socialism and Women's Emancipation.

Accordingly, we Fabian women have formed ourselves into a group, to study and discuss women's economic independence in relation to Socialism, and to carry our conclusions into our practical work in both movements.

We also desire to make the theoretical equality of Fabian men and women a working reality within the Society—(i.) by training ourselves in the usages of public life and the organised expression of opinion; (ii.) by securing the representation of the women of the Society upon its Executive in proportion to their numbers, in order that their distinctive mental outlook may find adequate expression in the Society's policy.

The proportion of women to men in the Fabian Society has largely increased within the last two years. When the last Members' List was issued, in Dec. 1906, there were 1,060 members, of whom only 234 were women. In April, 1908, there are about 2,000 members, of whom about 600 are women. But of the 21 members of the Executive 17 are men. We have therefore nominated three women candidates in addition to the four women, all members of our Group, who served last year and are standing for re-election.

The following clause was added as an amendment, accepted by the meeting after much discussion:—

With reference to the Society's circular about the proposed Parliamentary Fund, it is suggested that Fabian women seriously should consider whether or no they should contribute to any Parliamentary activity as long as women are as a sex denied the Parliamentary franchise.

Before the next meeting, on May 9th, the numbers of the Group had risen to 159, two more women members had been added to the four already sitting upon the Fabian Executive; arrangements had been made to take part in the suffrage processions organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and the Women's Social and Political Union; and a group banner had been designed and the materials for it presented by Miss May Morris. Its motto is, "Equal opportunities for men and women."

## PART I.

### THE GROUP'S WORK IN FURTHERING THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN : I. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The Group now proceeded to elect an executive committee, and to organise its work along the two main lines mapped out at its preliminary meeting ; practical citizenship and economic inquiry. Whether we achieved any immediate success or not, we were sure that taking such part as is open to women in public business, and in the rough and tumble strife of practical politics, is an indispensable preparation for the full civic rights we claim. Again, looking at the matter from another point of view, the uphill work of practical reform is an indispensable stimulus and corrective, without which economic inquiry can scarcely bear fruit. Seclusion in the world of thought starves the thinker. Therefore our first effort was to start some citizenship work.

Discussion turned upon a suggestion thrown out by Mrs. Sidney Webb. In local government women's citizenship is theoretically recognised, but it is imperfect, ill understood, unappreciated, and little used, whilst the evils crying out for women's intervention are enormous. She urged us to see what we could do in this direction. In response ten of our members volunteered to make inquiries, in as many parts of London, as to agencies already at work, and Fabians and other Socialists who might help in forming local committees, or making use of existing organisations for citizenship propaganda amongst women electors ; also in supporting the candidature of women for Local Bodies. A citizenship sub-committee was formed consisting of the executive of the Group, the ten volunteers, and other co-opted members. Mrs. Miall Smith was Chairman, and Miss Ellen Smith Secretary.

The results of this departure were manifold, none of them in exact accordance with the original plan. In some places our members took an active share in initiating or carrying on the work of Women's Local Government Associations, or Women's Circles of the I.L.P. ; in others they took part in local affairs in connection with a Fabian group or a Labour organisation ; in one or two no scope for action was found.

During the first two years the sum of our collective activities as a Group was occasional help in local elections and the effort of our members to qualify as municipal electors. Several of our members also contested elections as candidates for local bodies ; Mrs. Pease and Miss F. Smith for Rural District Councils, and Miss Margaret Smith (Mrs. Stockman) for the Birmingham City Council.

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In 1910 several of our members came forward as candidates. Mrs. Miall Smith stood at a bye-election for the St. Pancras Borough Council in May. Mrs. Ackroyd served as a Guardian of the Poor in Croydon. Mrs. Miall Smith was returned for the third time for the Board of Guardians in St. Pancras, and Miss Caroline Townshend stood as one of six Labour candidates for the like office in Fulham. Though she did not get in, the contest helped to carry Minority Report propaganda into the very stronghold of the reactionaries.

Meanwhile we were making preparations for putting forward some Fabian women as candidates at the London County Council election in 1910. From the beginning of our citizenship work this had been our greatest ambition.

With the Progressives we were unsuccessful in gaining adoption for our women. In one constituency the local Selection Committee was afraid of Miss Atkinson, an admirable candidate, because she refused to denounce the Suffrage agitation, though she clearly explained that she did not consider the Parliamentary Franchise a subject relevant to an London County Council election, and that therefore she should decline to enter upon it in her election campaign. We had hoped that Mrs. Miall Smith would be able to contest the election in North Hackney. Unhappily there were many local difficulties, and when it became clear, owing to the opposition to a woman's candidature offered by certain of the Progressives, that Mrs. Miall Smith had no chance of being elected, she generously withdrew from the contest, that none of the Group's energy might be diverted to a forlorn hope.

Our third London County Council candidate, Dr. Ethel Bentham, who stood in the Labour interest, had at first like difficulties to contend with. She only succeeded in overcoming them by twelve months' steady work in her chosen constituency. As far back as November, 1908, we had consulted with the Central London Branch of the Women's Labour League, with a view to arranging joint action in local government elections. In 1909, by the efforts of this Branch, to which eight or ten of our members belonged, the Women's Labour League in Kensington and Paddington was revived, with Dr. Marion Phillips as Secretary, and Dr. Bentham was adopted by it as candidate for the constituency. During the autumn a strong election committee was formed from the local Trade Unions, the Kensington and Paddington Trades and Labour Council, and other Labour and Socialist organisations. It was recognised by the Central "London for Labour" Committee of the Independent Labour Party to which it sent delegates. During the winter a number of successful public meetings were held, and Dr. Bentham was enthusiastically received as Labour Candidate. When the election campaign began, the Group made a splendid response to the appeal for service and financial help. Our members spoke, both indoors and in the open air, canvassed

and assisted in office work, some of them coming long distances to do so ; others who could not come, did clerical and other work at home. With the assistance of a few pounds from the Fabian Society, the Women's Labour League and one or two private donors, the Group raised the whole of the £135 required for the election expenses. Dr. Bentham obtained 2,724 votes, and aroused genuine enthusiasm amongst her supporters: in fact her defeat seemed an earnest of future victory. Much valuable propaganda both for Socialism and for the cause of women was done during the campaign.

The work thus begun is being continued in North Kensington. Dr. Bentham, being a resident in the constituency, is of course engaged in the social and political work of the district. The Independent Labour Party and Women's Labour League, to which several of our members belong, are very active bodies there, and are especially interested in questions of Local Government. In such matters their interest is the greater because several of them are engaged in Care Committee work, and two of the Kensington Borough Councillors are members of the Independent Labour Party. A successful campaign has just been carried on for better provision by the Borough for consumptives, and a long fight is being waged to obtain more municipal wash-houses. The most pressing need of the constituency is electoral registration in the Labour interest, a need as great for County Council as for Parliamentary elections.

The Fabian Executive, at the Group's request, sent up a resolution to the Labour Party Conference, in January, 1910, in favour of the Local Government Qualification Bill. This measure opens County and Town Councils to candidates qualified by residence. The resolution, the first ever placed by the Fabian Society upon the agenda of the Conference, was successfully carried. The Bill is still amongst the measures awaiting the leisure of the House of Commons.

From inquiries recently made amongst our members, and answered by some ninety of them, we find that twenty-six are qualified as municipal electors; twelve are possible candidates for local bodies; six are serving as school managers and nine on Care Committees; eight are members of Women's Local Government Associations, and three of the London Reform Union, one being a Vice-President.

## II. THE SUFFRAGE AGITATION.

The appearance for the first time of a Fabian contingent in the great Suffrage processions of June, 1908, was followed by the systematic mention in the Fabian News of those Fabians who suffered imprisonment or restraint for the Suffrage cause during the ensuing winter. Resolutions of protest against the treatment of

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Suffrage prisoners were carried by large majorities at the Society's meetings in November, 1908 and 1909, and were sent to the Home Secretary and to the Press. The attitude of the Fabian Society as an organisation making the demand for Women's Suffrage a prominent part of its programme, was recognised by an invitation to send Fraternal Delegates to the London Convention of the International Women Suffrage Alliance in 1909.

In May, 1910, a resolution calling upon the Government to give urgency to "a measure removing the sex disabilities of women in parliamentary elections" was carried by a large majority at the Society's Annual Meeting. In July the Fabian Conference, on the motion of W. S. Sanders, for the Executive, voted urgency, and unanimously adopted the following resolution, which was sent to the Prime Minister:—"That this Conference calls upon the Government to grant facilities for the Women's Suffrage Bill, now before the House of Commons, to pass through all its stages during the present session."

During 1910 the Women's Group took part in five demonstrations in favour of the Conciliation Bill. A large Fabian Contingent, organised by Miss Elspeth Carr, marched in the processions arranged by the Women's Social and Political Union on June 18th and July 23rd. On the latter occasion the Society for the first time had a special Suffrage platform at the mass meeting in Hyde Park. Mrs. Pember Reeves was Chairman, and the speakers were Mrs. Boyd Dawson, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mrs. Margaret Stockman, Dr. Haden Guest, Gerald T. Hankin, George Lansbury and W. S. Sanders. We have to thank the last named for taking an active part in organising the platform. Our banner was also carried in the Trafalgar Square procession arranged by the London Society for Women's Suffrage on July 9th. The Group sent delegates to the Queen's Hall meeting, arranged by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and we co-operated with the Professional and Industrial Suffrage Society and the New Constitutional Suffrage Society in organising a meeting at the Memorial Hall on the 11th of November, when Miss Murby spoke as our representative. To our great regret the Trafalgar Square demonstration of the Freedom League was held too early in the Autumn for the Group to accept the invitation officially to take part.

The Group also sent the following resolution to the Prime Minister on June 21st:—"This business meeting of the Fabian Women's Group urges the Prime Minister to give such facilities as shall enable the Women's Suffrage Conciliation Bill to pass through all its stages in the House of Commons during the present session of Parliament." Before the last general election the Group sent the following resolution on December 1st to the Fabian candidates, Mr. Will Crooks and Mr. Harry Snell:—"This meeting calls upon the Fabian candidates, in accordance with the avowed policy of the Society, to urge upon the electors the cause



of Women's Suffrage, as of vital importance at the present moment." Many of our members made their contribution to the Fabian Parliamentary fund dependent upon the candidates' support of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Crooks declared himself an adult suffragist; Mr. Snell laid special stress on the claims of women.

The Group also sent the following resolution to the Fabian Executive on November 22nd:— "As a general election is approaching, and as before the last general election the Fabian Executive published in the 'News' certain paragraphs headed 'Advice to Members' which practically amounted to a Fabian election manifesto, and were so regarded in the Press and elsewhere, and as in that 'Advice' Women's Suffrage was not mentioned as a matter of importance: This meeting calls upon the Executive to urge upon members of the Society, upon this occasion, the vital importance of the enfranchisement of women, as being, like the representation of Labour, an essential part of that machinery of democracy upon the development of which the sound advance of Socialism is absolutely dependent, and which it is the object of the campaign against the Lords' Veto to strengthen." In deference to the strongly expressed opinion of its women members, the Fabian Executive put Women's Suffrage first among the special subjects which, after the fight against the Lords, it advised Fabians to press upon the attention of Parliamentary candidates.

Thus it will be seen that during the last three years the Fabian Society has led the way amongst Socialist organisations in pressing the claims of women to citizenship.

The Group numbers among its members the adherents of more than a dozen Suffrage organisations, with every variety of Suffrage policy. As a Group, therefore, we are strictly non-party in our attitude. We act collectively on broad Fabian lines: when occasion serves we press women's claim for equality in citizenship because its recognition is essential to the healthy advance of Socialism.

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## PART II.

### THE GROUP'S INQUIRY CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN.

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#### THE PROBLEM.

Turning to the other main purpose for which the Fabian Women's Group was formed, we turn from an essential factor in

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the realisation of Socialism to the subject matter of Socialism itself.

Socialism means to every Socialist the economic re-organisation of Society, whatever he may hold that it should mean in addition. It means the re-organisation of Society on the basis of the collective ownership of the means of production and exchange, and the collective control of industry and distribution. As Socialists we all hold that the community as a whole should be acknowledged the ultimate owner of national wealth, and that wealth production and wealth distribution should be nationally so organised as to bring about the largest and the most equal opportunities in life for each individual in the nation.

Further, Socialists are in general agreement that it is an essential part of this economic re-organisation that everyone should be brought up to work, and be trained for the occupations for which he has aptitude and preference. Socialists also generally agree that every worker should be free to consume as he pleases the share of wealth allotted to him in return for his work, subject only to the restriction that he does not injure the community thereby. In other words, under Socialism the individual will be economically independent, and that personal economic freedom will widen as Socialism develops.

Where in all this do women come in? It used to be vaguely supposed that, as a matter of course, Socialism meant for women what it meant for men. It was forgotten that women's economic position to-day is no more the economic position of men than their political position is that of men. We are only now recognising that if, as Socialism advances, women are to be considered economically as well as politically independent individuals, entitled, equally with men, to equality of opportunity, they have a great deal of leeway to make up.

Unless in the case of an exceptional woman here and there, it was only during the last century that women, timidly began to attempt to break away from paternal and marital control, and to claim individual independence and responsibility. The Married Women's Property Acts were a national acknowledgment of the justice of their economic claim. But the legal right to economic independence does not give that independence to those who neither earn nor inherit an income, and a vast number of women are to-day in that position. They are still the dependents of individual men; as consumers they are under their husband's economic control, whatever the intrinsic value of their unpaid services. The poorest wage-earner, only able to get employment at a capitalist's convenience and at his price, is still free to spend the pittance he or she earns, as he or she likes best: such a worker is economically independent, though within narrow limits. But the wife of the capitalist, or of the best paid of his workmen, is a dependent person, subject to the master of the purse strings,

unless she possesses an income of her own by work or inheritance. "We women are the slaves of slaves," exclaimed a Socialist workman's wife.

One of the driving forces of the woman movement to-day is the secret resentment of women against this position of economic dependence, and the subjection in which it keeps them. Socialists must recognise that women's economic revolt is not merely against the enslaving economic control of the capitalist, but against the enslaving economic control of the husband. Its conscious expression is limited to-day to comparatively few, but it is a growing force.

Large numbers of women are however forced into the labour market, just as men are forced into it, by sheer necessity. The conditions they find there are often unfit for human beings whether they be men or women; but the women are additionally handicapped. Usually neither their training for money-earning work, nor their rate of pay, nor their chances of getting the better sorts of work, are as good as those of men. All this they have to contend with, in addition to the disabilities inherent in their function of motherhood; many of these disabilities being artificially and needlessly accentuated by preventable causes.

No, women are not in the same economic position as men to-day, and cannot advance hand in hand with them towards Socialism, because men have already advanced much further than women towards personal economic freedom. The first fact which Socialists have to face with regard to women is that, whilst as yet comparatively few of them have reached the measure of economic independence attained by men, there is a dawning conviction that its attainment by the womanhood of the nation is the true remedy for various social ills which otherwise seem well nigh irremediable.

With regard to men it is agreed that all measures of reform leading onward towards Socialism should be so framed as to safeguard for each individual man personal economic independence, securing his freedom as a consumer, and tending to place him, as a producer, more and more under the control of the state, of which he is a responsible citizen, instead of under that of individual owners of wealth.

With regard to women, we Socialists have to decide whether or no we will set ourselves to clear the way to individual economic independence for all women on the same terms as for all men. We have to decide whether or no we will further women's claim for paid employment, and fight their battle in the labour market, with the view of strengthening their position and bringing them into line with men in the Socialist advance towards work for all for the equal advantage of all. If the claim for equality of opportunity does not mean this for women, what does it mean? The question is an urgent one for all Socialists, since the trend

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of every measure of reform on the road to Socialism will be affected by it, and more especially it is a question for Socialist women. It is this inquiry which the Fabian Women's Group was formed to prosecute.

### OUR FIRST ATTEMPTS TO SEEK A SOLUTION.

We did not begin by arranging a course of lectures to preach a doctrine, or prove a point, or even to define the position. We set ourselves first of all to get thoughtful women to tell us what they were thinking and feeling on the subject.

Our first paper was by a Socialist wife and mother, who had herself gained economic independence by her arduous and brilliant work; and we asked her to take "Women and Work" as her general subject. The special aspect of it she chose was the "Natural Disabilities of Women." Women, she held, are predominantly creatures of sex, whose paramount need is a mate and children; and also they are heavily weighted throughout life by physical and mental disabilities unknown to men. Nevertheless their economic independence ought to be secured if only to enable them to mate well and wisely.

This lecture was followed by one from Miss Emma Brooke, urging that the ability for motherhood was in itself a cogent reason why the claim of women to full social recognition, economic and political, should be acknowledged.

After the ground had been broken in these two Introductory lectures, a Studies sub-committee was appointed to direct our inquiry. It consisted of the Group Executive and some co-opted members. Its Chairman was Miss Emma Brooke, and its Secretary Mrs. Charlotte Wilson.

The stress laid on the inevitable disabilities of sex in the first lecture had roused a strong feeling of opposition amongst our members, including some who were themselves mothers. It was felt that an altogether disproportionate importance had been attached to female incapacity for other vocations than motherhood. Our Studies Committee therefore decided to take natural and inevitable sex disability as a preliminary subject, with the object of discovering what women themselves are feeling about it.

### PAPERS UPON THE NATURAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN AS WORKERS:

#### SERIES I. THE DISABILITIES OF WOMEN WHEN NOT ENGAGED IN CHILD-BEARING.

The series was opened by a paper from Dr. Constance Long, who set the physiology of the matter clearly before us. This was

followed by a number of papers treating of women's natural disabilities as workers from a variety of standpoints.

#### SERIES II. DISABILITIES OF MOTHERS.

The first series was succeeded by a second dealing with mothers in particular. This was opened by an introductory lecture on "Difficulties" by Mrs. Pember Reeves, followed by a paper explaining the physiology of motherhood, from Dr. Ethel Vaughan-Sawyer. Afterwards we discussed many papers containing the views of various women, most of them mothers themselves. We also had informal talks on the subject.

#### SUMMARIES OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN OUR INQUIRY.

A summary of each series of papers and discussions was printed for private circulation and presented to every member of the Fabian Society. The first summary was edited by Miss Murby, in conjunction with the Studies Committee of the Group: the second by Mrs. Bernard Shaw in the same way.\*

In their introductory and concluding comments on both Summaries the Studies Committee defined the question at the stage which its discussion had then reached, and epitomised the consensus of opinion on the points raised. There seemed to be a general desire for the economic independence of women, married and single; a general belief that for women who are not mothers occupied with young children, the path to that independence should be paid work; and a general sense that the conditions of domestic toil are detestable to-day, and press even more severely on women than the hardships of the labour market. The paid houseworker, living in, is popularly known as a "slavey," except in the upper ranks of the trade: but the mass of married women doing unpaid domestic work are in even worse case, and must remain so until the confusion between sex-relationship and economics, handed down to us from ancient conditions now vanished or rapidly changing, is disentangled.

The further and crucial question of motherhood, as on the one hand a disability to the worker, and on the other a service rendered to the community, was rather touched upon than fully considered in its relation to the Socialist ideal. But the opinion seemed general that there was a tendency abroad to exaggerate the inevitable disabilities of the mother of young children, apart from removable conditions of hardship. Nevertheless the adequate fulfilment of the functions of motherhood, if it is to be accompanied by economic independence for the mother, must be in some form recognised as deserving and requiring economic

\* Copies of both Summaries can be obtained through the Fabian Office, at one penny each.

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assistance from the State. The full consideration of this question and of the closely related questions of the maintenance, rearing and training of children, was reserved until the facts of women's economic conditions in the past and in the present had been closely examined. The object of the two first series of papers and discussions had been to throw, as a preliminary, some light on the extent of the natural disabilities inevitable to women as workers, as distinct from disabilities which are a result of existing social arrangements capable of modification and improvement. The greatest stumbling-block we found in our way was that women themselves have not studied the question scientifically in their own interests. The available material is presented by the male investigator with his own unavoidable sex bias.

### CONFERENCE UPON THE NATURAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN AS WORKERS.

In July, 1910, a conference was held at 150, Whitehall Court, upon the two Summaries.

Invitations to send representatives were accepted by the Association of University Women Teachers, Ling Association, Women's Labour League, Women's Industrial Council, Association of Shorthand Writers and Typists, Research Committee of the Christian Social Union, Association of Sanitary Inspectors, Salvation Army, Association of Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools, Women's Institute, Headmistresses' Association, Married Women Teachers' Association, National Union of Women Workers, Eugenics Education Society and the Women's Co-operative Guild. Amongst the guests were Miss Lucy Deane, Miss Clementina Black, Dr. Constance Long, Sister Kerrison, Mrs. McKillop, Madame Michaelis and Professor Edith Morley. Expressions of regret at inability to be present were received from Miss Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, Miss Collet, of the Board of Trade, Mrs. Ernest Rhys, Mrs. Karl Pearson, Dr. Ethel Vaughan-Sawyer, Miss Adler, L.C.C., and Miss Alice Ravenhill. Both the afternoon and evening session were largely attended by Group members.

In the afternoon the chair was taken by Mrs. Bernard Shaw, who explained in her opening speech how the Group had been led to begin its investigation of the conditions of economic independence for women by considering their physical and mental disabilities as workers, since this had been the first stumbling-block encountered in the inquiry. The discussion upon the Summaries was opened by Mrs. Matthews (Ling Association), followed by speeches from Mrs. Colonel Moss (Salvation Army), Dr. Marion Phillips, Dr. Constance Long, Miss M. M. A. Ward (Women's Labour League), Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mrs. Greenwood

(Women Sanitary Inspectors), Miss Deane (formerly Chief Lady Factory Inspector), Miss Bramwell (Association of Headmistresses), Dr. O'Brien Harris, Miss Fitzgerald (Association of Shorthand Writers and Typists), Miss Sergeant, Miss Young (Shorthand Writers and Typists), Miss Lenn, Mrs. Van Raalte, Miss Williams, and Dr. Bentham.

Miss Murby took the chair at the evening session, which was devoted to "Certain Fundamental Considerations." Mrs. Charlotte Wilson and Mrs. Pember Reeves read short papers on "Work" and "Motherhood," and after questions had been answered, the discussion was opened by Miss Clementina Black, whose interesting and sympathetic speech was followed by speeches from Mrs. Van Raalte, Miss Constance Smith (Christian Social Union Research Committee), Miss Waters (University Women Teachers), Miss Atkinson, Miss Mary Phillips (Christian Social Union), Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Gallichan, Mrs. Stanbury, Miss Peacock, Miss Deane, Dr. Bentham, Mrs. Matthews, and Mrs. Dice. The Chairman, in her concluding remarks, voiced the general opinion of the Group as to the extreme utility of the Conference, the object of which had been to elicit the views and criticism of women interested in the same subjects, but working on other lines. The large amount of sympathy and appreciation which had been shown would encourage us to continue our work, and to pass on with better heart to the very complex inquiry into women's actual share in wealth production which forms the next part of our scheme of study.

The conference closed the preliminary part of our inquiry. We had elicited the opinions of a number of thoughtful women, of very varied experience, upon the urgent need in the interests of national progress for a special study by women themselves of their economic conditions. And we had listened to and discussed the views of many others upon the popular confusion of mind which, at one moment, will exaggerate the extent and distort the nature of the essential disabilities of the female human worker; and at the next moment will ignore those disabilities altogether as regards the social burden imposed upon her. The subjection of women has obscured the primary fact that such disability as capacity for motherhood brings with it is but the negative side of a special ability, the full and healthy development and exercise of which is of absolutely paramount national importance. Henceforth our work is mainly concerned with the abilities, not the disabilities of women in relation to their economic position in the community.

PAPERS ON BRITISH WOMEN AS PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS.  
SERIES I. BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

At the close of 1909 the Group had already begun to discuss a series of historical papers, dealing with the position of women as

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workers and as consumers in this country during the ages before the Industrial Revolution. As that past has made our present, it is essential to obtain some idea of how it evolved. Here again we were met by the old difficulty in another form, Women in the past had not counted as individuals. As the individual man gradually emerged as a responsible, economically independent citizen from tribal and mediæval corporate life, with its concomitants of slavery and of serfdom, the woman remained the adjunct of the man. She was his belonging; a creature attached civically and economically to him and under his control; and industrial history does not deal with her except incidentally. Her work, and its relation to her means of subsistence, are taken for granted and practically ignored by our historians. Consequently at every stage in our national economic development research into original contemporary sources must be made to discover facts about women as workers and consumers. It has taken time to find students to undertake this spade work on new ground. We cannot hope to do more than indicate the immense scope for research it reveals. With all deference to Rogers, Ashley, Toynbee, Hasbach and Cunningham, the economic history of this country from the point of view of the workers, to say nothing of the women workers, has yet to be written. Much new material has been unearthed, and there is no historical research work so important to the Socialist movement on its intellectual side. It is essential to the soundness of our constructive thought.

The historical papers already read before the Group include "Teutonic Tribal Conditions," by Mrs. C. M. Wilson; "Celtic Women," by Mrs. Ernest Rhys; "Women under the Manor and in the Guilds," Miss Mabel Atkinson; "Types of Women before the Reformation," Miss Eckenstein; "Laws and Regulations relating to Prostitution, A.D. 800 — 1500," Mrs. Maria Sharpe Pearson; "Women in the Woollen Industry," Miss B. L. Hutchins; "Women in the Linen Industry," Miss Elspeth Carr; "Women in the Mining Industry," Mrs. Tegan Harris; "Apprenticeship of Girls," Miss O. J. Dunlop; "The Tudor Household," Miss Evelyn Fox. Papers are in preparation on "The Household and its Industries in Mediæval Times"; "Household Activities in the 17th and 18th Centuries"; "Women in Agriculture since the break up of the Manorial System," and "Women as Holders of Property."

It is intended that the series of Historical Papers shall be concluded during 1911, and an account of them, arranged in chronological order with an introduction, issued as Number III. of the Group series of Summaries.

BRITISH WOMEN AS PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS.

SERIES II. SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Meanwhile we are beginning to consider the next division of our inquiry, the change wrought for women as workers and as



consumers by the Industrial Revolution, amid the direct results of of which we are living to-day. When this survey has been completed we shall be in a position to estimate the problem before us and make some suggestions as to its solution.

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### PART III.

## MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES.

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### OCCASIONAL LECTURES.

Besides the papers which form part of a series in our scheme of economic inquiry, we have had lectures dealing with current topics connected with the aims and interests of the Group. During 1910-11, Miss Clementina Black spoke to us upon "The Sweated Woman Worker and the Trade Boards' Act"; Lady McLaren on "Economic Points in the Woman's Charter"; Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and Dr. Ethel Bentham on the evidence laid before the Divorce Commission; Mrs. Boyd Dawson and Miss Ellen Smith on the evidence collected by our Sub-Committee on Women in Prisons; Mrs. Pember Reeves on an interesting experiment initiated by her, and carried on by one of our Sub-Committees, on "The Effects of an Allowance to Mothers, under carefully regulated conditions, before and after the birth of a child"; Mrs. Sidney Webb upon the "Crusade against Destitution as it affects Women"; Miss Eva Gore-Booth on "A much needed Extension of the Factory Act" and Miss Maud Davies on "Women Workers in Villages." We are now looking forward to a lecture by Miss Mary MacArthur upon "The Industrial Organisation of Women."

### WOMEN'S GROUP TRACTS.

Our Studies Sub-Committee, in co-operation with the Fabian Executive, is now about to begin the issue of a series of Fabian Women's Group pamphlets. The cover has been designed and presented to the Group by Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson. No. 1, by

## HOTELS AND LODGINGS.

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Miss B. L. Hutchins, deals with Women in Industry; No. 2 will deal with the problem of Domestic Work. No. 3, by Dr. Ethel Bentham, will be upon Education, with reference to the physical and mental capacities of boys and girls. No. 4, drafted from the evidence collected by the Prisons Sub-Committee, will relate to the present penal system as it effects women.

### THE FABIAN CONFERENCE.

The Group was represented at the Fabian Conference, in July, 1910, by five delegates, Miss Hankinson, Dr. O'Brien Harris, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson and Mrs. Charlotte Wilson.

The following resolution was placed upon the agenda:—"That in the furtherance of social reform, Socialists, men and women, should oppose legislation and methods of administration tending to increase the economic dependence of women." It was proposed by Mrs. C. M. Wilson, who laid stress upon the social dangers inherent in one-sided, piece-meal reforms. In seconding the resolution Miss Atkinson pointed out that it was in no sense an objection raised to the State regulation of industries in the interests of the workers: it was simply a caution against the advocacy of regulations so framed as to increase the dependence of women upon the incomes of men. The discussion showed that the group's point of view was not clearly grasped by some Fabian delegates, but in the end an amendment, proposed by Mr. Sidney Webb, which covered the ground more completely than we had ventured to suggest, was carried with our delegates' cordial agreement. It stood as follows:—"That in the furtherance of social reform Socialists, men and women, should insist with special care that, in any legislation or methods of administration, any change should take a form which will not incidentally increase the economic dependence of one able-bodied adult person, whether male or female, on any other person." Dr. Lionel Taylor proposed an additional amendment: "And further, that attention should be paid to the importance of scientific inquiry, in every case, into the biological and economic effects likely to result." This again was an enlargement of our original demand gladly accepted by our delegates.

### THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE LAWS OF DIVORCE.

After hearing papers by Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck and Dr. Bentham, upon the evidence given before the Commission during the early part of 1910, the Group resolved to offer its

testimony. A Sub-Committee, with Mrs. Dice as Secretary, was formed to collect information from our members, some of whom are women engaged in professional and social work, bringing them into close contact with the most intimate affairs of family life. Dr. Bentham was appointed the Group's representative before the Commission. Her evidence, admirably given, was taken at considerable length by the Commission and well reported in the Press. Her main point was the existing inequalities of the law of divorce as between men and women and as between the rich and poor; and she brought forward telling instances to show how the law now tends to break up family life, to lessen respect for the marriage tie, to increase illegitimacy and prostitution, and generally to degrade social life. Her evidence was received with marked attention, and she was questioned as to the remedies she would suggest. The Group afterwards passed a warm vote of thanks to her for her valuable services.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

Several of our members were Fabian delegates to the International Socialist Congress in September, 1910, and Miss Murby also represented the Society at the Women's International Socialist Conference which preceded it. In October the Women's Labour League invited the Group to send representatives to a conference to consider the establishment of an International Committee of British Women Socialists. Miss Berry and Mrs. C. M. Wilson were sent as delegates, and suggested that it was the Fabian Society rather than the Group which should be represented on the proposed committee. The Preliminary Committee have therefore sent an invitation to the Fabian Executive which has appointed two of our members, Miss Murby and Mrs. C. M. Wilson, as representatives of the Society.

#### WOMEN AND THE "RIGHT TO WORK." TECHNICAL TRAINING.

The Group is always on the look-out to support Women's claims as workers. In 1909 it brought forward the grievances of married teachers at the Fabian Conference, and in January, 1911, co-operated with the Fabian Education Group in a meeting at Clifford's Inn, where a discussion on the subject was opened by Miss A. K. Williams, the first woman Vice-President of the London Teachers' Association.

In October, 1910, we sent the following resolution to the Postmaster-General:—"That this meeting of the Fabian Women's Group protests against the payment of girl messengers in the Post Office Service at a lower rate than boys for the same work; being of opinion that a Government Department should set an example in the matter of equal pay for equal work for both sexes."

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Apparently the resolutions and protests showered upon the Postmaster-General from many quarters have produced their effect, for he has publicly explained that the girls are working shorter hours than the boys and under different conditions, hence their lower wages; also that their employment affords an opening to adult employment on the Post Office staff.

Hearing that the London County Council had established a technical school of cookery at the Westminster Institute, where boys take a three years' course in all the branches of the art, we inquired if the like advantages are anywhere offered to girls, and found that they are not. We therefore wrote to the three women upon the L.C.C. Education Committee, suggesting that the Cookery School should be open to girls as well as boys. Miss Adler and Miss Lawrence replied that this seemed impracticable; the former added that a class for professional women cooks may shortly be opened in connection with one of the Girls' Trade Schools. In her opinion the only way to secure efficient training for women is to give them full advantages in their own institutions; otherwise their interests will be subordinated to those of the men workers.

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### PART IV.

## ORGANISATION AND FINANCE.

### MEMBERSHIP.

Any woman member of the Fabian Society can join the Fabian Women's Group. The minimum annual subscription is 1s. Associates of the Society can become associates of the Group at a minimum annual subscription of 2s. 6d. Women who have left the Society, while remaining in sympathy with its principles, can be subscribers of the Group at the discretion of the Committee at a minimum annual subscription of 1s. The Group contained 211 members, 2 associates and 1 subscriber, in December, 1910.

## COMMITTEES AND OFFICERS.

The Executive Committee consists of seven Members elected annually. The present members have held office for two years, no fresh nominations having been received for election in May, 1910.

They are—

Miss Berry.		Mrs. Pember Reeves.
Miss Hankinson.		Mrs. Bernard Shaw.
Dr. O'Brien Harris.		Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson.

Mrs. C. M. Wilson, *Hon. Secretary.*

Miss Maybury was appointed Hon. Treasurer at the Business Meeting in May, 1910.

Miss Mary Longman was appointed Assistant Hon. Secretary in November, 1910.

The Executive, or the Group at a Business Meeting, appoint Sub-committees for special purposes. In 1910, the following five Sub-committees were sitting.

## STUDIES SUB-COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee *ex officio*: Co-opted Members—Miss Atkinson, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Miss B. L. Hutchins, Miss Murby.

Chairman : Miss Emma Brooke.

Secretary : Mrs. C. M. Wilson.

## CITIZENSHIP SUB-COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee *ex officio*: Co-opted Members—Miss Atkinson, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Ackroyd, Mrs. Hylton Dale, Mrs. Exley, Mrs. Van Raalte, Miss Hart Davis, Mrs. Pease, Mrs. Rowe, Mrs. Stockman, Miss Tiffen, Miss Underwood, Dr. Marion Phillips.

Chairman : Mrs. Miall Smith.

Secretary : Miss Ellen Smith.

Concluded its work with the L.C.C. election in 1910.

This Committee was not re-appointed by the present Executive in May, 1910, but will probably be re-constituted next summer.

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### PRISONS SUB-COMMITTEE.

Miss Atkinson, Miss Blagg, Mrs. Boyd Dawson, Mrs. Mapplebeck, Miss Ellen Smith, Mrs. C. M. Wilson.

Secretary : Miss Ellen Smith.

This Committee was appointed to collect information as to women prisoners and draft a pamphlet on the subject.

### MOTHERHOOD SPECIAL FUND COMMITTEE.

Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Lascelles, Mrs. Pember Reeves.

Treasurer : Mrs. C. M. Wilson.

This Committee is carrying out the experiments mentioned above upon the effects of an allowance to mothers.

### DIVORCE SUB-COMMITTEE.

Dr. Ethel Bentham, Miss Finlay Peacock, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mrs. C. M. Wilson.

Mrs. Dice, Secretary.

A temporary Committee to collect evidence to lay before the Royal Commission.

### GROUP RECORD.

Each year our Members are asked to furnish the Committee with particulars as to their avocations and interests in order that a Group Record may be kept and its results analysed. The following list is taken from the ninety answers which have so far been received to the questionnaire of 1911 :—

*Professions* : primary, secondary and technical teachers, 16 ; university and other lecturers, 11 ; research student, 1 ; writers and journalists, 12 ; civil servants, 2 ; doctor, 1 ; matron, 1 ; nurse, 1 ; sanitary inspectors, 2 ; Labour Exchange organiser, 1 ; artists in painting and metal work, 5 ; sculptor, 1 ; musicians, 2 ; gardeners, 2 ; type-writers and secretaries, 7. Many of our Members are engaged in unpaid domestic work.

*Societies to which some of our Members belong* :—The Women's Social and Political Union, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Freedom League,

the People's Suffrage Federation, the New Constitutional Suffrage Society, the Free Church Suffrage League, the University Graduates' Suffrage Society, Cambridge University Suffrage Society, the London University Suffrage Society, the Women Sanitary Inspector Suffrage Society, the Writers' Suffrage Society, the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Artists' Suffrage League, Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Society, Church League for Women's Suffrage, International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Independent Labour Party, Women's Labour League, Women's Liberal Association, Women's Local Government Associations (central and local), London Reform Union, Women's Industrial Council, Care Committees, Infants' Health Committees, etc.

*Qualifications* for Local Government work, see p. 5.

*Group helpers* : Office work, 26 ; typewriting and copying, 6 ; speaking, 38 ; writing, 18 ; selling and distributing literature, 5.

CHARLOTTE MARY WILSON, *Hon. Sec.*

(On Behalf of the Executive Committee).

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### ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1910.

RECEIPTS—	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS—	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand January 1st, 1910			7 16 0	Typing notices ...			4 0 10
<b>SUBSCRIPTIONS—</b>				Printing ...			4 4 7
172 Members ...	18	5	6	Stationery ...			2 7 1
2 Associates ...	0	5	0	Postage ...			15 6 8
1 Subscriber ...	0	2	0	Hire of Hall ...			1 1 0
5 Members in advance for 1911 ...	5	10	0	Suffrage Banners ...			0 3 0
			24 2 6				27 3 2
<b>SALES—</b>				Balance in hand, December 31st ...			7 8 3
Summaries ...	1	4	0				£34 11 5
Picture Post Cards ...	1	8	11				
			2 12 11				
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**FOOTNOTE.**—The issue of the two Summaries was financed by the generosity of a member of the Studies Committee, who also presented a copy to each member of the Society. The picture post cards were designed and presented to the group by Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson. The Group notices are generally copied by Miss Ellen Smith; much expense has been saved by the valuable help of members in this and other clerical work.

EDITH M. M. MAYBURY,  
*Hon. Treasurer, FABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP.*



ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS FOR L.C.C. ELECTION IN NORTH KENSINGTON, 1910.

RECEIVED—	£ s. d.	SPENT—	£ s. d.
Donations and Collections from 68 Group Members	124 14 10	Printing, Stationery, etc. ... ..	56 17 4
Donations from 2 non-Members ... ..	6 0 0	Advertisements, Bill-posting, etc. ... ..	22 15 9
Grant from Fabian Society's Fund ... ..	2 3 3	Hire of Halls, Committee Rooms, etc. ... ..	18 0 3
Grant from Women's Labour League ... ..	2 10 0	Salaries, Messengers, etc. ... ..	22 3 9
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*Hon. Treasurer, FABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP L.C.C. ELECTION FUND.*

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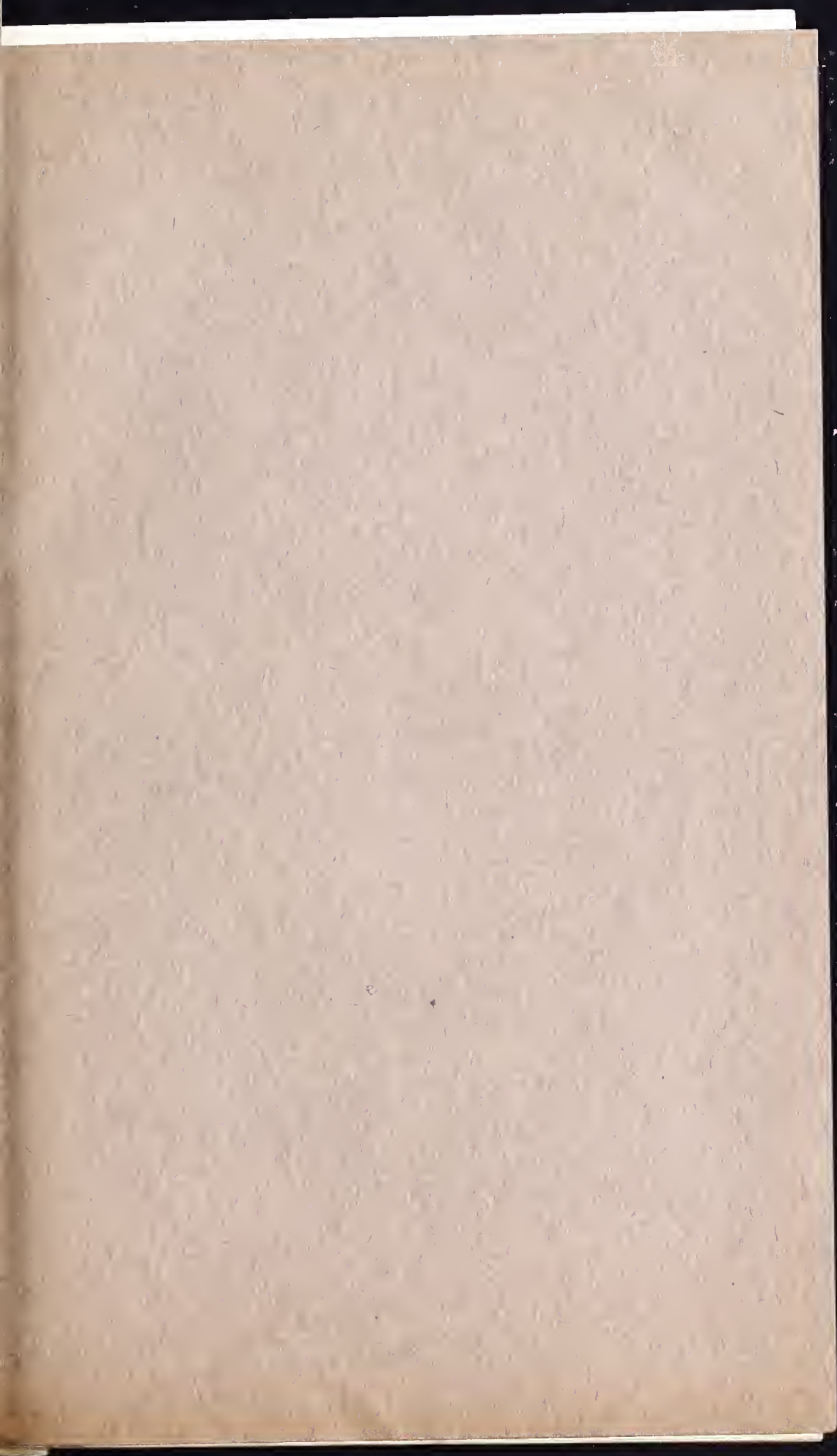
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## What the Churches say of Socialism.

Some Authoritative Opinions.

### How Christians appear to the Heathen.

A powerful plea was made by the representatives of Japan at the Edinburgh Conference, 1910, to the effect that the failure of Christendom to order her own life upon Christian principles invalidated her testimony to the power and the reality of the Christian redemption. This point of view is general in Japan, and increasingly common throughout the East. \* \* \* \* The backwardness of Christendom in finding the social equivalent of the Gospel has impressed the Christian community abroad. It seems that the social conscience of the daughter Churches, quickened by the sharp denial of Christian standards in non-Christian society, is more alert than the social conscience of Christendom. In its new attitude of surprise it begins to raise questions about which the conscience of Christendom has been content to sleep for centuries. It holds no institution sacrosanct if its fruits condemn it. Looking at the social fruits of the Christian faith in Christendom, it is indeed alarmed. The perplexity is fanned by non-Christian newspapers which represent the horrors of East London to remote Indian villages. In the face of such dramatic and universal failure in Christian lands, the reaction upon the impulse to practise the Christian life cannot but be sharp. Insensibly, a numbness holds the soul of the new Christian community, and a chill inevitably strikes at the heart of its faith.

*"The Missionary Problem and the Denial of Christ in Christendom."*  
By Malcolm Spencer, M.A., Social Service Secretary of the Student Christian Movement, pages 13 to 19.

### Christian Inconsistency.

He reckoned many of his great friends among the Socialists. He knew many who had high ideals at their hearts, and who gave up a great deal more for the poor and led more Christian lives than ever did those who professed Christianity—many whose one idea was to try, if possible, to be kind to the children. He did not believe there would have been Socialism in this country if Christians had always been consistent; the one thing Socialists wanted to see was the Gospel lived out.

*Rev. Hugh B. Chapman, Minister of the Chapel Royal, Savoy, at a meeting held at Sunderland House by invitation of the Duchess of Marlborough, presided over by the Earl of Meath. Dec. 1910.*

### Socialism defended and defined.

Socialism is not robbery nor spoliation, nor free love, nor the abolition of the home, nor the destruction of property. Individual speakers and writers may advocate any or all of these, but such wild, immoral sillinesses are mere embroideries on the fringe of an idea that in itself involves none of them. The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into an united collective capital.

*Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, Chairman Congregational Union.*

### Should Politics be excluded.

Slavery, persecution, martyrdom, Calvary itself, were political. They were not the outcome of individual depravity. They were not exceptional or private, but normal legal public acts of nations, matters of everyday occurrence like the rising of the sun or the flowing of the tide. And if you really mean that Christianity has nothing to do with

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politics it comes to this, that only minor evils are open to our censure, while big crimes are to go scot-free—which is nonsense.

*Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, Chairman Congregational Union.*

### **A Purge for rich men.**

If the wealthy classes had the right Christian spirit, they would hasten to come forward in the spirit of Christ whose name they bore, and say: 'It is true we are rich, we have advantages, we have privileges, we have ancestral dignities, and for that reason here is our property, here are our riches and privileges for the good of men; let the country benefit, let us suffer.' The first sign of that nobleness, that readiness to surrender, the first clear vision of the social justice of the situation and the demand of the Cross upon men would melt the heart of the country, and they would find the poorest man in England anxious to deal gently with the rich men who laid down their riches in order to do justly before God.

*Dr. Horton on "Social Justice."—CHRISTIAN WORLD, 8th Feb., 1912.*

### **St. Paul on Equality.**

For I say not this, that others may be eased, and you distressed: but by equality; your abundance being a supply at this present time for their want; that there may be equality: as it is written, He that gathered much had nothing over; and he that gathered little had no lack. *St. Paul. II. Corinthians, viii., 13, 14.*

### **A New Spirit.**

A new spirit has spoken at last. The strident voice of discontent is heard in the land. Their discontent is a great hope, and though the ways in which they express their unrest will not always be wise \* \* \* yet this widespread and co-operative agitation is one of the surest guarantees of social advance. This, then, is the supreme moment, and I earnestly hope the Church will say that a minimum wage—a living wage not a dying wage or killing wage—shall be the portion of every toiler in the land. *Rev. John Clifford, M.A., B.Sc., D.D.*

### **The Socialist Movement is religious.**

Whatever may be said in the little debating societies, the clergy at work in our great town parishes can report without risk of contradiction that amongst our working-class people the best, and not the worst, the thinking and not the drinking, are in the ranks of the Independent Labour Party. Notwithstanding the foolishness and profanity of Blatchford and Belfort Bax and some few others, a definitely religious temper commonly pervades the workers of that group. And we are especially bound to recognise that the root conception of Socialism is derived from Christianity itself.

*Prebendary Wakeford at the Church Congress, Swansea, 1909.*

### **Socialist Moral Spirit identical with that of Christianity.**

It is also by many believed that Socialism is hostile to Christianity and is naturally associated with secularism and a revolutionary materialism. So it frequently is and has been. But the connection of Socialism with views of this nature is purely an accident. Socialism has also been associated with Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant. *Considered as a principle and theory of social and economic life, Socialism is marked by the entire harmony and even identity of its moral spirit with that of Christianity.*

*Thomas Kirkup (writer of article Socialism in Encyclopædia Britannica) in "Inquiry into Socialism," page 109.*

### **Atheism and Socialism.**

Although the leaders of Socialism (on the Continent) are almost all Atheists, Atheism does not form part of their programme. Consequently, in Germany, and more particularly in the country districts, not a few Catholic priests defend the Socialist programme more or less openly.—*Nitti's "Catholic Socialism,"* p 383.

### **The English Labour Movement definitely religious.**

The thing to notice with thankfulness is that in this country the Labour movement is avowedly and definitely religious. If anyone doubts this, he should send to the Warden, Browning Hall, Walworth, for a pamphlet entitled "Christ and Labour," containing the addresses in Labour Week of the present year by eleven Labour Members of Parliament. [After quoting extracts from the addresses the Bishop proceeded] The men who speak like this must be religious men. Nor can anyone contend that the ideas which animate them are not Christian ideas.

*The Bishop of London at Church Congress, Stoke-on-Trent, 3rd Oct., 1911.*

### **Civilisation in the melting-pot.**

We are fast approaching, if we have not already reached, the most critical period in our national history. The present indications are that civilisation is going into the melting-pot. \* \* \* We are always in danger of thinking that the existing order—social or religious—is fixed, and that when venerable structures are shaken to their foundation the end of all things is at hand. \* \* \* The present industrial upheaval is very painful while it lasts, but it may be but the storm before the calm, the boisterous weather before the peace and beauty of summer. *Christian Commonwealth, 6th March, 1912.*

### **Social order unstable.**

The present social order is too unstable to last much longer, and he must be callous who greatly desires that it should.

*Professor W. Bateson, F.R.S., in the "Herbert Spencer" lecture at Oxford, 1912.*

### **Christianity with Socialism—not with Individualism.**

Dr. Westcott was surely right in maintaining that on the whole Christianity was *with Socialism*, and *not Individualism*; that was to say the Christian ideal represented men as members of a body bound, from first to last, to have regard to the interests of others equally with their own; bound, every one of them, to labour and to service.

*The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore) speaking at the Albert Hall, June 22, 1908.*

### **Natural gifts should be common property.**

But if Christian precepts prevail, the respective classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are children of the same common Father, who is God; \* \* \* that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong to the whole human race in common. *Pope Leo XIII. Encyclical of May 15th, 1891.*

### **Every Christian is a Socialist.**

In the strictest sense of the word every Christian is a Socialist. Christian Individualism is a contradiction in terms. Christian Socialism

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is mere tautology. \* \* \* \* For my own part, I am quite content to accept an avowedly socialistic aphorism as very happily expressing the object of communal life, \* \* \* \* from each according to his capacities, and to \* \* \* \* each according to his needs.

*Rev. Andrew Millar, of Glasgow, at the Presbyterian Council, Liverpool, 1904.*

### The duty of the Church.

If the Church, unlike its Master, has no message for weary and toiling men, but to point them to rest beyond the grave: if it has no substantial comfort and guidance and help to give them in the hardship and perplexities of the world in which they find themselves, it will be quietly shunted aside, and in a few years the larger and better part of the working classes will be outside its walls. \* \* \* \* Ought we not to keep more prominently before ourselves, and so before our people, that Christianity is the highest and purest Socialism: that the Bible is the great text-book of Socialism: that Jesus Christ was the greatest Socialist who ever trod this lower world—Himself a poor hard-working man—that He was the healer of all diseases, the Saviour of the body as well as the soul: and that what He was His Church ought to be—the implacable foe of injustice, oppression, and wrong, come from what quarter they may?

*Dr. McGregor (Moderator of the Assembly) quoted Prog. Rev., vol. 1, p. 428.*

### The Demand for a Larger Life.

I am no Socialist, but I find myself in total disagreement with Dean Inge's recent characterization of the modern labour movements as the attempt of the working classes to rifle the gathered treasures of the Victorian era. I do not believe it is fundamentally a question of money at all. It is the dim, half-conscious cry for a larger life, for the fulness of life. Despite all that is said and doubtless genuinely feared to the contrary by timid souls, I do not believe that at bottom the movement is a material but a spiritual one. It is not merely engendered by the sullen determination of the masses to have more of the spoils of commercial gain, but it is the cry for a larger and juster share in the rights, the essential nobility, the opportunities and the higher responsibilities of life.

*Rev. Harold Brierley, at the Free Church Council at Cheltenham, 5th March, 1912.*



Joint Committee of the Independent  
Labour Party and the Fabian Society.

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# REPORT

For the two years ended  
APRIL 30th, 1913.

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## MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, 1913-1914.

### INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY :

W. C. ANDERSON (*Chairman*)  
Miss MARGARET BONDFIELD  
HARRY DUBERY  
W. HOLMES  
J. MYLLES  
FRANCIS JOHNSON  
(*Joint Secretary*)

### FABIAN SOCIETY :

C. M. LLOYD  
E. R. PEASE (*Vice-Chairman*).  
H. H. SCHLOESSER  
Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB  
Mrs. C. M. WILSON  
W. STEPHEN SANDERS  
(*Joint Secretary*)

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### INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY :

ST. BRIDE'S HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.  
TELEPHONE : 1302 CITY.

### FABIAN SOCIETY :

3. CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.  
TELEPHONE : 5798 CITY.

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## JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY AND THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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THE Joint Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society was constituted in May, 1911, with the object of promoting closer unity between the two bodies, and especially for the purpose of organising work in combination. Five members—afterwards increased to six—were appointed respectively by the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. and the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, whilst Francis Johnson and W. Stephen Sanders were appointed Joint Secretaries.

The Joint Committee has pleasure in reporting, after two years' working, that the experiment has been an unqualified success. There has been, throughout, an entire absence of friction; much combined work has been done; the members of the two bodies have been brought into more friendly co-operation with each other; and successful propagandist campaigns have been carried out, without interference with the special work of either of the constituent bodies. Equally friendly relations have been maintained with the Executive Committee of the Labour Party; and arrangements are now under consideration with them for co-ordinating the work of propaganda with legislative proposals.

### London Lectures.

The first piece of work undertaken was a course of lectures at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, during the autumn, winter, and spring of 1911-12. The lecturers and subjects were as follows:—

- Oct. 13th.—J. Bruce Glasier : "The I.L.P. and its Work."
- Nov. 10th.—J. R. Clynes, M.P. : "The Labour Party and its Work."
- Dec. 15th.—W. Stephen Sanders : "England and Germany : Factors for Peace and War."
- Jan. 12th.—Philip Snowden, M.P. : "The Abolition of the Idle Rich."
- Mar. 8th.—H. D. Harben : "The Abolition of Poverty."
- May 10th.—Graham Wallas : "Syndicalism."

## HOTELS AND LODGINGS.

For non-resident members of the school the Royal Oak Hotel, Kewwick, and the Lodore Hotel, Reading, are the best boarding houses.

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### Adult Suffrage Demonstration.

In conjunction with the Labour Party the Committee organised a great demonstration at the Albert Hall on February 13, 1912, to demand the inclusion of Adult Suffrage in the Reform Bill promised by the Government. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party, occupied the chair, and amongst the speakers were J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Arthur Henderson, M.P., Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. Despard, and W. C. Anderson. The demonstration was attended by about 6,000 people, and the resolution was carried with practical unanimity.

### The Local Government Information Bureau.

The Local Government Information Bureau, an institution for providing information on Local Government questions of all kinds, carried on for twelve years by the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party, was transferred to the Committee in March, 1912. The work of the Bureau consists in answering queries with respect to the powers, duties, and methods of local authorities from County to Parish Council, and their relation to the Local Government Board. The Bureau issues to its members and others an occasional circular, entitled "Steps Towards Socialism," containing articles on subjects connected with Local Government administration both theoretical and practical. Every year the Bureau publishes a synopsis of Acts of Parliament likely to be of interest to the members passed during the previous twelve months.

### "War Against Poverty" Campaign.

During the Autumn of 1912 the Joint Committee organised a national campaign, "War Against Poverty," to demand a minimum standard of civilised life. The campaign opened at Newport, Mon., on September 3rd, during the meeting of the Trade Union Congress, when a large and successful meeting was held, addressed by W. C. Anderson, Mrs. Sidney Webb, G. Lansbury, G. H. Roberts, M.P., and J. Winstone, J.P. This was followed on October 11th by a demonstration at the Albert Hall, London,

attended by over 6,000 people, at which W. C. Anderson occupied the chair, and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Bernard Shaw, George Lansbury, and Sidney Webb were the speakers. On the same day a Conference, attended by over 300 delegates from 198 organisations, including Trade Union Executive Committees and Branches, Trades and Labour Councils, Local Labour Parties, Branches of the I.L.P., Fabian Societies, Adult Schools and Brotherhoods, Co-operative Societies and Guilds, and other bodies, was held at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London. There were two sessions, at which the chair was occupied by Sidney Webb and Miss Margaret Bondfield, and the speakers included G. N. Barnes, M.P., R. C. K. Enscr, Miss Susan Lawrence, H. H. Schloesser, and Dr. Marion Phillips. Resolutions were passed calling upon the Government to introduce and pass legislation in the following session for securing a legal minimum wage, a reduction of the hours of labour, complete provision against sickness, a national minimum of child nurture, the prevention of unemployment, healthy homes for all, and the abolition of the Poor Law. Other Conferences, followed in most cases by large public meetings, were organised in the following places:—

Date.	Place of Conference.	Number of Delegates.	Speakers.
1912.			
Oct. 25th	Colchester	80	W. Stephen Sanders, H. Dubery.
Nov. 9th	Darlington	100	J. Bruce Glasier, Rev. W. E. Moll, C. M. Lloyd.
„ 9th	Leicester	230	J. R. MacDonald, M.P., W. C. Anderson.
„ 16th	Woolwich	97	W. Stephen Sanders, Miss Bondfield.
„ 16th	Plymouth	95	H. Dubery, Clément Attlee.
„ 16th	Croydon	120	Sidney Webb, H. H. Schloesser.
„ 23rd	Birmingham	307	Sidney Webb.
„ 23rd	Norwich	102	W. Holmes, W. Stephen Sanders.
„ 23rd	Chatham	120	T. Richardson, M.P., H. Dubery.
„ 30th	Glasgow	450	Sidney Webb, G. N. Barnes, M.P.

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Date.	Place of Conference	Number of Delegates.	Speakers.
1912.			
Nov. 30th ...	Bristol ...	143 ...	Mrs. Sidney Webb, J. J. Mallon.
„ 30th ...	Cardiff ...	409 ...	J. Keir Hardie, M.P., W. Stephen Sanders.
Dec. 7th ...	Leeds ...	419 ...	Mrs. Sidney Webb, F. W. Jowett, M.P.
„ 7th ...	Watford ...	104 ...	T. Richardson, M.P., Clement Attlee.
„ 7th ...	S.W. London ...	66 ...	W. C. Anderson, Sidney Webb.
„ 7th ...	North London ...	89 ...	Philip Snowden, M.P., H. Dubery.
„ 8th ...	East London ...	166 ...	W. Thorne, M.P., H. Dubery, C. M. Lloyd.
„ 14th ...	West London ...	101 ...	H. Dubery, Mrs. Sidney Webb.
„ 14th ...	Manchester ...	368 ...	W. C. Anderson, J. R. Clynes, M.P., Sidney Webb.
„ 14th ...	Portsmouth ...	172 ...	W. Stephen Sanders, J. Pointer, M.P., C. M. Lloyd.
„ 21st ...	Newcastle ...	240 ...	J. Keir Hardie, M.P.
1913.			
Jan. 5th ...	Ipswich ...	71 ...	H. Dubery, Clement Attlee.
„ 18th ...	Dundee ...	91 ...	Alex Wilkie, M.P.
„ 18th ...	Edinburgh ...	135 ...	Mrs. Sidney Webb.
„ 25th ...	Derby ...	119 ...	W. Stephen Sanders, J. W. Kneeshaw, J. H. Thomas, M.P.
„ 25th ...	Deptford ...	100 ...	C. W. Bowerman, M.P., C. M. Lloyd, Sidney Webb.
Feb. 8th ...	Nottingham ...	74 ...	J. J. Mallon,
„ 22nd ...	Blackburn ...	280 ...	Philip Snowden, M.P., Sidney Webb.
„ 22nd ...	Worcester ...	60 ...	H. Dubery.
Mar. 29th ...	Sheffield ...	150 ...	W. C. Anderson, J. Pointer, M.P.
Apl. 19th ...	Bolton ...	122 ...	W. Stephen Sanders.

At all the Conferences the demands for legislation on the seven points were heartily endorsed. Bills embodying the proposals were drafted and submitted to the Parliamentary Labour Party, who agreed to introduce them in the House of Commons on behalf of the Party.

## Literature.

In connection with the "War Against Poverty" Campaign the following publications were issued and sold or otherwise distributed:—

### PAMPHLETS.

TITLE.	Number Distributed.
"War Against Poverty" (illustrated) ... ..	2,500
Abolition of the Poor Law ... ..	4,600
Complete National Provision Against Sickness ... ..	14,800
Eight Hours Day ... ..	4,500
Healthy Homes for All ... ..	4,500
How the Government Can Prevent Unemployment ...	4,500
The Legal Minimum Wage ... ..	6,500
New Children's Charter ... ..	4,500

### LEAFLETS.

What is Life on £1 a Week? ... ..	34,500
Do we Work to Live or Live to Work? ... ..	34,000
What Happens to the Workers' Children? ... ..	32,500
Sickness is the Great Recruiting Sergeant ... ..	32,000
Unemployment and its Remedy ... ..	32,500
Abolition of the Poor Law ... ..	32,000

Several hundred thousands of special election leaflets were also issued for the Municipal Elections and Metropolitan Borough Council Elections, November, 1912, entitled:—

The Children and the Council.  
Down with the Slums.  
Labour and the Borough Councils.

A handbook for speakers under the title of "The Case for the National Minimum," with a preface by W. C. Anderson, is being issued by the Joint Committee. It contains numerous facts and figures relating to the various points of the "War Against Poverty" Campaign. The price will be sixpence.

### Conference of Socialist and Labour Elected Persons.

The Joint Committee organised a Conference of Socialist and Labour elected persons at Manchester on March 21st and 22nd, 1913. About 60 members of County, Borough, District, and

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Parish Councils, and of Boards of Guardians and Scottish School Boards, attended from all parts of the country. The Conference was arranged in three sessions at which papers were given by Councillor George Shann on "The Extension of Boundaries, Incorporation and Co-operation between Authorities"; by Sidney Webb on "Municipal Finance and Municipal Autonomy"; and by Dr. Alfred Salter on "An Unified Local Health Service." The chairmen were Councillor Tom Fox, of Manchester, Alderman David Williams, J.P., Mayor of Swansea, and Councillor T. R. Marr. The Conference was fully reported in the daily Press, considerable discussion arising therein on the subjects dealt with by the papers.

### Conference at Barrow House, Keswick.

Arrangements have been made to hold a Conference under the auspices of the Joint Committee at Barrow House, Keswick, during the week ending August 2nd, 1913. The Conference will be attended by the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., members of the Fabian Executive and other prominent workers in the Labour and Socialist movement. Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., will deliver the inaugural address. The following subjects will be discussed:—The Relation between Political Action and Trade Unionism (past, present, and future); The Syndicalist Propaganda and its effects on Trade Unionism and the Labour Party; Immediate Steps in Collective Ownership—the Nationalisation of Mines and Railways, Municipal Free Services and Municipal Trading; The Sphere of Co-operation (the Store and the Wholesale Society) in the State of To-morrow; The Self-Governing Workshop, Profit Sharing and Industrial Co-partnership: have they any future; The Land: the Scope of Nationalisation; The Trade Union Movement—its problems of internal organisation (amalgamation or federation; the election and powers of the Executive; how to get good officials, etc.); What is the best relation of the Trade Union to the Co-operative Store and Wholesale Society, the Municipal Council, and the Government Department; the National Minimum (Legal Minimum Wage, Maximum Day, Adequate Housing, Complete Provision against Sickness,



Child Nurture and Abolition of the Poor Law)—how best to continue the Campaign?

#### **Finance.**

The whole of the work of the Joint Committee has been carried on so far without drawing further on the resources of the constituent bodies than is involved in the secretarial assistance gratuitously given by their officers, and the use of their premises for meetings, etc. This satisfactory result is due largely to the great amount of gratuitous service which the Joint Committee has received from members of both constituent bodies who have lectured, written, organised, done secretarial work, and sometimes even travelled long distances without fee or reward. The Joint Committee can only place on record its high appreciation of this zealous service, for which the thanks of both constituent bodies are due. With the aid of all this volunteer work the enterprises undertaken have been made, as far as possible, self-supporting. The two great demonstrations at the Albert Hall more than paid for themselves by the sale of tickets and the collections. The local expenses of the "War Against Poverty" Conferences were very largely covered by the delegate fees, and local deficits were often made up by local subscriptions. The receipts from the sale of literature—although much has been given away—went far to cover the cost of printing. Special donations were received in aid of the necessarily heavy central expenses of the "War Against Poverty" campaign, for printing, postages, and travelling.

The total income of the Committee, as set out in the financial statement, amounted to £645 7s. 10d., and the expenditure to £501 5s. 3d., leaving a balance at the credit of the Committee of £144 2s. 7d.

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Joint Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society

ACCOUNT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE PERIOD FROM 19TH MAY, 1911, TO 30TH APRIL, 1913.

	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Donations ... ..	214	19 10	Newport Demonstration, 3rd Sept., 1912	10 2 6
Albert Hall Demonstration ... ..	327	15 6	Albert Hall Demonstration, 11th Oct., 1912	232 11 11
Memorial Hall Conference ... ..	35	7 6	Memorial Hall Conference, 11th Oct., 1912	44 18 3
Literature ... ..	45	6 0	Thirty Conferences "War Against Poverty"	130 2 11
Local Government Information Bureau:			Printing, Stationery, and Postages ... ..	16 5 0
Subscriptions, etc. ... ..	17	14 0	Literature ... ..	33 15 1
Elected Persons' Conference ... ..	4	5 0	Local Government Information Bureau ... ..	12 16 6
			Elected Persons' Conference, Manchester, 25th and 26th March, 1913... ..	15 14 6
			May Sunday Demonstration Inquiry... ..	4 18 7
				<hr/>
			Balance at credit, at 30th	501 5 3
			April, 1913, consisting	
			of:—	
			Cash at Bankers ... ..	£101 19 9
			Sundry Debtors ... ..	52 7 6
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			Less Sundry Creditors ... ..	154 7 3
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				144 2 7
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				£645 7 10

We have examined the above Account and compared it with the vouchers and books of the Committee, and find the same to be correct.

9, ARUNDEL STREET, STRAND,

W. HECTOR THOMSON & CO., } Auditors.  
 Chartered Accountants

# The War Against Poverty.

The following Publications have been issued :

## THE STUDENT'S HANDBOOK OF FACTS AND FIGURES : "The Case for the National Minimum."

88 pp. Crown 8vo. ; 6d., post free, 8d.

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### PAMPHLETS.

"Complete National Provision for Sickness :  
How to Amend the Insurance Act."

*By Mrs. Sidney Webb, D.Litt.*

"Healthy Homes for All." *By R. C. K. Ensor, L.C.C.*

"How the Government can Prevent Unemployment."  
*By Sidney Webb.*

"The Abolition of the Poor Law." *By C. M. Lloyd.*

"The Eight Hours Day." *By C. Morgan Webb, M.A.*

"The Legal Minimum Wage." *By Sidney Webb.*

"The New Children's Charter." *By C. M. Lloyd*

1d. each. The Seven, post free, for 8d.

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"WHAT IS LIFE ON £1 A WEEK?"

"DO WE WORK TO LIVE OR LIVE TO WORK?"

"WHAT HAPPENS TO THE WORKERS' CHILDREN."

"SICKNESS IS THE GREAT RECRUITING  
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## Some Contents for July issue:---

An independent Progressive	-	Bishop of Lincoln
Mediæval Socialism	- - -	J. Adderley
Father Tyrrell and his Critics	- - -	M. D. Petrè
The Great Victorians	- - -	C. E. Osborne
Suggestions for Education	- - -	W. T.
Personality	- - -	J. C. Hardwick
The Problem of the Van Boy	- - -	F. J. Marquis
Great Optimists (1) Stevenson	- - -	H. Gamble
Democracy and Discipline	- - -	L. P. Jacks
Reviews, Editorial Notes, Etc.		

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# THE SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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**A** NEW series of the SOCIALIST REVIEW will begin with the twelfth volume, Number One of which will be published on the first of January, 1914. The subscription for the volume, four quarterly issues of about 100 pages each, will be two shillings post free.

Founded in order to discuss the problems presented by the statement and realisation of Socialism, and to consider literature, science, and art from the Socialist point of view, the SOCIALIST REVIEW has maintained from the first the high standard set up by its original editor, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

The present editor, Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, by his wide knowledge and practical experience of the Socialist and Labour movement at home and abroad, is exceptionally well qualified for the post. He is editor of the Socialist Year Book, a member of the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, and has been one of the I.L.P. representatives at various International congresses.

Mr. Glasier was for four years editor of the "Labour Leader." He has served the full period of three years (1901-1903) as Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, and is a member of the National Council of that body. As editor of the SOCIALIST REVIEW he will continue to contribute the "Review Outlook," a criticism of current affairs from the standpoint of the I.L.P., one of the features of the REVIEW since its inception.

The SOCIALIST REVIEW, although published by the Independent Labour Party, is not an official organ. From the outset the aim has been to make its pages a means of free discussion within the movement itself of Socialist theory and the problems relating to the application of Socialist principles to present-day economic and political affairs.

The fullest latitude is given for the expression of views ranging from the extremes of " ultra-Marxist " revolutionism to those of the most benevolent of bureaucrats. But those articles have been most welcome which, regardless of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, have sincerely attempted to throw fresh light on the meaning of Socialism as a great world-wide movement of civilisation, and on those political questions which in our own and other countries relate to its advancement. This policy will be maintained.

The list of overseas contributors is being added to, and in addition to original contributions by leading Continental Socialists translations will be published, as hitherto, of important articles not otherwise obtainable in the English language. The problems of Local Government, Trade Unionism, and the Co-operative movement also receive attention, and in each issue in future there will appear a bibliography of articles, books, and the more important pamphlets dealing with Socialism and the International Socialist and Labour Movement.

A Subscription Form, which please fill up and return to the publishers, with remittance, is annexed.

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KATHARINE BRUCE GLASIER	DR. MARION PHILLIPS
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# The Socialist Review.

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# A Text-book on the Land Question.

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## THE CASE FOR LAND NATIONALISATION

BY JOSEPH HYDER

(*Secretary to the Land Nationalisation Society*).

With Preface by ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, D.C.L., F.R.S., O.M.

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**T**HIS book is published by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall (Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.), and can be ordered through all booksellers and newsagents.

It contains 440 pages ; it is well printed on good paper ; it is well bound in stiff cloth boards ; and the price is only **2s. 6d.** net., postage 4d.

It deals with every aspect of the land question in a thorough and comprehensive manner.

It contains many facts, figures, and cases which every land reformer ought to know. It gives numerous illustrations of the abuses which spring from treating land as private property.

It is a reference book on the land question which will be found useful by Members of Parliament and Public Authorities generally, by Editors and Ministers, and by all speakers and writers on the land question. It ought to be included in every private and public library.

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LAND NATIONALISATION SOCIETY, 96, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

# SCHEME OF THE BOOK.

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Preface by ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, D.C.L. (OXON.), F.R.S., O.M.  
(*President of the Land Nationalisation Society*).

## CHAPTER I

### THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE LAND QUESTION

Man's dependence upon land for everything he has.—Special characteristics of land ; indispensable and unmakeable.—The one great parent monopoly.—Equal right to life involves equal right to land.—Judge O'Connor and Herbert Spencer on equal rights.—Private property in land the chief cause of low wages, long hours and unemployment, unearned riches and undeserved poverty, rural depopulation and urban overcrowding, insecurity of tenure, restriction of enterprise, and violation of liberty.—Conditions necessary to a just land system.

## CHAPTER II

### A CLOUD OF WITNESSES

Quotations from some of the world's greatest thinkers and writers. *On the Law* :—Sir Edward Coke, Sir William Blackstone, Mr. Serjeant Stephen, Joshua Williams, Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, Sir Frederick Pollock, Judge Longfield, Sheldon Amos, and J. A. Froude.—*On the Antiquity of Common Ownership* :—Emile de Laveleye, Professor Vinogradoff, Sir Henry Maine, Olive Schreiner, Walter Bagehot, and Archdeacon Paley.—*Political Economists* :—Professor J. E. Cairnes, John Stuart Mill, J. B. Say, Adam Smith, and Ricardo.—*General* :—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy, Pope Gregory the Great, Ernest Renan, Alfred Russel Wallace, Judge O'Connor.

## CHAPTER III

### A LAND OF GREAT ESTATES

Is land a monopoly ?—Analysis of the New Domesday Book, showing the great estates.—Norman Conquest and Feudal system.—Foundation of all titles to land.—Why the masses are disinherited.—How the landlords got the land.—Ancient tenures.—Dissolution of monasteries.—Robbery of the commons.

## CHAPTER IV

### LANDLORDS' POWERS AND PRIVILEGES

How landlords have used their powers.—As legislators and administrators.—Landlords as preferential creditors.—The law of distress.—Many detailed cases showing that landlords are the "spoiled darlings" of the law.—Market monopolies.—Rivers and foreshores.—Swansea and the Duke of Beaufort.—Landlords and railways.—Trespassing on the high road.—How landlords have escaped taxation.

## CHAPTER V

### EXTORTION OF HIGH PRICES FOR LAND

How land has been used as an instrument of extortion.—Absence of free contract.—Robbery of the taxpayer by unfair prices :—Rosyth, Netheravon, Maplin Sands, Kilcreggan Fort, Lighthouses.—How local authorities are handicapped :—Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Carlisle, Horsham, Carnarvon, Chesterfield, Glamorgan-shire, Harrogate, Frome, Glasgow, Bury, Plymouth, Devonport, a Northumberland school.—Extortionate prices for land bought by railway companies.

## CHAPTER VI

### LAND VALUES AND THE UNEARNED INCREMENT

Quotations from John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Lord Morley, Joseph Chamberlain.—The Rental Tribute.—Improvements merged into land values.—Leasehold reversions are rent paid in bricks and mortar.—Unearned increment of land different from other increments.—Community's right to land values based on its right to the land itself, not on its expenditure.—Numerous cases of increment in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leicester, Leeds, Cardiff, Rochdale, Aberdeen.—Undeserved wealth the cause of undeserved poverty.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LEASEHOLD SYSTEM

Origin of the system.—Original leases for twenty-one years.—Reasonable period necessary for recoupment of builder.—The chief wrong is the appropriation of buildings by the private owner.—Leasehold enfranchise-

ment wrong because it gives the freehold to the tenant.—Gorringe case, and Duke of Westminster.—Bedford, Portman, Craven, Cadogan and Salisbury estates.—Woolwich, Torquay, Birmingham, Southport, Widnes, Bootle, Huddersfield.—Confiscation of chapels.

#### CHAPTER VIII MINERAL ROYALTIES, RENTS AND WAYLEAVES

Britain's trade built on its mineral resources.—All except gold and silver are private property.—Landlord does nothing, risks nothing, and supplies nothing.—Many cases of rigid and excessive royalties and wayleaves.—Mineral rights duty is good, but nationalisation is better.

#### CHAPTER IX BENEVOLENT (!) DESPOTISM

Quotations from Herbert Spencer and Dr. Samuel Johnson.—Marquis of Lansdowne and Duke of Argyll on landlord's right to say who shall and who shall not live on the land.—Moral of the secrecy of the Ballot—Many cases of undue influence, tyranny, and eviction, in England, Wales, and Scotland.—Religious freedom—The Great Disruption in 1843.—No Dissenter need apply.—Open advocacy of boycotting in 1910.—Freedom impossible without public control of land.

#### CHAPTER X THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Unnatural scarcity of houses in the midst of abundance of materials; overcrowding, yet abundance of space.—Conflict of interests under private landownership.—Landlord not best judge of best use of land.—Land cheapening insufficient.—Overcrowding and scarcity on cheap rural land.—Cottages do not pay because wages are low.—Landlessness the chief cause of the labourer's poverty.—Rates on improvements act as a second rent.—Effect of exemption on land values.—Public ownership necessary to secure full benefit.

#### CHAPTER XI THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER

The greatest industry and the worst paid labour.—The rural exodus.—Effect on town rents and wages.—The Statutes of Labourers fixed a maximum wage.—Duty of Government to fix a minimum wage.—Sheep versus men.—Sir Thomas More and Bishop Latimer.—The Fair Rents Prayer of 1552.—The robbery of the people's common rights.—Benefit of allotments.—Difficulties of getting land.—Food allotments for slaves when liberated.—Striking cases of the cottage famine.—Putumayo and Congo atrocities due to private property in land.—So also the condition of the British labourer.

#### CHAPTER XII LANDLORDS AND FARMERS

The parable of the unjust steward and the small ownership policy.—The landed interest the worst enemy of the farmer, though posing as his friend.—Insecurity of tenure.—Unfair rents.—Restrictive covenants.—Game laws.—Fair rent courts necessary as a preliminary to land nationalisation.

#### CHAPTER XIII THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES

The clan system.—Clearances for deer, and afterwards for sheep.—15,000 people evicted in Sutherland in nine years.—Quotations from Donald McLeod, Hugh Miller, Dr. Norman McLeod, Sir John McNeill, Dean Swift, Alfred Russel Wallace, Mr. Rollo Russell, Professor Blackie.—Crofters' Commission.—Emigration.

#### CHAPTER XIV LANDLORDISM IN IRELAND

Wholesale confiscations of land for English and Scottish Protestants.—The garrison of alien landlords.—Burke on their titles.—Mr. Lecky on "Rooting out the Irish."—Repression of Irish industries.—Rack rents and evictions.—The Devon Commission and Confiscation of Tenants' Improvements.—Chronic poverty.—The Great Famine.—The black record of the House of Lords.—Compensation Act of 1870.—Fair Rent Courts Act of 1881.—Land Purchase Acts criticised.

CHAPTER XV  
LAND REFORM PALLIATIVES

Free Trade in land.—Cheaper transfer.—Registration of titles.—Small ownerships.—Leasehold enfranchisement.

CHAPTER XVI  
THE SINGLE TAX

Henry George's doctrine of confiscation.—Unjust in intention, and largely futile in operation.—Useless as a means of abolishing private property in land.—Can a land tax be shifted?—Single tax multiplies landlords and increases resistance to reform.—Similar in effect to Conservative policy of small ownerships.—Both plausible, but reactionary.

CHAPTER XVII  
TAXATION OF LAND VALUES IN PRACTICE

The effect in New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia.—Federal tax and big estates.—Increase in land values.—New York, Vancouver City, Edmonton.—Land speculation unchecked.—Enormous increments in land values.—Landlordism stronger than ever.—Exemption of improvements largely nullified by landlords.—Honesty the best policy.

CHAPTER XVIII  
HOW TO NATIONALISE THE LAND

Compulsory purchase.—Precedents.—General powers needed.—National ownership, municipal administration.—A central Land Authority.—Land to be kept, not re-sold.—Basis of price.—Tax and buy.—Annuity bonds.—Prospective values.—New National Debt.—New National Asset.—Injustice of perpetual claims.—Practical politics.

CHAPTER XIX  
ADVANTAGES OF LAND NATIONALISATION

Land accessible to all.—Home colonisation.—Security of tenure.—Magic of property in improvements.—Fair Rent Courts.—Relief of taxation.—Municipal ownership in Great Britain, Germany, etc.—Public improvement schemes.—Exemption of improvements possible under public land ownership.—Rural problems.—Rights of way.—Afforestation and reclamation.—Unemployment.—Decentralisation of industries.—Fair distribution of wealth.

**EXTRACTS FROM DR. WALLACE'S PREFACE.**

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**“The collection of authorities is better than that of any previous writer.”**

**“Its nineteen chapters are crowded with facts and evidence of the highest value.”**

**“It is an indispensable storehouse of facts and arguments.”**

# THE DAILY CITIZEN.

## PROPOSED DAILY LABOUR PAPER.

(Joint Committee of the I.L.P. and Labour Party.)

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The new Movement, organised politically in this country under the name of the Labour Party, brings with it not only fresh principles and methods of political action, but a fresh outlook upon all the public affairs of the nation and all events affecting the welfare and progress of mankind. Yet the Labour Party is the only political party in the United Kingdom which has no Daily Newspaper to voice its views and explain its policy. Scores of daily newspapers are published in the interests of the Conservative, Liberal, and Irish Parties. The Labour Party, with its 42 Members of Parliament and its 1,500,000 organised adherents, has, as yet, not a single daily paper to explain its policy to the country and promote its interests among the electors. In this respect, Great Britain lags behind every Continental country. In Germany 74, and in Denmark 33, daily papers appear as Labour and Socialist organs, and the health and strength of the Movements in these countries are due largely to their newspaper support.

### THE NEED FOR A PAPER.

Our Labour Movement is grievously handicapped by this want. The other parties have their successes chronicled, their projects discussed, their policies defended, and their actions recorded. Whatever they say or do is fairly put before the public, and the best made of it for the benefit of their supporters. Our leaders have their speeches reported in the daily press only in so far as it suits the other parties, and with a bias in the selection of passages. The Liberal papers make much of every phrase in support of the Government; the Tory press emphasises our criticisms of the Ministry; but whenever any words or proposals of the Labour Party happen to be distasteful to both sides, the party papers leave them severely alone or gravely misrepresent them, and we have no defence or redress.

Especially are we handicapped at three-cornered elections, when every speech and meeting of our opponents is reported, and the bright hopes of their success are constantly put before the electors, whilst our candidates are entirely ignored, or only mentioned in a line or two as obscure interlopers with no prospects of success and unworthy of consideration.

### OBSTACLES REMOVED.

For years the rank and file have called for a Labour paper, and their Delegates at Trade Union Congresses and Labour Party and I.L.P. Conferences have passed resolutions with practical unanimity directing their Executives to start it. Hitherto, the difficulties have proved insuperable, but during the last few years the Labour Movement has become unified and consolidated, and it is now confidently believed that the way is clear for the realisation of our project.

### A REAL NEWSPAPER.

We propose now to establish a halfpenny Daily Paper, to be published from Manchester, the centre of the greatest industrial area of the country. It will not be a dry political pamphlet, merely concerned with propaganda. It will be a newspaper in the proper sense of the word, a paper that the public will buy for its news of the events of the day, of happenings at home and abroad, of industrial struggles, of cases in the Law Courts, and of incidents in everyday social, political, and industrial life. Our paper will be a live, bright, and up-to-date journal, which should find a ready sale, not only amongst those who are specially interested in politics, but also those who buy a paper to read in the dinner-hour, or to learn the latest about cricket or football.

## **FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.**

Our paper will also have special features which will attract many readers. One of its objects will be to create a wide interest in the affairs of other countries. By the engagement of a staff of foreign correspondents, who will explain from the inside the great democratic movements which are now moulding public opinion and legislation in Germany, Belgium, Austria, Italy, America, and other countries, our Paper will, for the first time, enable British readers to follow intelligently what political parties in those countries are now doing and proposing.

## **POLICY.**

Prominence will, of course, be given to the work of the Labour Party in Parliament, and the editorials will interpret to the public the mind and policy of the Party. The fact that the initial arrangements are being undertaken by a joint Committee of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party is a sufficiently clear indication of the policy of the paper.

Neither in its news nor its editorials, however, will the paper be a narrow party organ. All reformers will find in it strong and effective backing and support, and every movement voicing modern robust thought regarding land, housing, unemployment, sweating, pauperism, destitution, temperance, militarism, international arbitration, and peace will find hospitable welcome and advocacy in its columns.

## **LITERATURE AND ART.**

Socialists have always displayed a wide interest in Literature and Art. Many of them possess literary ability, and this should guarantee that "The Daily Citizen" will take a high place amongst our papers as a literary production, and secure that the space devoted to literary matters be well used.

## **WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.**

If there is one movement that has suffered at the hands of the Press, it is the struggle of the Women for political and economic liberty. The Daily Papers have devoted much space to ridiculing their efforts, but have never paid sufficient attention to the condition of Women workers. The Labour Daily will give a vigorous support to every side of the Women's movement, and afford to the public an accurate interpretation of their demands.

## **THE CIRCULATION.**

The venture will start with one great advantage. There are 2,500,000 Trade Unionists in the country who, by themselves, are numerous enough to furnish a public for the paper apart from other readers. It will belong and appeal to organised Labour, the Trade Unions, the Socialist bodies, the Co-operative Societies, and the Friendly Societies. In every branch of these organisations one or two, at least, will be interested in pushing their own journal, and in seeing that it has a fair chance of success.

The paper will necessarily be a valuable medium for advertisers since it will be bought and read by the best-paid of the workers. No other paper can appeal in this manner to organised bodies all over the country.

## **BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS.**

The intention is to constitute a Limited Liability Company with a nominal Capital of £150,000 in £1 shares. This is a large sum to ask for, but if there is to be a Labour organ, it must be a substantial newspaper, representative of the importance of the movement, supplying full and accurate news, able to meet the attacks of the existing Press on equal terms, and, above all, in no danger of collapse owing to limited financial resources. £36,000 has already been promised, and we are certain that the response to our appeal for the remainder of the necessary capital will enable us to



push forward with our arrangements without delay. As previously explained, we have at our disposal excellent machinery and organisation for circulating and advertising the paper, and, therefore, the vast sums spent on advertising by other newly started journals will not be required. Negotiations with the National Labour Press, Ltd., have been opened, and a contract is in preparation whereby their printing plant may be utilised, thus obviating the necessity of expending large sums on new machinery.

It is intended, when the income of the paper shows a sufficient surplus, that after paying interest on capital not exceeding four per cent., and allowing for extensions of the enterprise of the paper and an adequate reserve, the remainder of the profits shall be available for the political funds of the Movement.

We ask for promises of capital from those who believe in and desire to promote our Cause. We feel confident that those to whom this circular is addressed will realise the urgent necessity of our scheme, and will help us to remove the greatest obstacle yet remaining to the progress of the Labour and Socialist Movement in Great Britain.

- W. C. ANDERSON, *Chairman.*
- ARTHUR HENDERSON, *Treasurer.*
- T. D. BENSON.
- J. BRUCE GLASIER.
- EDW. R. PEASE.
- BEN RILEY.
- GEORGE H. ROBERTS.
- J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Secretary.*

October, 1911.  
28, Victoria Street,  
London, S.W.

This is not a prospectus but a preliminary notice, the object of which is to ascertain the approximate amount of support which will be forthcoming in the event of the new Company being established. If it is decided to go forward with the project a formal prospectus will be issued later. In the meantime no legal obligation will be incurred by signing the subjoined form.

I promise to take up..... £1 shares in the proposed  
**Labour Daily Newspaper Company** when formed.

Name in full .....

Address .....

Occupation or Union .....

Usual Signature .....

Date .....

To be returned to the Labour Party, 28, Victoria Street, London, S.W.



# **TO ADULT SUFFRAGISTS.**

## **The Present Suffrage Position—Its Advantages and Dangers.**

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**ISSUED BY THE FABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP.**

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An extraordinarily critical point in the history of Suffrage reform has now been reached. A long and bitter agitation for the enfranchisement of women, together with increasing difficulties in the working of the present methods of enfranchising men, has moved the Government to promise a Reform Bill for men, and

### **THE POSSIBILITY**

that by a non-party vote on an amendment women may be included.

There are in many quarters doubts whether this offer represents a genuine desire on the part of a majority of the Cabinet to have the thorny question of votes for women settled, or whether it is a mere trick intended to destroy the prospects of success enjoyed by the Conciliation Bill, backed, as the latter was, by members of all parties. This question of motives may interest the historian. It is of more importance at the present juncture to all adherents of Adult Suffrage to consider how the new move of the Government may be turned to the best advantage. We, as Socialist women, must naturally desire to promote by every means a simple and genuinely democratic system of electing our Parliamentary representatives. But we consider that

### **THE ONE BURNING INJUSTICE**

in our present franchise laws which calls for immediate redress is the degradation inflicted on women by the assumption that they are incapable, merely by reason of their sex, of exercising the elementary rights and duties of citizenship. It is the business of all Adult Suffragists to see that the Bill shall include both women and men on the widest practicable basis, and shall be passed through the House of Commons as speedily as possible.

### **MEN RUN NO RISK:**

their claims are backed by the full force of a united Cabinet, and will be forced on recalcitrant moderate Liberals by the discipline of the party Whips.

## **WOMEN ARE IN A VERY DIFFERENT POSITION.**

It is true that our demands are to have the support of Mr. Lloyd George's magnetism, eloquence and energy. But other Cabinet Ministers will work with perhaps equal zeal against us; on this question there will be no party pressure. Conservatives only support the enfranchisement of "women who pay rates and taxes." There are some Adult Suffragists who have declared themselves in favour of votes for all women or for none. It is possible that in this welter of conflicting views the House of Commons may decide that it is the easiest method to leave women out, and we shall then be face to face with the shame of a situation in which all men have votes because they are men, and no women have votes simply because they are women.

Now, it is the bounden duty of all Adult Suffragists to prevent this situation, and therefore to set going throughout the country

## **AN AGITATION FOR THE INCLUSION OF WOMEN**

which no Government dare disregard. Socialist and Labour women are more fortunate than the women of any other party or political section in that they have free access to the councils of their men fellow-workers. Therefore, it is their privilege, as well as their duty, to support the demand for Adult Suffrage, always insisting that

## **THE TRUE MEANING OF "ADULT"**

shall not be forgotten. The Fabian Executive has passed a resolution stating that a Bill which does not include women should not be accepted, and pledging itself to take an active part in the campaign shortly to be inaugurated throughout the country in favour of full and complete political democracy. Similar resolutions have also been adopted by the Parliamentary Labour Party, the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, and the National Executive Committee of the Women's Labour League.

The important question is, how can Adult Suffrage be achieved? First, every effort should be made through the Labour Party and any other organisations possessing influence to induce the Government to include women in the Bill. Some believe that this may yet be done. *We* doubt it, so long as Mr. Asquith is at the head of the Government. But there can be no possible harm or danger in trying it.

Secondly, all Socialist and Labour women must call on the Parliamentary Labour Party to move an amendment conferring the franchise on women on the same terms as men, assuring them of the ardent and active help of the women's organisations.

Thirdly, should Adult Suffrage fail, let us urge the Labour Members in the House to support amendments less wide, aiming always at getting for us women as much franchise as they can. That the Labour Party is prepared to adopt this line of policy is made clear by the resolutions referred to above, and we may well congratulate ourselves on the fact that we belong to a party united in defence of our rights to citizenship.

There is every reason to hope that success is at hand, but Adult Suffragists should not shut their eyes to the fact that

### **IT IS BY NO MEANS ASSURED.**

Mr. Austen Chamberlain will rally the Tories; Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna will invite the Whigs to oppose the inclusion of women. And all those moderate Liberals who dislike Mr. Lloyd George and his growing prestige will be only too glad to have an opportunity of snubbing him without risking the position of the party in Parliament.

Should women be defeated they will be told that the House of Commons has finally pronounced against their case, and the further progress of women's freedom will be checked for many years. There is, however, one line of action which will

### **IMMENSELY INCREASE OUR CHANCE OF SUCCESS.**

If, at an early date next Session, it is known that fifty or sixty Members of the advanced sections of the House will vote against the final reading of the Bill unless women are included, then their inclusion on a wide democratic basis will be made certain. Such a declaration would aid Mr. Lloyd George and the other Suffragist Ministers in putting pressure on the wavering members of the Liberal and Irish Parties. Moreover, when it is known that the exclusion of women will involve on the third reading many who ordinarily vote with the Government, the Liberals—even those who are anti-Suffragists—will, in the party interest, insist that the widest possible amendment should be preferred to a narrower one.

Decided action is needed if the enfranchisement of women next Session is to be made a certainty.

### **WE CALL ON THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY**

to take action. Now is the moment for all sincere Adult Suffragists, men and women, to take part in pressing for the immediate need of a determined line of policy.

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The Suffrage Committee of the Fabian Women's Group is prepared to supply speakers on the Suffrage question. Application should be made to :

The F.W.G. Suffrage Secretary,  
c/o The Fabian Society,  
3, Clement's Inn, W.C.

*December, 1911.*



# THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

*To the Members and Associates of the Fabian Society.*

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The propaganda of practicable Socialism which the Fabian Society began thirty years ago is now producing results that necessitate by their very success a reconsideration of its methods, having regard to the development of Labor organization and propaganda along independent lines. Thirty years ago the Society took advantage of every opportunity of bringing influence to bear upon organizations and parties of any political colour pending the time when the new Labor organizations it was assisting to form were fully developed. Until lately the fiscal and legislative experiments proposed by the Society have been made mainly in Ireland or Australia, New Zealand or some of the American States. On the Continent of Europe, though Fabian conclusions have often been arrived at, and Fabian proposals made law, notably in Germany and Belgium, Denmark and Hungary, the Society cannot claim to have suggested them; and its influence has been felt chiefly in the increasing conversion of the Social Democratic Movement from a doctrinaire so-called "Marxism" in politics to progressive administrative and legislative reforms. For it is a historical fact that what was called "Revisionism" was very largely Fabianism, carried to Germany from the early meetings of the Fabian Society by the exiles of the Bismarckian persecutions of the eighteen-eighties.

Now, however, our own country, always slow at the uptake, has begun to move, and the Government is becoming more and more involved in vast schemes of social reconstruction, stimulated by Socialist proposals but using every artifice to avoid Socialist conclusions and Socialist principles. Probably the last thing that the present Cabinet expected when it undertook National Insurance as the "safest" piece of conscious Collectivism to begin with, and as the easiest way of staving off the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, was that the ineptitude of the methods that it adopted, and its disregard of such alternatives as were suggested by the Fabian Society, would provoke not a storm, but a steadily rising flood of unpopularity. To regain the votes lost and to hold those jeopardized, the Cabinet has been driven to plunge into the more difficult and even more controversial enterprise of Land Reform and Rural Reconstruction. And it may safely be prophesied that this new step will lead to another. For if it reconciles the electorate to the Liberals, the Opposition will be tempted to outbid the Government by rival schemes, always provided the principle of private ownership is not seriously questioned or the essentials

of capitalist society disputed; and if it only widens the breach made by the Insurance Act, another step forward will again be the only chance of retrieval; whilst at the same time a new impetus will have been given to that spirit of rebellion which is spreading in all Labor organizations.

Meanwhile the work of the Fabian Society has gone on growing in volume and importance without a corresponding increase in membership or income. Its old policy of never asking converts to join its own ranks, indeed of almost driving them away from itself, in order that they might enter the other political and social organizations within their reach, so as to permeate the whole community, had great advantages nationally. But, like all self-denying ordinances, it had its limits in suicide. Resources which the Fabian Society might have held for itself were diverted to the strengthening of Trade Unionism, to the revivifying of the Co-operative Movement, to silent, patient service on Local Governing bodies, to assisting the formation of the Independent Labor Party, and the establishment of a Labor Party in the House of Commons. And the Fabian Society has throughout kept in view the need of bringing people of all classes into Socialist organizations, so that members of the professional classes might find opportunities for taking an active part in the Trade Union and Socialist Movement. Thus it has been the recruiting ground of the middle class Socialist, whom it has been instrumental in passing on to other bodies. Its principal work has been educational; it has in fact constituted the educational and research wing of other national Socialist organizations. Its committees have had a special attraction for brain workers and Civil Servants, whose knowledge is invaluable, but who can contribute more in work than in money; and the Society has not for many years been independent of the generous subscriptions of its few comparatively rich members. Thus the financial support of the Fabian Society has never been general enough, or wide enough, to enable it even to undertake from day to day all the work that has lain to its hand, still less to make its position secure. The generations that it has educated in Collectivism have, with its own acquiescence, swarmed off into the Independent Labor Party, or gone to lead the Trade Unions or the Co-operative Societies, or thrown themselves into the ranks of the ordinary political parties—to leaven these or be leavened by them, as the case may be; but in either case to pursue a career which the Fabian Society does not pretend to offer them, although it may be that it can qualify them for it perhaps better than any other existing British organization.

The result is, to put it shortly, that the Fabian Society, though still annually growing in membership, feels now the need of more members and more money. The cost of merely preaching Land Reform or Insurance is trifling compared with those of really investigating the problems, providing accurate information and scientifically sound schemes, and dealing critically with actual legislative proposals honeycombed with party superstitions, usually only half understood by the Ministers who put them before the public, and always confused by compromises which have unforeseen and



often disastrous consequences. A Society which has never recruited for itself, never exacted a fixed subscription, never excluded any earnest member unable to pay a subscription at all, never shrunk from retaining as members a considerable number of adherents who could not even repay the expense that their membership involved, and never hesitated to drain the pockets of its membership by appeals for the urgent needs of others, must inevitably succumb unless it is spontaneously supported by those Socialists whose chief interest lies in the educational work for which the Society is particularly adapted. It welcomes their support either as professed Socialist members, or as associates committed only to a general sympathy with the Society's work, or as subscribers committed to nothing but a desire to have its publications.

The Society has recently come to closer grips with the latest problems of the Trade Union Movement, which is at present much perplexed as to the nature of its future organization, and agitated by a renewed spirit of revolt due to a long period of somewhat unsuccessful political experiment. The Society has realized the need for more complete knowledge of the various proposals for improving Trade Union machinery, and for the future control of industry. Its Research Department has been the outcome.

The time has come when the slight, steady increase in the Society's membership year by year no longer suffices for the growing cost of the work. The Society must have both increased subscriptions from its existing membership and increased breadth of support. In short, just as all Labor and Socialist organizations are being stimulated to renewed vigor by the continued Labor unrest—each along their own particular lines of action—so the call of the Fabian Society is for a thousand new members or associates, if possible before March 31st next, so that it may be well equipped to fulfil the growing demands being made upon it for more information and further practical proposals.

Almost every member could bring in more members from among those with whom he or she is brought in contact. An appeal is made to you to do your personal share.

By order of the Executive Committee,

EDW. R. PEASE, Secretary.

FABIAN OFFICE, 3 CLEMENT'S INN,  
STRAND, W.C.—CHRISTMAS, 1913.

A Form of Application for Membership is enclosed.



# The Fabian Society.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

### BASIS.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the re-organization of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in Land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial Capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into Capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community) Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to achieve these ends by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and Society in its economic, ethical and political aspects.

### SUBSCRIPTION.

A fixed subscription, equal for each member, is not desirable in the Fabian Society, as it would press unequally on members with widely different incomes, and would have to be unreasonably high. Members are therefore left free to subscribe according to their means, and it is suggested that a voluntary income tax of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (10s. for each £100 of the member's income) will meet the case of fairly well-to-do people.

I accept the above Basis, desire to become a member, and enclose  
..... as my first subscription.

Signature .....

Name and Address (state if Mrs. or Miss) .....

Parliamentary Constituency.....

Occupation .....

Date.....19

To the Secretary of the Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

*Associates.*—Anyone in sympathy with the objects of the Society, but unwilling to become a member, can join as an associate on payment of 10s. Particulars of the conditions will be supplied on application.

Signature of the above form and payment of a subscription are the only preliminaries to election.

### Extract from the Rule relating to Election of Members.

Every candidate for election shall make a contribution to the funds of the Society before his election; the amount will be returned to him if he is not elected.



# THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

3 CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND,

LONDON, W.C.—*October, 1913.*

*To the Members and Friends of the Society.*

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

## The Approaching General Election and Fabian Candidatures.

The Executive Committee has to call the attention of members to the necessity of deciding, without delay, the extent to which the Society is in a position to afford assistance to Fabian Candidatures, either at the General Election, which may be upon us during the ensuing year, or at unforeseen bye elections. From 1892 to 1910 the Society has continuously given financial and other support to members standing as Labor Candidates. In 1908 a Parliamentary Fund was raised, and entrusted to three trustees, acting in consultation with the Executive Committee. That fund was exhausted by the successive elections of 1909-10; and it is now proposed that it should be re-established, with R. C. K. Ensor, Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Edward R. Pease, and Sidney Webb as Trustees.

It is plain that the Labor Party, with which the Fabian Society has been closely associated since its establishment in 1900, will have a strenuous fight to maintain its position, and that it will need all the support that the Society can afford. For the candidatures of the following members, the Society has already assumed a certain measure of responsibility; and it is now necessary for members to signify to what extent they, or any of them, or any other members whose candidatures might need support, could receive financial assistance in the event of their being nominated.

WILL CROOKS, M.P. The Society accepted responsibility to the Labor Party for his candidature at Woolwich at the General Election of December, 1910, when he recovered the seat he had lost at the January election. One half of the heavy expenses were on this occasion collected locally, and an arrangement on similar lines could no doubt be made for the next election.

HARRY SNELL stood as Labor Candidate for Huddersfield under our auspices in January and in December, 1910, polling 5,686 and 4,988 votes, and on the first occasion coming second on the poll. He will probably stand again, and there is good reason to hope that he will be successful, not perhaps at the next election, but whenever a second member is given to Huddersfield.

HENRY H. SCHLOESSER has been adopted by the local Labor Party at York as Labor Candidate for the next election. The Fabian Executive Committee authorised him to inform his supporters at York that his name would be included whenever an appeal for funds was made to the members of the Society, and that the Society would nominate him to the Labor Party if sufficient financial support were forthcoming.

W. STEPHEN SANDERS was supported by the Society at Portsmouth in January, 1910. His name has been submitted by the Executive Committee to the Labor Party as a candidate whom the Fabian Society will support if a suitable candidature is offered to him. The Executive Committee has of course to determine whether in their opinion any proposed candidature is suitable.

Members are reminded that whatever immediate gains in wages and conditions can be obtained by industrial agitation under existing conditions, the fundamental changes in the organization of society needed in order to realize the Socialist State for which the Society is pledged to work, cannot be achieved without Parliamentary action; and that one essential way to attain this is by the return to Parliament of Socialists who thoroughly understand the objects we have in view and the means by which we seek to gain them.

The Labor Party welcomes the contribution to its resources which our Society is able to offer, and we therefore urge our members to subscribe whatever they can towards the candidature for Parliament of the members of our Society who have been accepted or are available as Labor Party candidates.

Members are requested to state what amount they would be prepared to subscribe for the purpose, payable at their option at any time between now and the next General Election. Subscriptions may be allocated, if desired, to the support of any particular candidate. The amounts not so allocated will be applied at the discretion of the Trustees.

The sum of £210 has already been promised by members of the Executive Committee and a few others.

A form for subscriptions is attached. Would you be good enough to return it to the Fabian Office at your early convenience?

We are, yours truly,

R. C. K. ENSOR,  
SUSAN LAWRENCE,

EDW. R. PEASE,  
SIDNEY WEBB,

*Trustees of the Fund.*

# Fabian Parliamentary Fund, 1913.

Trustees :

R. C. K. ENSOR, Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE, L.C.C., E. R. PEASE,  
and SIDNEY WEBB.

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I shall be prepared to subscribe the sum of.....  
to the Fabian Parliamentary Fund, payable some time prior to the  
next General Election.

I desire this sum to be allocated to the Candidature of

.....

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

To be returned to the Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.





# Fabian Research Department.

Chairman: Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB.  
Hon. Secretary: H. J. GILLESPIE.

37, NORFOLK STREET,  
STRAND,  
LONDON, W.C.  
Telephone: 9712 Central.

*November 1st, 1913.*

*To the Members of the Fabian Society:—*

At a meeting held at 37 Norfolk Street on October 15th, the Fabian Research Department was constituted a Group of the Fabian Society, rules were adopted, and a committee elected for the year 1913-14.

I believe that this Group can do, and is doing, good work in the cause of Socialism, and further that it is on these particular lines that the energies and ability of the Fabian Society can usefully be directed. No other Society is carrying out this particular kind of work, or is, perhaps, so well equipped for the purpose.

As an instance of the kind of work that is now actually being done by the Department may be cited the Draft Report prepared by H. D. Harben, Chairman of the Committee of Enquiry into Land and Rural Problems. This has already appeared in *The New Statesman* and will shortly be published in book form. An exhaustive report on the Alternatives to the Capitalist Control of Industry, containing ideas and suggestions as to the form that Control may take under Socialism, will be completed towards the close of the year; and an enquiry has just been started into the whole question of Industrial Insurance.

The third rule reads: "The membership of the Group shall be open to all members of the Fabian Society who accept the objects of the Group (*i.e.*, the promotion and carrying out of Research into Social, Industrial, and Political subjects) and pay a minimum yearly subscription of 2s. 6d.," and I am hoping that the Group will receive the support of a large number of individual Fabians who are willing to work on one of the Committees of Enquiry, or who approve of the general principles set forth above.

It is only by receiving such support that the Group can be placed in a position to carry out its proper function, namely, the formulation from time to time of definite proposals and recommendations that can be subsequently considered by the Fabian Society as a whole, and, if adopted, form the nucleus of a new Fabian programme.

Yours very truly,

H. J. GILLESPIE,  
*Hon. Secretary.*



This form to be filled up and posted to the address given below.

# Fabian Research Department.

## Committee of Enquiry on Insurance.

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I am willing (*strike out what is not applicable*)

1. To join and work for the Committee as a member or consultative member, being especially interested in the.....  
Sub-Committee.
2. To contribute..... towards  
the Committee's expenses.

*Name* .....

*Address* .....

*Address :—*

FABIAN RESEARCH DEPARTMENT,  
37, NORFOLK STREET,  
STRAND, LONDON.



# Fabian Research Department.

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Committee of Enquiry on Insurance (Memorandum by  
the Chairman, Mr. Sidney Webb).

## I

### The Object of the Enquiry.

The object, ultimately, is to arrive at a definite conclusion, from the facts of experience, as to the proper sphere of Insurance, as regards all the contingencies of the wage-earner's life. But, for various reasons of practical urgency, our whole attention will be concentrated, at any rate during the first six months, on the working of Part I of the National Insurance Act (Sickness). Our first work must be to get to know exactly what is happening to all concerned in this gigantic experiment ; as regards the extent to which everybody is actually included for contributions and benefits respectively, the real nature of the benefits, and the effect on the insured persons and their dependants, on the doctors and midwives, on the chemists and the hospitals, on health and disease, on Friendly Societies and Trade Unions, on the Poor Law and Public Health administration ; including all the successes and failures, advantages and shortcomings of the scheme.

## II

### The Nature of the Investigation.

In this extensive task, we need, it is clear, both money and the personal service of willing helpers all over the country. It is a work in which practically everybody can contribute some item of information. We want every person to report just the little bit that he knows as to how the Act is working, with regard to himself if he is an insured person or an employer, with regard to his

domestic servants or other persons in his employment, with regard to his own experience as a doctor, chemist or official, with regard to the Approved Society or Insurance Committee, or Board of Guardians or Public Health Authority to which he belongs ; or with regard to what he hears in his own locality from those whom he trusts. Elaborate heads of enquiry on which information is required will be sent on application, together with sheets of paper for putting down the information in a form in which it can be readily used. There is scarcely any adult in the United Kingdom who has not, in one capacity or another, some experience of the Act that he can contribute—if only the important fact of its smooth working ! Every case of refusal of benefit, or of failure of the Act should be reported, as well as every success. (The Committee will, of course, be unable to get redress for any particular sufferer.)

### III

#### Organisation of the Enquiry.

The Committee has divided itself into seven sub-Committees, namely : Documents, Medical, Tuberculosis, Maternity, Claims, Institutions and Poor Law, and Approved Societies. Those willing to join the Committee, or to help in its work, may attach themselves to one or more of these branches of enquiry.

The Documents Sub-Committee sets itself to acquire all the printed documents that throw light on the subject, from the Acts and the Commissioners' multifarious regulations, to the rules of the Approved Societies and the Minutes of Insurance and Public Health Committees ; including also Circulars, Minutes, letters conveying decisions, reports, etc. From these, from the appropriate journals, and from press-cuttings all the facts have to be placed on separate sheets of paper, annotated and classified. A large amount of interesting office work of this kind is waiting to be done.

The Medical Sub-Committee will seek information from all sides—doctors, patients, societies, public authorities—as to the actual working of the Medical Benefit ; its adequacy and inadequacy ; how people get on the lists, and why so many are not on ; the process of certification ; the diagnosis ; the treatment ; the refusals of benefit ; convalescence ; drugs and appliances ; the discipline as regards patients and doctors ; the payment of the doctors and the chemists. A large amount of valuable information under these heads is already coming in from doctors, societies, committees, etc.

The Tuberculosis Sub-Committee will seek facts as to the whole position of this disease, and its treatment, under whatever authority ; the process of notification, the variations in localities as to domiciliary treatment, the provision of Sanatoria and how it is working, the arrangements for after-care, and the effect of the whole on prevention and cure.

The Maternity Sub-Committee (in co-operation with the Medical Sub-Committee) will undertake to investigate the administration of the Maternity Benefit. It will deal also with Sickness Benefit in connection with pregnancy and confinement ; the practice in admission of claims, refusal of benefit, etc.

The Claims Sub-Committee will deal with the question of Sickness Benefit, especially on the hypothesis that there is more sickness than was expected ; the extent to which this is the case, and where and why ; the practice in certification, admission of claim, revision of continued claims, refusal of benefit, expulsion of members, etc.

The Institutions and Poor Law Sub-Committee undertakes to find out all about the effect of the Act on hospitals and convalescent homes, the Public Health Authority and the Board of Guardians ; what institutions are available, and what use is being made of them ; and how far Poor Law relief is being reduced or increased. Here the experience of Guardians and Councillors will be of great use.

The Approved Societies Sub-Committee sets itself to study the constitutional structure, and the practical working, of the 25,000 separate Approved Societies and autonomous branches ; or as many of them as it can get information about.

#### IV

### **Voluntary Assistance and the Provision of Expenses.**

The Committee relies on the personal service of its members, and of willing helpers in all parts of the kingdom. An earnest appeal is made to everyone to join in this collection of information, which need involve, to the individual, no expense. But the Committee needs, of course, funds for printing, office rent clerical assistance, salary of a skilled investigator, and travelling expenses. The sum of £1,000 will hardly suffice to enable so extensive a field to be covered, and towards this promises of £270 have already been received. Those who can contribute small sums or great are begged to do so at once.

Help is especially required with regard to the facts relating to particular localities, particular societies, or particular occupations. Those who can state any personal experience, however slight, are requested to do so. Reports, which would be treated as confidential, as to the working of Insurance in the reporter's own locality, occupation or Society, would be of great assistance. Those willing to answer questions if sent to them should communicate at once with the Secretary, Fabian Research Department.

**Fabian Research Department,  
37, Norfolk Street,  
Strand, London, W.C.**

*October, 1913.*



# **The Prevention of Destitution : Some Outstanding Questions.**

**Syllabus of a Course of Four Lectures to be given by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb at Caxton Hall, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., on Monday Evenings, beginning Feb. 20th, 1911, at 8.30 p.m.**

**The Chair will be taken on the 20th February by Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.; on the 27th February by the Viscount Elcho; on the 6th March by Mr. Granville Barker; and on the 13th March by Mr. Maurice Hewlett.**

At the request of the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution (President: The Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich), Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have consented to give a Course of Lectures in continuation of those given by them at St. James's Hall, in April, 1910.

Each Lecture will be preceded by a Reception from 7.30 to 8.15 p.m. (Tea and Coffee) by the Executive Committee, when Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb will be glad to meet those desirous of consulting them. Cards of invitation will be issued to all persons taking numbered and reserved seats (Tickets for unnumbered seats do not admit to the Reception). For price of Tickets, etc., see last page.

## I.

Monday, February 20th, 1911, at 8.30 p.m.  
Chairman: Mr. C. F. G. MASTERMAN, M.P.  
Lecturer: MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

# How best to use Voluntary Agencies in the Prevention of Destitution.

Rival theories as to the correct relation between the Voluntary Agencies and Public Authorities—The depressing dicta of the Poor Law Report of 1834—The authoritative Memorandum of Mr. Goschen in 1869—The development of the doctrine by the Charity Organisation Society of London that Public Authorities and Voluntary Agencies have separate and distinct spheres—The admitted inability of Voluntary Agencies to provide for the "chronic" cases destroys the proposed separation of sheep from goats—General Booth's successful appeal, in "Darkest England," for the inclusion of the wastrel and undeserving within the sphere of charitable assistance—The chaos of to-day—The Dole and the Beggar—The statistical importance of the "missed case"—The annual recruitment indicated by a standing population of two or three millions destitute persons.

The right co-ordination of Voluntary with Public Agencies depends on an appreciation of their respective characteristics—The advantages of Voluntary Agencies over Public Authorities: superiority in initiative and invention; greater care of difficult cases; variety and intensity of religious influence—The advantages of Public Authorities: equitable distribution of cost according to ability to pay; complete and continuous treatment of all cases; disciplinary supervision and enforcement of parental responsibility and obligation of self-maintenance.

The "Elberfeld system" exemplifies the right relation of Voluntary Agencies to Public Authorities in the work of relieving destitution—An analogous combination of Public Authorities and Voluntary Agencies is coming into operation in Great Britain in the new services of preventing destitution—The use of the volunteer by the Public Health and Education Authorities—The growing use of volunteers by the Pension and Lunacy Authorities, and by the Labour Exchanges—How the Voluntary Hospitals can be co-ordinated with Public Health administration—The special sphere of religious institutions—Experiments in Industrial and Reformatory Schools, Rescue Homes, and Labour Colonies.

The universal responsibility of the Public Authority is the best guarantee for the elimination of the "missed case" (*e.g.*, education, typhus, etc.)—The background of discipline and statutory enforcement—The systematic partnership with voluntary agencies ensures initiative, variety, sufficiency, and the personal note—The ideal constitution of work of the Guild of Help—The enlarged sphere of Voluntary Agencies in a national Crusade against Destitution.

## II.

Monday, February 27th, 1911, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: THE VISCOUNT ELCHO.

Lecturer: MR. SIDNEY WEBB.

### Unemployment and Sickness Insurance: How far applicable in the Prevention of Destitution.

Insurance has many social advantages—But it is not an alternative to Prevention—It does not arrest the causes of evil (Fire Insurance does not prevent fires)—The waste now caused by Preventable Disease—The waste now caused by Preventable Unemployment—State Schemes of Sickness and Unemployment Insurance (in the absence of schemes of prevention) would mean saddling the Taxpayer with a large part of that waste—The Thriftlessness of Insurance when we can prevent.

The Sphere of Insurance (not prevention, but succour when prevention has failed)—Insurance as an Adjunct to a Scheme for Prevention—The Moral Value of Insurance when voluntary and expressing individual foresight—Its value as a self-selected voluntary alternative to the methods of public provision—Its value as a provident complement to the public provision—The advantages of a Government subsidy (Ghent system)—How the Ghent system promotes Friendly Society and Trade Union membership, and stimulates thrift.

Compulsory Insurance Schemes—The advantage of universal provision—The effect on personal character (how far is the compulsory levy by the State of a universal tax called an Insurance Premium likely to have moral effects?)—How far is it advantageous to give the sufferer a right to succour, and to succour in the form of a money payment—Methods of preventing malingering—The difficulty of extending Insurance to the millions below the level of steady employment at subsistence wages—Under what conditions can State Insurance avoid injuring the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions?—The indirect utility of State Invalidity Insurance in extending the activities of the Public Health Authority—The indirect effect of State Unemployment Insurance in compulsorily “standardizing” the minimum conditions of employment—The indirect stimulus to Measures of Prevention, when the Treasury has to bear the cost of not preventing.

### III.

Monday, March 6th, 1911, at 8.30 p.m.  
Chairman: Mr. GRANVILLE BARKER.  
Lecturer: MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

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## The Preservation of the Family and the Home as the essential condition of the Prevention of Destitution.

The proper nurture of the child by its parents must be the primary object of all social reform—The fallacy of the old axiom that parental responsibility is secured by non-intervention between parent and child—The gradual appreciation of the disastrous results of letting children suffer the consequences of their parents' destitute condition or bad character—The successive interventions of Parliament for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, in the Factory and Mines Acts, and in the Education Acts—The consequent increase of the pecuniary and moral obligations of parenthood—The universal enforcement of parental responsibility depends on a systematic searching out of neglected infancy and neglected childhood—How the Poor Law and Charitable Agencies undermine parental responsibility—The terrible problem of the "Ins and Outs"—The bankruptcy of the 1834 policy of "deterrence" in relation to the Children of the State.

The new discussion between the believers in heredity and the believers in environment—The survival in degraded conditions of the low type and the higher mortality of good stock—The "damage-rate" on the well-born of bad environment—The segregation of the Feeble-minded practically dependent on a collective survey and control of the environment—Environmental interference consequently indispensable on any assumption as to heredity.

The larger question of the application of the principles of Christianity to our public treatment of the Poor—The "non-moral" principle of deterrence as embodied in the policy of 1834—The inevitable reaction into indiscriminate charity—How any mere relief of destitution, whether by the Poor Law or by charity, inevitably tends to the undermining of personal independence and to the coarsening of character—The growth of a new social machinery and a new administrative science enables us now to dispense with the "relief" of destitution, deterrent or lax, public or private—The double aspect of the new Policy of Prevention: beneficent alteration of environment and appropriate treatment of every case—The habit of Unemployment or Under-employment creates the Unemployable—The enforcement of the obligation of self-maintenance depends on there being some complete provision against involuntary unemployment and under-employment—The deliberate maintenance of the Public Health will involve the treatment of Inebriety as a preventable disease—The universal maintenance of a definite standard of civilised life becomes the joint responsibility of an indissoluble partnership between the individual and the community—It is now practicable to apply the principles of Christianity to our public treatment of the poor.

#### IV.

Monday, March 13th, 1911, at 8.30 p.m.  
Chairman : Mr. MAURICE HEWLETT.  
Lecturer : MR. SIDNEY WEBB.

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## The Financial Waste of the present Poor Law, and the Profit and Loss Account of the Scheme of Prevention.

How we are at present unsystematically squandering out of rates and taxes annually Seventy Millions sterling on the maintenance, schooling, and medical treatment of the poor (as compared with Eight Millions in 1834)—The Economic Waste of any mere "relief" of destitution—The Economic Waste of the "Workhouse"—The Economic Waste of a Poor Law Medical Service (the "mortality of delay"; the "bottle of medicine")—The Economic Waste of Omitting to Train (the 170,000 Poor Law children always on Out Relief; the 15,000 women annually entering the maternity wards; the 10,000 able-bodied men now in the workhouses; the 50,000 vagrants "on the road").

The Financial Waste of Duplication of Authorities and Overlapping of Work—The Rival Rate-spending Bodies now (*a*) providing for necessitous children, (*b*) treating the necessitous sick, (*c*) relieving the unemployed, (*d*) maintaining the aged—The multiplication of officials and demoralisation of the poor.

The Profit of Prevention; (*a*) infant mortality, (*b*) child neglect, (*c*) preventable sickness, (*d*) preventable unemployment—The Economy of Unification and System—The Recoupment by Systematic Charge and Recovery where there is ability to pay—The Gain of invariable Enforcement of the Personal Obligation for Self-Maintenance and of Parental Responsibility for dependents—The Cost of Preventing Child Neglect—The Cost of uniting the Poor Law and Public Health Medical Services—The Cost of Preventing Unemployment—The Cost of Decasualisation—The Cost of providing Maintenance under Training for the residuum of Unemployed—The Cost of the Reformatory Detention Colonies—The Grant in Aid necessary to avoid any increase in the rates—Can we estimate the increased wealth-production, wages, rent, interest and profit of a population in which no child grows up neglected, and which is free from preventable disease and unemployment?

## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

At the close of each lecture, answers will be given orally by the non-lecturing partner—Mrs. Sidney Webb on the second and fourth evenings, and Mr. Sidney Webb on the first and third evenings—to any enquiries or argumentative difficulties from the audience, provided that they relate to the subject of that or any prior lecture. Such questions may, if preferred, be sent in writing, not later than the previous day, to Mr. or Mrs. Sidney Webb (41, Grosvenor Road, Westminster).

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## AIDS TO STUDY.

To every person attending the course, there will be supplied, if desired, free of charge, a carefully drawn up "Course of Reading," relating to the subject matter of each lecture, so as to facilitate further study of the problem; and also a full List of Books and Official Reports dealing with the subject, including all schools of thought. "Lessons on the Minority Report" (48 pp. sixpence) may also be obtained. The **Crusade** (monthly), price 1d., containing special articles on each branch of the subject, and a monthly list of the latest books, may be obtained at the Hall.

A few references to particular works are here appended :

**Misery and its Causes.** By E. T. Devine (Secretary of New York Charity Organisation Society). Macmillan. 1909.

**In Darkest England.** By General Booth. 1890.

The lengthy chapter on "Charity" in the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission. 1909.

**The Sphere of Voluntary Agencies under the Minority Report.** By the Dean of Norwich. (National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution. 1910.)

**The Minority Report for Scotland.** (Scottish National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow. 1909.)

Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Health-Promoting Institutions at the Guildhall, London, in December, 1910. (P. S. King and Son. 1911.)

**Insurance against Unemployment.** By D. F. Schloss. 1909.

**Unemployment and Trade Unions.** By Cyril Jackson, with preface by Viscount Milner, G.C.B. (Longmans. 1911.)

Presidential Address of Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, K.C.B., on Insurance against Unemployment, at Section F of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1910. (In *Economic Journal*, December, 1910.)

Annual Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. (Cd. 5426) 1911.

**The Town Child.** By R. A. Bray, L.C.C. 1907.

**Children's Care Committees.** By Margaret Frere. 1909.

**School Care Committees : a Guide to their Work.** By Maud F. Davies. 1910.

**Memorandum on the Feeding of School Children under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908.** (Edinburgh School Board, 1910.)

"The Administration of the Public Health and Education Acts in relation to the Prevention and Cure of Diseases of the Throat and Nose." By T. Jefferson Faulder (in *The Lancet* of 25th June, 2nd July, and 9th July, 1910).

**The Economic Waste of the Existing (or any other) Poor Law.** By Sidney Webb (Manchester Statistical Society, 1910).

**The Effect of Hygiene upon the Wage-Earning Capacity of the People.** By G. W. Eustace, M.A., M.D. (Royal Sanitary Institute, 1910).

"The Cost of the Slums." By W. H. Wilkins (in *Progress* for October, 1910).

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## ADMISSION.

Admission will be by ticket only, for the course or for each lecture separately, to be obtained of Miss M. E. Bulkley, National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand. As the accommodation is much more limited than was the case last year at St. James's Hall (not now available), preference will be given to applicants for tickets for the whole course.

Application for tickets for single lectures will therefore be reserved until February 13th, when the remaining seats will be allotted according to priority of application.

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## PRICE OF TICKETS.

Numbered and reserved Stalls fifteen shillings for the course of four, or five shillings for a single lecture. Back and gallery seats (numbered and reserved) seven shillings and sixpence for the course, or two shillings and sixpence for any single lecture. There will be a few unnumbered seats, available only on course tickets (not admitting to the Reception), price four shillings each.

The whole of the receipts, after payment for the hall, will be devoted to the expenses of educational lectures on Poor Law and Local Government by the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution.



# THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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Presented to  
Parliament  
1911  
Not to be taken from  
the Library.

## The National Insurance Bill.

### The Contributory Principle.

ON Saturday, October 14th, at Whitefield's Tabernacle, the "contributory principle" received its death-blow at the hands of Mr. Lloyd George. This almost sacrilegious act was received with wild demonstrations of delight by a great audience of faithful Liberals who had assembled there to show their approval of the now famous "principles" of the Bill, and had never dared to hope that the chief amongst those principles was to be sacrificed before their very eyes.

The actual announcement made by the Chancellor was that persons in receipt of wages of less than 1s. 6d. a day are to receive all the benefits of the Insurance Scheme without contributing anything at all, and the sole reason he gave for this "concession" was that "those only earning 9s. a week can ill spare even that penny." It does not seem to have occurred to him that having once admitted that the principle of universal contribution is not sacrosanct, there is no stopping place for him until all whose incomes are less than a living wage are excused from payment. Those who are struggling to rear families on 12s. or 15s. or even 20s. a week can only afford the threepences and fourpences which Mr. Lloyd George is proposing to deduct from their wages at the cost of a part of their children's food. In discarding the contributory principle, the Chancellor has thrown away the last shred of argument by which such extortion might be defended.

This change of front by the Government at the eleventh hour encourages us to hope that it may be worth while to make a final appeal to the working classes, organized and unorganized, to realize the perils of the road along which Mr. Lloyd George is so eloquently beckoning them to follow him to Paradise.

Why is the Fabian Society opposed to the Bill?

### £25,000,000 BADLY RAISED.

First and foremost because it imposes upon the wage-earners what is in effect a poll tax (i.e., a tax levied irrespective of ability to pay). The total sum to be raised under the Bill is about twenty-five million pounds sterling. Towards this amount, under the head of Sickness Insurance, every working man who is earning not less than 2s. 6d. a day is to contribute 4d. a week, and every woman 3d. a week, which the employer is empowered to deduct from his or her wages before he pays them. The employer himself is in the first instance also to contribute 3d. a week, and the State something like 1½d. In addition to this, every working man in certain trades is to contribute 2½d. a week for insurance against unemployment, whilst the employers pay 2½d. also and the State 1½d.

To take a concrete case, a builder's laborer earning 18s. a week will find 6½d. deducted from his wages every Saturday, which is equivalent to an Income Tax of over 7d. in the pound. Imagine if you can the wild outcry that would arise from the middle and upper classes if any Chancellor of the Exchequer dared at one blow to make an addition of 7d. to the tax upon their incomes. Yet Mr. Lloyd George not only appears to expect working men to submit to this deduction without complaint, but is surprised and hurt because they are not rapturously grateful.

Altogether it is officially estimated that in the first year the working classes will have to contribute

something over £12,000,000,

a sum which must be increased by several millions if we are to allow (1) for the very real possibility in many trades of the employer lowering wages or increasing prices, and so making the workmen pay a substantial proportion of his contributions as well as their own; (2) for the loss of the payments which hundreds of thousands of workers at present customarily receive from their employers during sickness; and (3) for the loss of medical and other assistance at present provided gratuitously by the Municipal and Poor Law Authorities. On the other hand, a deduction must of course be made for the amount by which the more prosperous wage-earners who are already insured in Friendly Societies will be enabled to reduce their voluntary contributions.

### Feeding the Dog on his own Tail.

This spirited attempt "to feed the dog on his own tail" is surely the climax of Liberal "social reform." Misplaced ingenuity can scarcely go further; unless, indeed, someone is prepared to suggest that the whole sum of the wages of the working classes should be taken from them and, after suitable deductions for "cost of

administration," be spent by the Government in providing them with as many of the necessaries of life as it will run to. Some such arrangement would be the only logical outcome of the principles on which this Bill is founded. In view of the recent much-discussed "Labor Unrest," it should surely be unnecessary to remind the public that the central problem of social economics to-day is the problem of how to raise wages all round. We have not yet perhaps a complete solution in terms of practical politics, but it is certainly a condition precedent of any solution that the wages at present paid should be preserved inviolate.

To put the case in a nutshell, if Mr. Lloyd George is not prepared to increase the supertax, then he may as well give up at once all his great schemes of "social reform," for it is the most elementary of economic truths that

**you cannot mitigate the evils of poverty at the expense of the poor.**

If, as this Bill proposes, you deduct 4d. a week from wages which are at present below the minimum necessary to maintain a family in mere physical efficiency, you are deliberately reducing their already insufficient nourishment and therefore their power to resist disease. The only people who could dream of attempting to justify such a proceeding on the ground of its value as a practical lesson in the virtue of thrift, are the thoughtless comfortably-off persons who confuse thrift with saving, and whose ideally thrifty man would give up his entire wage and die of starvation with his family in the odor of prudential sanctity. What such "thrift" really means is that in literally hundreds of thousands of cases families will be deprived of necessary food in order to pay for the treatment of sickness largely caused by lack of nourishment. There is no escape from this vicious circle in the case of those whose incomes are less than a "living wage," except by relieving them of contributions altogether. If the "living wage" be taken at the low figure of 25s. a week, the number of wage-earners who fall below this standard and who will yet have to make the weekly contribution under the Bill is at least six or seven millions. The whole Bill is a piece of blundering statesmanship, but this particular proposal to reduce the ordinary resources of the very poor is little short of a crime.

All these objections to a contributory system apply, of course, with redoubled force to the case of Unemployment Insurance. Deficiency of employment is due to deep-rooted economic causes entirely beyond individual control, and it is impossible to justify any proposal founded on enforced contributions from the individuals immediately concerned.

### **£25,000,000 BADLY SPENT.**

But, bad as are the Bill's proposals for raising this £25,000,000, its proposals for spending it are still worse. It is now common knowledge that most of the sickness which affects the working classes, and especially the poorest of them, is due to causes such as overcrowding, insufficient nourishment, and lack of medical care and suitable food in childhood, which could be altogether prevented by energetic national action. This large sum of money would go a very long way towards meeting the cost of such action. Under the provisions of the Bill, however, it is all to be dissipated in providing medical treatment and a weekly pittance *after the disease has occurred*. In its sub-title the Bill is described as a measure for the "prevention of sickness," but the mere fact that it excludes all non-wage-earning women and children is alone enough to deprive it of any claim to be taken seriously as a preventive scheme. Moreover, it is obvious on the face of it that **sickness insurance can no more prevent sickness than fire insurance can prevent fires.**

But even if the Bill is judged simply as a means of providing doles for the needy during sickness, it must still be regarded as a disastrous failure. The Chancellor claims that he is giving 9d. for 4d. to every male contributor; but the truth—which anyone can easily verify for himself—is that the scale of "minimum" benefits to be provided, although generous enough to the elderly, is only equivalent to what any well-managed Friendly Society can now offer to any young man or woman for 5d.

But the climax of the Bill's many futilities is the fact that there is to be

### **NO STATE GUARANTEE**

that even these "minimum" benefits will be paid. No attempt is made to pool the risks of the nation as a whole by insisting upon the acceptance of average lives by "approved" Friendly Societies as they are accepted by Trades Unions. To do so, says Mr. Lloyd George, "would condemn the whole scheme." Therefore only the better lives will be accepted by the better societies. In fact, the Bill provides for the contributors being automatically divided into grades, the highest grade containing the most healthy and well-to-do, and the lowest the casual underpaid worker and the chronic invalid. The benefits paid in the upper grades—which will be very select—will probably in the long run exceed the Chancellor's "minimum," but passing down the scale to the lower and more needy, the benefits will become less and less until the lowest and probably the far largest grade of all is reached, namely :—

### **THE "DEPOSIT CONTRIBUTORS."**

This unfortunate class of persons, unable through constitutional weakness or prolonged unemployment to gain admission to any Friendly Society, will have to pay their 4d. a week like everyone else, but in return for it

## They will get no Insurance at all.

Their contributions, together with those of the employers and the State, will be credited to them individually exactly as if it were a Savings Bank Deposit. From this deposit a certain proportion will be deducted annually for medical attendance, sanatoria, and cost of administration. The balance will be available, for just so long as it lasts, to provide a weekly allowance during sickness. If a "deposit contributor" has had a few weeks illness, so that the sum standing to his credit is temporarily exhausted, his wife will have to go without her maternity benefit. Or if the wife has had one maternity benefit in a year, there will be no sickness benefit for the husband. There is no pooling of risks, and therefore no insurance. It is simply compulsory saving.

Worse still, if a "deposit contributor" dies leaving any of these savings unexpended, they will not pass to his widow nor to his children, but are to be confiscated by the State, and added to the general fund. The same thing will happen when a woman "deposit contributor" marries and ceases to be a wage-earner. When one remembers the extreme poverty of these "deposit contributors" and the forced sacrifices that the weekly contributions will involve, it is hard to find words to describe the iniquity of such a proposal.

## Who Wants the Bill?

The great mass of those who can afford to pay contributions at all have already provided for themselves in the existing Friendly Societies or Trade Unions. For them it is plain that the Bill, though in some respects advantageous, is quite unnecessary.

On the other hand, to those who do need some help in times of sickness, the Bill offers little or nothing, or even less than nothing. It would be difficult to devise a scheme more faithfully in accord with the Scriptural saying, "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath," a parable which, after all, whatever its spiritual significance, is not to be taken in its literal meaning as a safe guide to the solution of modern sociological problems.

## "Not a Socialist Measure."

The insurance of the individual in sickness, unemployment, and motherhood by the community is necessarily a part of Socialism, and in so far as this Bill involves an increased recognition of the responsibilities of the State in this connection, it is certainly Socialistic. Mr. Lloyd George, however, tells us that "this is a Bill providing for a social reform, but it is not a Socialist measure." We can only say to that: More's the pity. It is just because Mr. Lloyd George has attempted not only to deny the Socialist element in his Bill, but to disguise it by hampering the scheme with all the forms of private enterprise, that he has landed himself in such a mass of contradictions and blunders.

As it is, this Bill has most of the reputed disadvantages and few of the merits of Socialist legislation. It involves a large amount of State interference and compulsion. But since it leaves a great part of the administration to numerous and diverse private bodies, the "approved societies," there is no prospect of securing the high level of efficiency characteristic of State management. On the other hand, the best features of the friendly societies, their independence, and the voluntary nature of their contributions, are to be sacrificed, whilst all the inevitable defects of voluntary action, its uncertainty, its lack of uniformity, and its failure to cover all the ground, are to be retained.

## IS THE BILL BETTER THAN NOTHING?

"But," it may be asked, "is not this Bill after all better than nothing? The Government's contributions will amount to at least several millions a year, and the employers' contributions to still more; and all this will be spent in curing sickness and mitigating its hardships amongst the wage-earning classes."

The answer to this question is, that as far as the better paid workers, who are already members of friendly societies or of strong trade unions, are concerned, this Bill is certainly better than nothing. It will interfere with their independence and tend to limit their financial resources available for the purposes of industrial warfare; but in return it offers them solid financial advantages which the organized sections will probably be able to retain. But for the others, the comparatively underpaid, under-employed, and unorganized, the equally emphatic answer must be that the Bill is *not* worth having. From their insufficient incomes it will take fourpence a week, and in return it will give them no benefits worthy of the name. Even the little they may stand to receive at the outset they will lose unless they are strong enough to resist the further attacks which will inevitably be made upon their standard of living by masters determined to recoup themselves for the losses involved under the head of "employers' contributions." If they are not strong enough to resist, then unquestionably their last state will be worse than their first.

In our judgment the danger of this double reduction of incomes, already in millions of cases below the "living wage," more than outweighs the advantages offered to the higher grades of workers. And our final answer therefore to the question at the head of this paragraph is that, taking the Bill as it stands, with all the modifications promised by Mr. Lloyd George to date, it is not worth having.

## Two Vital Amendments.

To make it better than nothing it would be necessary to insert two very substantial amendments. The first, providing that no contributions should be required from persons receiving less than a living wage; the deficiency to be met not by the employers, but by the State. The second, providing that every insured person shall receive at least those "minimum benefits" which anyone reading Mr. Lloyd George's platform speeches would suppose were guaranteed to all the 15,000,000 wage-earners who are to contribute, but which, as the Bill stands, millions of them will never get.

But it would be unwise to expect that these amendments or anything like them will be accepted by the Government, and it is therefore necessary to consider the situation that will be created by the passage of the Bill substantially in its present form.

## The Real Social Problem.

The recent widespread Labor unrest has done a good deal to shake the confidence of the governing classes in the stability of our industrial organization and the "loyalty" of the wage-earners. Its dramatic culmination in August forced many of them to realize for the first time that, from the working class point of view, the fundamental problem of social reform is the problem of wages, and that the vast army of the overworked and the underpaid have at present no remedy but the cumbrous, old-fashioned and dangerous weapon of the strike. The only section of the community upon whom the lesson of those outbreaks would seem to have been wholly lost is the Government. Not only have they neglected to hold out any hope of assistance to the downtrodden wage-earners in their struggle towards a higher standard of living, but they have chosen this very moment for pressing forward a scheme which will reduce all but the lowest wages by 4d. a week.

If and when, therefore, this Bill comes into force, the problem of low wages will not only remain but will actually be intensified. Mr. Lloyd George is the first Chancellor of the Exchequer who has conceived the plan of making the working classes themselves finance his measures of social reform. If he is successful, he will not be the last.

ISSUED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn,  
Strand, London, W.C.—October, 1911.

# Libraries for Socialist Societies, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and other Organizations.

FABIAN OFFICE, 3 CLEMENT'S INN,  
STRAND, LONDON, W.C.—OCTOBER, 1911.

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I am, yours faithfully,

EDWARD R. PEASE,

*Secretary.*

*To the Secretary of the Society named in the Address.*

## THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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# Manifesto on the Railway Situation.

THE report of the Commission of Enquiry on the differences between the railway companies and their servants does not go very far in adjusting these differences. A modified form of recognition—recognition by side entrance—is recommended, but the question of increased wages is left to be fought out on the Conciliation Boards. The Government has made no concealment of the fact that it will permit the railway companies to recoup themselves for any increased wages by raising rates. In the words of the official statement published in the press on August 21st last:—

“The Government have given an assurance to the railway companies that they will propose to Parliament next session legislation providing that an increase in the cost of labor, due to the improvement of conditions for the staff, would be a valid justification for a reasonable general increase of charges within the legal maxima, if challenged, under the Act of 1894.”

In other words, as the reward for partially conceding the principle of recognition of trade unions among their employees—a principle long ago granted in every other important industry—the railway companies obtain the right to place upon the shoulders of the trading community the whole burden of any increased pay they may be compelled to grant their servants.

### A Handicap to British Industry.

So far as the home trade is concerned, this burden will, as far as possible, be transferred by traders to consumers in the shape of higher prices; but as regards foreign trade, increased goods rates will serve as an additional handicap to British industry, which is thus being further taxed in the interests of railway shareholders. Already a warning note is being sounded by our Consuls. The British Consul at Rotterdam in his last report points out that as a consequence of our high railway rates, Dutch merchants find it difficult to transact business with British manufacturers, seeing that the German State railway rates are about half of those charged over here. Continental buyers, he adds, “are keen to do business with British firms, and, if the latter are reciprocally disposed, remedial measures should be devised.” Well, the “remedial measures” which are being devised are *increased rates!*

### Conflicting Interests.

As the consequences of these “remedial measures” make themselves felt, the agitation of the workers will be succeeded—or accompanied—by an agitation on the part of the mercantile community against rates which cripple industry. We are face to face with conflicting interests. Railway shareholders (many of whom were unlucky enough to purchase their stocks at inflated prices) naturally wish for higher dividends; the workers, most of them grossly underpaid, demand a living wage; and traders, suffering from prohibitive goods rates, ask for reductions.

At first sight it seems impossible to relieve one section of railway victims except at the expense of the others—that if some millions per annum are to be set free for higher wages, either shareholders must get lower dividends or traders and passengers must pay higher rates. This is not, however, the case.

### The Problem.

The question is, seeing that last year's railway profits of over forty-seven millions worked out at only £3 12s. per cent. on the total loan and capital stock of the railways, how can the State, after compensating the stockholders, obtain and work the railways in such manner as to set free any appreciable part of the forty-seven millions to apply to increased wages and reductions of rates and fares?

### The Solution

The solution has been found by practically every foreign country and by all save one of our self-governing colonies. It lies in the State utilizing its power to raise money more cheaply than private enterprises, purchasing the railways, and working them as one homogeneous system. By virtue of its superior credit the State has to pay much less than the companies as interest on capital, and by amalgamating the 217 existing railway companies and working them as a single unit, enormous saving can be effected.

### Terms of Purchase.

Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1844, passed by a Conservative Government, gives any Government power to purchase over 21,000 of the existing 23,387 miles of railway in the United Kingdom, on three months notice, the terms of purchase being twenty-five times the average profit for the three years preceding, with the proviso that if such sum appears inadequate in view of the prospects, arbitration shall be held to determine whether any additional sum shall be paid. In view of the labor outlook and the railway companies' dependence upon Parliament for permission to make further profits, any allowance for "prospects" should be in the shape of a reduction of the purchase price.

### What it will Cost.

To purchase the whole railway system of the United Kingdom on the terms of the 1844 Act, based on the profits of the three years 1908-1910, would cost £1,132,500,000 of 3 per cent. or  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of Government interest-bearing paper, in lieu of the £1,318,515,000 of railway companies' paper (some interest-bearing, some not) actually in existence. Most of the existing stockholders would accept British Government  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Stock—a better security than Consols, if that is possible, for it would also be a first charge on the railways, and one which, being redeemable at par within a fixed period, would be less liable to price fluctuations, in exchange for their railway stocks; but those who preferred to receive cash could do so. The amount required annually for interest would be about 34 to 37 millions, according to whether the loan was a 3 per cent. or a  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., *thus leaving a margin* under this head alone of eight to ten millions per annum, for wage increases and rate reductions.

### Advantages of a State System.

The economies which would arise from unification (abolition of 217 boards of directors, duplicate general managers, and other extravagances) would result in a



further saving of at least another ten millions per annum, thus providing *a total of about twenty millions per annum* to raise wages, reduce rates, and provide a more efficient railway service.

Apart from the enormous economies here indicated, the substitution of a State administration, always subject to a healthy public criticism in and out of Parliament, for the incompetent oligarchy at present controlling the railway system, will benefit the nation in innumerable directions. The British Consul-General in Frankfort O.M. in his report to April 30th, 1911 (Cd. 5465-166) states:—

“In Prussia the State receives a considerable surplus from the working of the railways, by which the general burden of taxation is relieved. . . . The vast organization of the German railway is almost completely controlled by a single authority, whereby it acquires a power and strength which has no counterpart in any other country. As far as the comfort of the public, the punctuality of the working, and the consideration of wishes expressed in connection with traffic arrangements are concerned, *the State Railway System has in Germany met with entire approval, and the desire for a return to private ownership is never expressed by the public.*”

In the words of the *Times* leading article (November 14th, 1910), dealing with the transfer of the Port of London from inefficient private control to that of a public authority:—

“It is fair to assume that, *having the interests of no shareholders to study*, the Port Authority will be ready to vary any particular rate which is proved to be working hardship.”

This emphasizes the principal point involved by the transfer of the railways from the present companies to the State. In short, stockholders would receive better and more stable security, workers would receive higher wages, rates would be reduced, and the community benefit by an administration working the railways in the public interest instead of for the gain of private holders.

ISSUED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn,  
Strand, London, W.C.—October, 1911.



# PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

FOR THE

## National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution

(At Caxton Hall, Westminster, June 11th to 14th, 1912).

PRESIDENT :

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

PRESIDENTS OF SECTIONS :

PUBLIC HEALTH :

SIR FRANCIS H. CHAMPNEYS, BART.

EDUCATION :

MR. CYRIL JACKSON, L.C.C.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL REGULATION :

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HON. TREASURER :

GLYNNE WILLIAMS, Esq.

**I**N response to a widely expressed desire on the part of those who attended the National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, which was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, last Whitsuntide, arrangements have been made to hold a second Conference at the same place, from June 11th to 14th, 1912. The forthcoming Conference will be organised on practically the same lines as last year, but new ground will be covered in each Section, and the range of subjects for papers and discussion will be extended to include Housing, Crime and Inebriety, and the regulation of Industrial conditions.

### LAST YEAR'S CONFERENCE.

The Conference held last summer under the Presidency of the Lord Mayor of London was far more successful than any of its organisers had ventured to hope. It was attended by 1,111 persons, of whom 550 were the formally appointed delegates of public bodies, County, Municipal and District Councils, Boards of Guardians, Scottish School Boards, etc., whilst the remainder

were delegates from voluntary and charitable organisations, or private members. Throughout the four days of the Conference the meetings of the different Sections were remarkable for the uniformly crowded attendance and the very keen interest shown in the discussions. The volume of Papers and Proceedings (796 pages, 10s. 6d. net), which was subsequently published by Messrs. P. S. King and Son, has had a wide circulation.

On the first day a public meeting attended by nearly 5,000 persons was held at the Royal Albert Hall. The Chair was taken by the Bishop of Southwark, and the following resolution, moved by Mr. A. J. Balfour and supported by Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the Chairman of the Labour Party, was carried unanimously.

**“ That this Meeting welcomes the formation of a National Conference of a non-party and non-sectional character, to promote the working of the various agencies for the Prevention of Destitution, wishes it success in its labours, and looks to its reassembling in future years as a valuable means of bringing together municipal representatives and social workers from all parts of the country.”**

#### **THE OBJECT OF THE CONFERENCE.**

The above resolution indicates the general purpose of the Conference, but this brief statement should perhaps be amplified. With each year that passes more and more duties are being thrown on Local Authorities in connection with the improvement of social conditions in various directions, and at the same time there is going on a great extension of voluntary service devoted to the same problems and working in more or less effective co-operation with the public authorities. These developments are to a great extent experimental. The methods adopted by Local Authorities for dealing with various special problems differ from district to district, and still greater variations are to be found in the matter of the enlistment and organisation of volunteer workers. Gradually the most successful methods gain ground, and thus the new administrative problems are being solved one by one as they arise by a process of natural selection. The main object of the National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution is to facilitate and hasten this process by affording an opportunity to administrators, officials and voluntary workers from all parts of the country for a free exchange of views and experiences with regard to some of the pressing questions which they are having to face.

#### **THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE.**

Such being the object it follows that the subjects to be discussed must change considerably from year to year. Thus such subjects as those of the Medical Inspection of School-children, the Care of the Feeble-minded, Labour Exchanges, the Organisation of Care Committees, and the financial relations between the Treasury and the Local Authorities, have been omitted from the programme of this year's Conference on the grounds either that they may be regarded as settled questions, or that, pending further action by Parliament, there seems little that can use-

fully be said about them beyond what was said last year. At the same time new subjects have been introduced, and particularly interesting papers and discussions are to be anticipated in connection with—

The administration of Sanatorium Benefit by Local Authorities under the Insurance Act.

The curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life.

The working of the Trades Board Act.

The prevention and treatment of Juvenile and Adult Crime.

Inebriety in relation to Destitution.

The industrial employment of young people, and

The many financial and administrative problems arising in connection with Housing Reform in town and country.

The Conference will, as last year, be divided into five Sections each having its own President and officers and its separate meetings. The detailed programmes of the different Sections are given below, but their general scope is indicated by the titles, which are as follows :—

1. Public Health.
2. Education.
3. Housing.
4. Unemployment and Industrial Regulation.
5. Crime and Inebriety.

#### **THE CONFERENCE FEE.**

The fee payable by each delegate or private member attending the Conference has been fixed at *One Guinea*, which entitles the subscriber :—

- (1) To attend any or all of the meetings of the different Sections at Caxton Hall and to take part in such social functions and visits as may be arranged.
- (2) To receive beforehand printed copies of all the papers to be read and discussed in any one selected Section (N.B. Advance copies of the papers to be read in any other Section besides the one selected will be obtainable for a small payment.)
- (3) To receive free of charge one copy of the bound volume of Proceedings which will be published (at 10/6 net) shortly after the Conference and will contain the papers and reports of the discussions in all the Sections.

In the case of any public authority or society appointing two or more delegates a reduced fee of half-a-guinea may be paid for all delegates after the first. But delegates accepted at the reduced fee will not be entitled to receive a copy of the printed volume of proceedings.

# SECTIONAL PROGRAMMES.

## PUBLIC HEALTH SECTION.

### *President—*

SIR FRANCIS H. CHAMPNEYS, BART., M.D., F.R.C.P.  
(Chairman of Central Midwives Board.)

### *Organising Committee—*

Dr. W. BUTLER, Deputy Medical Officer of Health, L.C.C.  
Dr. A. BYGOTT, Medical Officer of Health, Barking.  
Dr. A. K. CHALMERS, Medical Officer of Health, Glasgow.  
Dr. MAJOR GREENWOOD, Sec. Nat. Association of Poor Law Medical Officers.  
Mr. SOMERVILLE HASTINGS, F.R.C.S.  
Professor BOSTOCK HILL, M.D., County Medical Officer of Health, Warwickshire.  
Miss AMY HUGHES, Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute for Nurses.  
Dr. G. F. McCLEARY, Medical Officer of Health, Hampstead.  
Dr. H. MEREDITH RICHARDS, Medical Member of Insurance Commission for Wales.  
Dr. H. SCURFIELD, Medical Officer of Health, Sheffield.  
Mr. L. H. WEST, County Councils Association.

### *Honorary Secretary—*

Dr. R. A. LYSTER, County Medical Officer of Health, Hampshire.

## PROGRAMME.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.

MORNING.

**Presidential Address**, followed by discussion on  
**The Medical Treatment of Children under School Age.**

AFTERNOON.

*(Joint Meeting with the Education Section.)*  
**The Medical Treatment of School Children.**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.

MORNING.

**The Medical Treatment of the non-insured Sick (a) in Urban, (b) in Rural districts.**

AFTERNOON.

*(Joint Meeting with Section on Unemployment and Industrial Regulation.)*  
**Health Conditions in Factories and other workplaces—Underground workshops.**

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.

MORNING.

**The work of Public Health Authorities relative to the Administration of "Sanatorium Benefit."**

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with Housing Section.)*  
**The Health Value of good Housing.**

## EDUCATION SECTION.

*President—*

MR. CYRIL JACKSON, L.C.C.

*Organising Committee—*

Miss N. ADLER, London County Council.  
Mr. J. WILLIS BUND, Chairman, Worcestershire County Council.  
Mr. F. W. GOLDSTONE, M.P., National Union of Teachers.  
Mr. J. GRAHAM, Secretary for Education, Leeds.  
Mr. W. KELLAND, Middlesex County Council,  
Miss A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.  
Mr. J. W. PECK, Clerk to the Edinburgh School Board.  
Mr. W. S. SANDERS, L.C.C. Education Committee.  
Mr. F. H. SPENCER.

*Honorary Secretary—*

Mr. ARNOLD FREEMAN

### PROGRAMME.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.

MORNING.

**Presidential Address.**

AFTERNOON.

*(Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.)*

**The Medical Treatment of School Children.**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.

MORNING.

**The general Curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life.**

AFTERNOON.

**The general Curriculum of the Elementary School as a preparation for after life.**

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with the Unemployment and Industrial Regulation Section.)*

**The Industrial Employment of Juveniles—Juvenile Advisory and After-care Committees  
Continuation Schools—The Medical Certification of Juvenile Workers.**

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with the Crime and Inebriety Section.)*

**The Beginnings and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency.**

# HOUSING SECTION.

*President—*

THE RT. HON. EARL GREY.

*Organising Committee—*

Mr. F. E. FREMANTLE (*Chairman*), County Medical Officer of Health, Herts.  
Mr. H. R. ALDRIDGE, National Housing Council.  
Mr. C. E. ALLAN, Mansion House Council on Health and Housing.  
Mr. H. CARLETON, National Land and Home League.  
Mr. E. L. CHAPPELL, Swansea Valley Health and Housing Association.  
Miss C. COCHRANE, Rural Housing Association.  
Professor GEDDES.  
Mr. GREENHALGH, Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council.  
Mr. W. ST. J. HANCOCK, Welsh Housing Association.  
Mr. CECIL HARMSWORTH, M.P., Garden City Association.  
Mr. G. MONTAGU HARRIS, County Councils Association.  
Dr. HOGARTH, Mansion House Council on Health and Housing.  
Mr. FRED KNEE, Workmen's National Housing Council.  
Mr. J. JONES MORRIS, County Councils Association.  
Mr. J. NETTLEFOLD.  
Mrs. E. R. PEASE, National Land and Home League.  
Mr. R. L. REISS, Rural Co-partnership Housing Association.  
Mr. H. SHAWCROSS, National Housing Council.

*Honorary Secretaries—*

Miss A. CHURTON, Rural Housing Association.  
Mr. E. G. CULPIN, Garden Cities Association.

## PROGRAMME.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.

MORNING.

**Presidential Address.**

AFTERNOON.

**The Creation of New Towns—"Garden Cities."**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.

MORNING.

**The Growing Margins of Existing Towns—Town Planning.**

AFTERNOON.

**Rural Housing.**

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.

MORNING.

**Old Parts of Existing Towns—the Clearing of Slum Areas.**

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with the Public Health Section.)*

**The Health Value of Good Housing.**



# UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL REGULATION SECTION.

*President—*

MR. SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B.

*Organising Committee—*

Lord HENRY BENTINCK, M.P.

Dr. W. COLLINGRIDGE, Medical Officer of Health, City of London,

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

Mr. J. J. MALLON, National Anti-Sweating League.

Miss CONSTANCE SMITH.

*Honorary Secretaries—*

Mrs. DEANE STREATFEILD.

Mr. C. M. LLOYD.

## PROGRAMME.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.

MORNING.

**Presidential Address.**

AFTERNOON.

**The Trades Boards Act—Wages of Women in Industry.**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.

MORNING.

**Some Amendments to the Factory Acts. Weight Carrying—Spells of Work—Truck.**

AFTERNOON.

*(Joint Meeting with Public Health Section.)*

**Health Conditions in Factories and other Workplaces—Underground Workshops.**

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with the Education Section.)*

**The Industrial Employment of Juveniles—Juvenile Advisory Committees—Continuation Schools—The Medical Certification of Juvenile Workers.**

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.

MORNING.

**The Reduction of the Hours of Work and the Limitation of Overtime.**

# CRIME AND INEBRIETY SECTION.

*President—*

SIR JOHN MACDONELL, C.B., LL.D., M.A.  
(Master of Supreme Court.)

*Organising Committee—*

Mr. W. J. ATTWATER, Medico-Legal Society.  
Dr. W. A. BREND, Medico-Legal Society.  
Sir WILLIAM CHANCE, BART.  
Dr. T. N. KELYNACK, Society for the Study of Inebriety.  
Miss A. H. P. KIRBY, National Association for the Feeble-minded  
Mr. THOMAS HOLMES, Howard Association.  
Mr. F. JAMES, Reformatory and Refuge Union.  
Miss F. PENROSE PHILP, State Children's Association.  
Mr. C. E. B. RUSSELL.  
Mr. J. T. RAE, National Temperance League.  
The Rev. G. A. THOMPSON, Church of England Temperance Society.

*Honorary Secretary—*

Captain ARTHUR ST. JOHN, Penal Reform League.

## PROGRAMME.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11th.

MORNING.

**Presidential Address.**

AFTERNOON.

**The Juvenile Delinquent and how to make a useful Citizen of him.**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12th.

MORNING.

**The Effects of Imprisonment on the Adult Criminal—Alternatives to Imprisonment.**

AFTERNOON.

**Modifications of Prison Regime. Conditional Release and After-care.**

THURSDAY, JUNE 13th.

MORNING.

**Inebriety and Feeble-mindedness : Causal Factors and their Prevention.**

FRIDAY, JUNE 14th.

MORNING.

*(Joint Meeting with Education Section.)*

**The Beginnings and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency.**

# FABIAN SOCIETY.

## Committee of Inquiry on the Control of Industry: Memorandum by the Chairman (Mrs. Sidney Webb).

### I.

#### The Object of the Inquiry.

THE object of our inquiry, I take it, is to work out, in sufficient detail to be intelligible, the main lines on which, in the control and management of the Industry and Commerce by which the nation lives, we can combine the widest measure of personal freedom and initiative with the maximum of democratic control: the largest national product with an equalised distribution of services and commodities among the whole people.

Socialists commonly assume that this can be achieved by the "nationalisation," or at any rate the "socialisation" of "the means of production, distribution, and exchange." But this phrase is ambiguous, or at least capable of diverse and conflicting interpretations. At the present moment, in France at any rate, the Socialist world is torn asunder by rival sects; whilst in Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and even Germany, the reverberations of this controversy are already weakening the intellectual position of Socialists in their attack on "the capitalist system."

It will be convenient to recite some of the conflicting interpretations. We may pass lightly over the division between the strictly "State" Socialists and those who claim a large share of control and management for local governing bodies; seeing that both these agree in vesting ownership and control exclusively in democratically elected representative assemblies, based on geographical constituencies of local inhabitants. At the other extreme stand the French Syndicalists, claiming to be the real Socialists, who repudiate all that we mean by "political" democracy, who find no use for State or Municipality based on geographical constituencies, and who insist that—if we are to avoid the evils of "Bureaucracy" and "Wagedom" under "State Capitalism"—we must vest the entire management and control of the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange in the workers of each industry, organised in "Industrial Unions." This reaction against political democracy has gone so far that popular working-class leaders like Mr. Tom Mann go up and down the country inciting the working class to

abstain altogether from taking part in Parliamentary elections and Municipal Government. There is a considerable body of opinion which refuses to be bound by either of these Union concerned. But those of us who have advocated this attractive compromise would be puzzled to explain it to a business man; or to draft an intelligible clause stating what exactly we mean by this "equal partnership," what is to be the machinery of co-management, and why, where, and when the decision of either of the two parties is to be finally binding on the other. Again, many of those who consider themselves Socialists denounce any type of "Collectivist" management—that is, management by the representatives of masses of men—and they hanker after the free "self-governing workshops" actually set up in France by Louis Blanc and in England by the Christian Socialists. Such persons seem to contemplate that (in whomsoever the "ownership" of the "means of production" may be vested) the whole management of each industrial establishment, and the whole product of its work, shall belong—not to the Trade Union or the Industrial Union, not to the State or the Municipality, or to any combination of these—but to the workers in that particular factory, workshop, or mine. We actually see this system of the Control of Industry at work in various existing examples, at home and abroad, in the much advertised experiments in "Co-operative Production" (Association of Producers). And closely allied to the believers in the "Self-governing Workshop" are those adherents of the present forms of legal ownership who advocate the gradual transformation of the capitalist system by the spread of schemes of Profit-sharing, and "Industrial Co-partnership" between labour and capital. In a combination of these self-governing workshops and co-partnerships, with an indefinite multiplication of small holdings and small masters, we have Mr. Hilaire Belloc's "Proprietary State." Thus, by almost insensible steps, we find ourselves sliding, from a consideration of Socialist alternatives to the Capitalist State, to a criticism of Conservative alternatives to Socialist proposals!

Another variant of the Socialist formula is Production for Use instead of Production for Exchange, or (as Robert Owen put it) the elimination from society of "Profit on price." This, it is clear, is inconsistent with the organisation of industry exclusively on the basis of Associations of Producers, which must, for the most part, produce for exchange and (if they are to get for themselves the whole of their joint produce) will retain for themselves those advantages of superior sites and soils, of the employment of machinery, and of exceptional managerial ability, which now go to the Landlord and Capitalist entrepreneurs in the form of rent, interest, and profits. The Socialist formula of "Production for Use" means either individual production for family consumption; or else production under the management and for the use of Associations of Consumers. We see this at work in the great Co-operative Movement of Great Britain, with its factories and farms, its ships and tea plantations, all based on the Democracy of the Distributive Store and the Wholesale Society. The Socialists of Belgium, Germany and France make great use both of this idea and of the extensive Co-operative Societies to which it has given rise. And it may be urged that under any organisation of society there will have to be "freedom of association" for voluntary groups of citizens, who desire to organise, for their own use and enjoyment, the production and distribution of such commodities and services as they may wish thus to procure. This kind of voluntary association achieves considerable results, not merely in what is usually styled Co-operation but also in such forms as Friendly or "Mutual Aid" Societies, the societies of "Tenant Co-operators" and "Garden Cities," and Communistic Communities—not to mention social clubs, the various "Stage Societies," literary, musical and scientific societies,

extreme doctrines, and which seeks some "equal partnership," in the management and control of each industry, between the Democratic State or Municipality and the Trade religious communities and "Free Churches." Moreover, is there to be no place for "the individual producer," whether author, painter, sculptor, artistic craftsman, musician, inventor, teacher or agriculturist; and what will be his position in the community of to-morrow?

Thus, if our inquiry is to clear up what we mean by our formulas its scope must necessarily be wide. The task is a big one requiring both work and money. But it seems worth doing. Vivid descriptions and eloquent abuse of the present state of society are played out. The existing chaos and disorder among Socialists, whenever we are asked for constructive proposals, together with our apparent inability to state, with any degree of unanimity or precision, what we are asking for with regard to the future organisation of industry and commerce, will lose us our hold on the younger intellectuals. This it is which is enabling fervent apostles of anarchic impulse and catastrophic revolution to capture the excitable and energetic, and to disgust the slow and sensible members of the lower middle and working classes. The Socialist Party has aroused great expectations as to the construction of a New Social Order. Unless we can meet these expectations by carefully drafted and tested specifications, we shall be adjudged, by the rising generation of thinkers and workers, intellectually bankrupt. A sanely constructive report on "The Control of Industry in the State of to-morrow" might be of use, not merely to the members of the Fabian Society but also to the International Socialist Movement.

## II.

### Conditions of the Problem.

We have to clear up our minds as to what sort or sorts of industrial and commercial organisation we want to bring into being. But we have also to prove, to a sceptical world, that these ideals are not only desirable but also feasible. We are not devising an Utopia, for which we are free to indulge in the widest speculations; but attempting to discover the broad lines on which the English people, as we know them, can achieve the most effective form of Industrial Democracy. If we are to escape disastrous reactions, it is clear that, in our projects, we must not ignore what actually happens when human beings are associated in this or that way. Part of the reaction against this or that form of State or Municipal ownership or management, which we see in the French Syndicalists, and to a lesser extent in the younger generation of English Socialists, may be ascribed to the failure of Socialist thinkers and reformers to foresee and provide against some of the incidental results of the highly centralised political Democracy of France, and the general unwillingness of the Socialists of the last generation to realise the permanent function of Trade Unions and Professional Associations. Part of the periodical relapse into non-Unionism and apathy which occurs in England after an era of unsuccessful strikes has been due to an attempt to achieve, by one method of Trade Unionism, more than that method is capable of performing. We ought, therefore, to inquire how the various forms of associations, and the various methods of action, now advocated as alternatives to "the Capitalist State," are actually found in practice to work; to which particular branches each of them seems to be best suited, and how they may, all or any of them, be made to secure either more efficiency or a more complete popular control.

### III.

#### Methods of Inquiry.

According to the practice of the Fabian Society, the Executive Committee has thrown open the Committee of Enquiry to all the members of the Society, and has, by special circular, invited them to join in the work. We shall therefore have, in all probability, an unusually large Committee. This has the advantages of interesting a large number of members in the Inquiry, of providing education for us all, and of ensuring that our report will have been discussed in detail by persons actually studying the subject before submission to the general meeting of members. It ought also to bring in both special subscriptions for expenses and clever and well-informed workers in the task of investigation. But so large a membership of a Committee of Inquiry brings obvious difficulties of its own. I suggest that it compels us (*a*) to divide up into Sub-Committees; and (*b*) to adopt a systematic and uniform method of investigation.

To take first the latter point. We ought, I suggest, to call in aid all the three available instruments of inquiry—namely, the evidence of witnesses, the collection and analysis of documents and statistics, and personal observation of the working of voluntary associations and Government Departments. The difficulty is how to secure that we all of us get full value out of the information thus collected. Unless what is discovered is to remain hidden in the minds of the several members of the Committee, we must agree to put all the items on paper, as soon as learnt, according to some carefully devised plan of analytic note-taking, so that the notes are accessible to all of us, and available for drafting the ultimate report. My husband and I, in our twenty years of investigation, have found it fatal to use note *books* and absolutely essential, if you are collaborating with other people, to adopt *some uniform plan of note taking*. The notes must all be taken on separate sheets of paper of uniform size and shape. (This paper had better be supplied to all those who undertake pieces of work.) Each sheet must be devoted to a single fact, a single characteristic, or a single other observation, duly authenticated by exact particulars of date, locality, and source. There must be, for everyone, a uniform classification by heads and sub-heads, although these will be constantly added to as suggestions for new ones are sent in (such, for instance, as the industry, the particular section of the craft, the organisation, the sex, age or stature of the persons concerned, the psychological intention, the cause of failure, or the grievance to be remedied). These sheets can ultimately be shuffled and re-shuffled into various orders, according as it is desired to consider the recorded facts in their distribution in time or space, or their coincidence with other circumstances. Our own experience is that only by some such “breaking up” of the problem, and some such elaborate collection and registration of facts, can any new truth be arrived at.

To lessen the mechanical work it might be desirable to get rubber stamps for such of the headings as continually recur; and volunteers might be found to stamp a supply of paper for investigators. This method of note-taking is easily learnt, and I will undertake to teach any member of the Committee how to use it in a quarter of an hour.

We must, it is clear, divide up the work. We should, I think, adopt the three Sub-Committees suggested by the Executive, viz. :—

1. Associations of Wage-Earners—that is to say, (*a*) Syndicalism; (*b*) Trade Unionism.

2. Associations of Producers—that is to say, (a) Self-governing Workshops ; (b) Profit-sharing and “ Industrial Co-partnership.”
3. Associations of Consumers—that is to say, (a) the Co-operative Store and Wholesale Society ; (b) the Public Service of the Municipality and the State.

Naturally, the work of these three Sub-Committees will, at points, infringe on each other, or even overlap ; but I do not see how this can be quite avoided. I add some preliminary suggestions as to the character of the work, and as to the scheme of classification that might be adopted by each Sub-Committee.

#### IV.

### Sub-Committee on Associations of Wage-Earners.

The work of this Sub-Committee seems to resolve itself into an investigation into the theory and practice of two distinct types of Associations of Wage-Earners, organised by trades, industries or professions. These can be conveniently distinguished as Syndicalism and Trade Unionism respectively. By Syndicalism I mean such professional associations of manual wage-earners or of salaried brain workers as have for their declared purpose the expropriation of the capitalist employer and the forcible taking over of the instruments of production by the persons now working as employees. By Trade Unionism I mean such professional associations of wage-earners or salaried brain workers as limit their aim to the improvement of the conditions of their employment by the methods usual to British Trade Unionism—namely, mutual insurance, collective bargaining (including the strike), and legal enactment. This classification, according to the ultimate aim, adjusts itself to current controversies, and coincides with that adopted by all continental writers under the terms “ revolutionary ” and “ reformist ” Trade Unionism (or Syndicalism) respectively.

The Sub-Committee will hardly need to make a new inquiry into the theory and practice of Trade Unionism (as defined above). The past and present constitution of British and Continental trade unions, the methods and regulations by which they have attempted to secure better conditions of employment have been adequately described in many works, of which our own *History of Trade Unionism* and *Industrial Democracy* are but examples. Taking the information given in these works as the basis, we have to discover how far and in what way the new Syndicalist organisations and the new Syndicalist missionaries propose to alter the theory and practice which have been developed during the last century by trade union organisations. Take, for instance, the question now agitating the South Wales coal miners, and one of great importance from the standpoint of power of survival, of local autonomy *versus* centralised administration in each Union, and the relation of this to local finance and centralised finance—an issue which often means the difference between solvency and bankruptcy. Consider the basis of organisation ; whether, for instance, a given organisation is best restricted to men of a particular craft throughout the whole country (such as the Patternmakers) in whatever industry they may be employed, or whether the organisation had better include all persons of whatever grade engaged in a given industry. I believe that the building trades are now balloting on this very question. We shall find that there has been much instructive

experience on this point. Or take again the question of Federation versus Amalgamation, and the position within an amalgamated union of small bodies of highly skilled and highly paid men. The experience of such bodies as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, on the one hand, and the very successful Federation of Cotton Operatives on the other, may be full of instruction on this point. The peculiar method of representation actually practised by the Syndicalist "Confédération Générale du Travail" (one delegate for each association, however small and new it may be) is in striking contrast with that of the British Trade Union Congress (each delegate voting by card and casting the vote of the total number of persons he represents). This difference in electoral policy is said by the rival advocates to result in "reckless militancy" and "sheep-like docility" respectively. We ought to inquire how far each of these methods, or any alternative to them, secures the consciousness of consent of those who are assumed to be represented. Such questions of constitution, involving either the rule of a recklessly "militant" minority or the rule of the majority of "incompetent voters," important in the case of Trade Unions having the limited aim of improving the conditions of employment, may be absolutely vital for the successful conduct of "the Social Revolution"; or, on the other hand, might produce strange results as a possible basis of representation for the administration of great national industries, such as the railways, the mines, the banking system and the export trade. But we need not spend too much time in considering the future Syndicalist community: what is important to us are the Syndicalist proposals for to-morrow. Before we can get any clear opinion on Syndicalism as a rival to Trade Unionism we must understand how far, and exactly in what way, the new Syndicalist organisation and the new Syndicalist missionaries propose here and now to abandon, to alter or to supersede the old methods of Trade Unionism, such as mutual insurance, collective bargaining, and legal enactment; and exactly how they intend to proceed with their own peculiar and exclusive methods—the General Expropriating Strike, "Sabotage," and complete abstention from Parliamentary and Municipal affairs?

There is said to be also an organised attempt by Syndicalist leaders, at any rate in France and Italy, to induce the manual workers in some of the great public services, such as the Post Office and the State Railways, to study for themselves the technique of administration, with the double object of promoting economy and increasing efficiency in the existing enterprise, and of training themselves for the work of management through foremen elected by themselves. Nor must we omit to inquire what has been the value, tested even by the aims of ordinary Trade Unions, of the emotional fervour and stoic endurance generated by the Syndicalist faith in what Sorel terms "the Myth of the General Strike"? How much must we attribute to Mr. Tom Mann's revivalist Evangel of the remarkable accession of members obtained by nearly all Trade Unions during the last eighteen months?

To this Sub-Committee will fall also the task of discovering how far it is practicable, in any given industry, to associate the Trade Union or Trade Unions concerned with the official management, and to what departments of the business this co-management can be applied. In this part of our Inquiry we shall probably have to consult, not only with Civil Servants, municipal officials and managers of Co-operative Stores and Wholesale Societies, but also with the "captains of industry" who are still in the service of private enterprise.

Among the heads and sub-heads to be used in note-taking by this Sub-Committee, I suggest the following:—Rotation of Office, Mass Meeting, Delegates' Mandate, Election of all Officials, Referendum, Initiative, Recall, Representative assemblies, Salaried Officials, Difficulties of Amalgamation, Federation,



Standard Rates, Normal Day, Sanitation and Safety, Continuity of Employment, Workshop Committees, Joint Boards, Equality of Remuneration, General Political Strike, General Trades Strike, General Expropriating Strike, Agreements with Employers, Compulsory Arbitration, Legal Regulation, Political Creeds, Relation to Political Democracy, Relation to Government Officials, Discipline, Relation to Municipal Government, Relation to Consumers' Co-operation, Advantages of Direct Action, Increase of Membership. (permanent or temporary), Administration of Industry in a Syndicalist Community, &c., &c.

## V.

### Sub-Committee on Associations of Producers.

These Associations are distinguished from Associations of Wage-Earners, whether of the Syndicalist or of the Trade Union type, by the fact that they constitute an attempt here and now, without any reconstruction of society or alteration in the legal ownership of property, to merge the interests of the wage-earner and the owner of the instruments of production in one Co-operative association, with one undivided interest, and one undivided management. The constitutions of these bodies, both in the past and in the present, are extraordinarily varied, indefinite and changing. But, broadly speaking, they may be divided into two main types—establishments which originate with the wage-earners, commonly known as “self-governing workshops,” and establishments which have been started by Capitalist entrepreneurs, as a way of managing their own businesses, commonly called schemes of “Profit-sharing,” and sometimes “Industrial Co-partnership.” This fundamental distinction has been clearly set forth by Mr. D. F. Schloss, the Board of Trade expert, in his classic work, *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*.

“The perfect type—Industrial Co-operation—is essentially a working-class ideal. To put the matter briefly, the main ideas underlying Industrial Co-operation are—

- “ (1) that the employer is an unnecessary encumbrance ;
- “ (2) that control ought to rest with the workers ;
- “ (3) that the receipt of wages is inconsistent with the dignity of labour ;
- “ (4) that the exclusion of the workers from participation in profits is a flagrant injustice ; and
- “ (5) that, if the workers can get into their own hands the profits of the business, their financial position will be quite enormously improved.

“Industrial Co-operation proposes that the working classes shall seek salvation by eliminating from commerce and manufacture the interference of the superfluous middle classes. Profit-sharing, on the other hand, is a device adopted by middle-class employers—men who have not the smallest intention of ceding the government of their business into the hands of their employees, and who entertain the firm conviction that the class to which they belong is anything but superfluous—mainly because these employers consider that the prosperity of the undertakings which they manage will be promoted by allowing their employees to participate in their profits.”

The Government has on hand an elaborate inquiry (by Mr. D. F. Schloss) into all schemes of Capitalist Profit-sharing and Industrial Co-partnership ; and we may expect the Board of Trade Report within the next few months. Hence, it would seem advisable

to leave over this part of the investigation until we have before us all the official information on the subject. I should, therefore, propose that the Sub-Committee on Associations of Producers should begin by a careful investigation into all cases of Associations of Producers which have originated with the wage-earners concerned, say, during the last fifty years. As a matter of convenience it is wise to start with some sort of provisional classification, and I suggest the adoption of the classification, to be found in the *Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, of all the Associations of Producers which existed in 1889, the date of my investigation.

Class I.—Associations of workers formed on the Christian Socialist model, owning the instruments of production and selecting the committee of management from among their own numbers, and employing members only.

Class II.—Associations of workers of like character, which have bound themselves over to, or had imposed upon them, an irremovable governor or irremovable committee-men.

Class III.—Associations of workers governing themselves, but employing outside labour—practically groups of small masters.

Class IV.—Societies in which outside shareholders and Co-operative Stores supply the bulk of the capital, but in which the workers are encouraged or obliged to take shares, although they are disqualified from acting on the committee of management.

To these four classes I should add—

Class V.—An establishment in which both the control and the profits are vested in the Trade Union.

No such establishment was existing in 1890 when I published *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*. All those that had been started by Trade Unions had ceased to exist. I do not know whether any exist in England at the present time. But we have the case of the Glass Blowers' Workshops started by the Italian Syndicalist Glass Blowers' Union, after the failure of a recent general strike. There may be other cases on the Continent, and these should be carefully inquired into. The investigation of any such experiments will bring this Sub-Committee very near to the Sub-Committee dealing with Syndicalism. But I have placed this subject within the sphere of the Sub-Committee dealing with Associations of Producers, partly because these Associations are established within the present capitalist and competitive system of production, and partly because all the facts relating to the past Trade Union Workshops in England will be found described in works on Co-operative Production and Industrial Co-partnership. But there is no reason why the two Sub-Committees should not exchange information on this subject, and we can leave to the end of our inquiry the consideration whether we ought to include the report of these Trade Union Workshops in the chapter on Associations of Wage-Earners or the chapter on Associations of Producers.

For the use of investigators I suggest the following sub-heads under which information should be collected according to the proposed plan of note-taking :

Origin, History, Constitution, Dissolution, Capital, Interest, Profit, Rent, Markets, Relation to Trade Unions, Relation to Legal Regulations, Relation to New Processes, Membership, Directors or Committeemen, General Manager, Foremen, Buyers, Salesmen, Members' Meetings, Audit, Publication of Accounts, Manual Workers. As the effect on the manual workers is perhaps the most important part of our Inquiry, this part of the investigation should be done with great detail. Hence, this sub-head will have to be broken up by the following additions, each dealt with on a separate piece of paper, as if they were separate sub-heads :—

Number of, Sex and Age, Selection of, Dismissal of, Methods of Remuneration, Grades of Skill, Wages, Hours of Work, Social Life, Standard of Effort, Workshop Discipline, Actual Participation in Government of Concern, etc. I do not know whether clerks and cashiers ought to be included in manual workers or dealt with separately as in the case of buyers and salesmen.

Other sub-heads will suggest themselves to individual investigators. It is, however, desirable that the same sub-heads should be used by different investigators, otherwise it is difficult for the Committee to handle the material.

## VI.

### Associations of Consumers.

Under this head I place two forms of the Control of Industry which, though they have certain common features, are strikingly different in their outward form. The Store, the Wholesale Society, the Social Club, and the society of Tenant Co-operators, are all governed by Committees of Management elected by adult suffrage, by and from the whole body of persons who will actually use the commodities or services produced. In the same way all departments of the Central Government or of local authorities are under the direction of a Parliament or Council, elected according to our parliamentary or municipal suffrage, by the citizen consumers. But here the likeness stops. The fact that every inhabitant must be a contributing member of the National or Local Government, and the fact that these Departments have behind them the whole force of the State, is a radical distinction. This distinction is so complete that it would seem better (should the number of our members permit it) that this Sub-Committee should divide itself into two Sub-Committees dealing respectively with Voluntary Associations of Consumers and Government enterprise.

## VII.

### Sub-Committee on Consumers' Societies.

The Inquiry into the facts of the Stores, the Wholesale Societies and other Federations, as well as into social clubs, will probably need to be less detailed than that into the very limited number of Associations of Producers. We cannot, however, avoid taking the examples one by one, even if we only take a few of them, because for the sake of accuracy and definiteness, it is usually better that the facts should relate to some particular establishment. Some of these facts, however, will be similar in all establishments, or at any rate can be better obtained through central organisations, such as the Co-operative Union of Great Britain, than through particular societies. Facts, for instance, as the method of distributing profits, the actual interest paid on capital, the amount of rent actually paid by the Stores and the Wholesale Societies, can be got from statistical tables. The same is true with regard to such details as members' meetings, the election of Committees, audit, publicity, etc. But there are differences between Co-operative Societies, with regard to the relation of each establishment to its employees and to the Trade Union of employees, as well as with regard to the social life afforded to the employees and to the members respectively. The Women's Group might perhaps contribute to our Inquiry a careful investigation into the part actually taken by the women members in the management and in the choice of commodities respectively.

Other subjects become important in this type of organisation, such as the prices charged to members relatively to the prices of capitalist retail trade ; evidence as to honesty, ability or corruption of committee-men, managers, and buyers ; the use of Conferences and Congresses for developing both social life and technical management, and the value of the Co-operative Society as a Savings Bank. It is also desirable to ascertain how far the Stores and the Wholesale Societies and the other Federations deal with non-members, and in what direction their productive enterprises seem to be most fruitful. The political action of Co-operators, as well as their economic power in preventing the growth of capitalist trusts, should also be considered. Here our foreign inquiries will be of special importance. Co-operation takes different forms in different countries, and we ought to learn much as to banking and individual production from France, Germany, and Italy. Moreover, in these countries, and especially in Belgium, the relationship between the Co-operative Societies and the Socialist Movement is exceptionally intimate. Finally, we must consider the limitations that appear to be set to the extension of this form of the Control of Industry by its very nature (*e.g.*, its inability to cope with the Export Trade).

For convenience in note-taking these Voluntary Associations of Consumers had better be grouped in the following classes :—

Class I.—Retail Distributive Stores, together with their productive departments.

Class II.—Federations of Stores, whether for buying, manufacturing, or banking, etc.

Class III.—Social clubs and recreative and educational associations (*e.g.*, in their provision of food, drink, amusement, books, etc.).

Class IV.—Building and Housing Associations.

Class V.—Co-operative Banks and Credit Associations.

It is a question whether we should not exclude from our Inquiry, and leave entirely to that on Land and Rural Problems, any consideration of Agricultural Co-operation (including Creameries).

It would logically be possible to include here the work of Friendly Societies and Scientific and Educational associations, as well as the Free Churches ; but in all these organisations, we are passing out of the ordinary meaning of the control of industry. Any details about these non-industrial forms of associations of consumers would be welcome, if they were relevant to the position of their employees.

As heading and sub-headings for this Sub-Committee I suggest the following—Capital, Interest, Rent, Profit or loss, Sales, Prices, Method of sharing profit or surplus, Members' meeting, Election of committees, Audit, Publicity, Position of employees, Relation to trade union, Relation to federations, Secret commissions, Corruption, Favouritism, Disqualification of employees for election, Non-members, Manager, Buyer, Foreman, Congress, Conferences, Technical improvements, Timidity or boldness of enterprise, Social life, Educational productive enterprise, Foreign imports, etc.

## VIII.

### Sub-Committee on Public Services.

This ought really to be an investigation into the success or failure of Government enterprise as compared with private enterprise. We may as well marshal such facts as we can obtain as to technical efficiency in particular departments of Municipal and State enterprise in industry. We can inquire how far we have by these means “nationalised” rent, profits and interest. But the main object of the Inquiry will be to

discover in what way Government enterprise differs from the capitalist system in securing for its wage-earners better or worse conditions of employment, higher or lower personal dignity and independence, and more or less liberty or security. If these differ according to grades, it will be a question how they could be equalised. On the other hand, there is the accusation of the "Government Stroke" among the manual workers, and of "Potterers' Rot" among the clerks; together with that of a lack of interest in either the economy or the efficiency of the service. Most of the facts which will have to be elaborately investigated in the Inquiry into Associations of Producers, such as those relating to capital or division of profits, or constitution of Governing body, can be taken for granted in municipal and national enterprise; on the other hand, there will be a whole range of new facts with regard to the requirements of official discipline, the conditions of promotion within the service from one grade to another, and from one department to another, the amount of pressure that can be brought to bear through Parliament or the Press (and with what results, good and bad, this is actually used); how any injurious pressure of this sort can be neutralised (*e.g.*, the Segregated Vote), and the measure of democratic control over principles and details of administration exercised by Political Democracy, and what are the possibilities of Co-partnership with the Trade Union or professional association, either (*a*) to protect individual workers from tyranny, or (*b*) to maintain a high Standard of Life, or (*c*) to settle in joint consultation the existing or proposed new workshop conditions or technical processes?

Governmental enterprise may be conveniently divided into three main classes:—

Class I.—Departments of the National Government under Parliamentary control.

Class II.—Departments of directly elected Local Authorities.

Class III.—Departments of indirectly elected or nominated Public Authorities.

As headings and sub-headings for note-taking with regard to Government enterprise I suggest—  
Character of enterprise, Technical efficiency, Economy or extravagance, Profit or loss, Natural monopoly, Legal monopoly, Competition with private enterprise, Competition among public services, Position of employees, Relation to trade union, Relation to factory legislation, Special privileges of employees, Disabilities of employees, Conditions of employment in comparison with private enterprise, Appointment, Dismissal, Corruption, Favouritism, Jobbery in appointments, Political interference, Use of foreign products, etc., etc.

## IX.

### Capitalist Enterprise.

It will be seen that the task of our Committee, which is certainly extensive enough, relates to the suggested alternatives to Capitalist Enterprise in the Control of Industry. It might be said that we ought also to investigate the present system. This, in a sense, is true. But we may assume that the critical analysis of industry under "free competition" has been sufficiently made. What is more relevant is the working of the present "mixed" system of control under which so much of British industry stands. The growth of Trade Unionism, on the one hand, and of such State regulation as the Factory and Mines Acts on the other, has produced, in certain industries, what has been called a "Triple Control." As to this we have already a voluminous literature; and the Fabian Society, in particular, has formulated, in its Theory of the National Minimum, a far-reaching intellectual basis for the practical proposals under this head. In fact, this Theory of the National Minimum Standard of Civilised Life, to be universally enforced

throughout the community, may be said to have already passed out of the theoretical and investigating stage into that of practical propaganda and detailed reforms.

What, however, will be essential to our Inquiry, and that in all the Sub-Committees, will be the bearing of the ascertained experience of Trade Union regulations and Factory Legislation on the Control of Industry by the State, the Municipality or the Co-operative Society. In particular we ought to trace the early beginnings of Joint Control, as, for instance, in Printers' Chapels and Workshop Committees; in Collective Agreements and Joint Boards, of one sort or another; and in such recent developments as the Joint Committees with the Municipality or the Government Department.

We ought to note, also, the effects of Collective Control, not merely as regards the conditions of the workers, but as regards prices and profits, in leading to Public Ownership. It has been alleged that the conditions successively imposed on Gas, Water, and Electricity Companies, for the protection of the consumer, have the result that we "fall between two stools"—getting neither the advantage of capitalist initiative and administrative efficiency, nor yet the security of public ownership. How far has this dilemma led to the transfer to public ownership?

We need not, perhaps, have a separate Sub-Committee to deal with the investigation of these points. I hope that all the Sub-Committees will bear them in mind; and deal with any information they discover under the special head of "Capitalist Enterprise."

## X.

### Expenses of the Inquiry.

I hope that we may rely upon the members of the Committee for practically all the work of investigation and collection of facts. We can foresee that there will be work of all sorts, from merely addressing envelopes and stamping paper to visiting local establishments all over the Kingdom, analysis of reports and books, the compilation of statistics, and even foreign travel. But, however zealous our own members may be, and whatever local help we may get from the various Fabian Societies and Groups, it is clear that a Committee of this kind must incur expenses. As some guide, I may say that the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, notwithstanding much voluntary assistance, and in spite of having available all the official evidence, cost its authors, in out-of-pocket expenses alone, over £800—some of which, by the way, was generously subscribed by members of the Fabian Society. Indeed, in more ways than one, the Minority Report was the work of the Fabian Society, although it was impossible to give the Society the credit of it. In the present case the work will be done, and the Report published, in the name of the Society. I suggest, therefore, that we should appeal, not only to all the members of the Fabian Society, but also to others who may be in sympathy, for special donations. We ought, I think, to ask for a guarantee fund of £1,000, to be called up if and as required.

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# THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

3 CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND,  
LONDON, W.C.

September, 1912.

TO THE MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

We are directed by the Executive Committee to appeal to you to consider whether you cannot during the ensuing year increase the work that you have lately been doing in connection with, or as an outcome of, your membership of the Fabian Society.

Complaints are made from time to time by some of the members of the Society that no opportunity is afforded to them of "doing any work for Socialism," and also by other members, who are themselves busied in the Society's task, that so many are contented with a merely "passive" membership. In such a matter it is, and must be, part of a member's work to find his own line of work for himself; and the Executive Committee gladly recognize the zeal, assiduity and success with which many members take an active part in the manifold work which the Society, by its extensive and widespread membership, is thus able to perform.

There are, it seems, members of the Society who seldom take any more active part in its varied activities than listening to some of its fortnightly lectures, reading FABIAN NEWS and the Tracts posted to them, and perhaps occasionally making use of the library of 6,000 volumes that "The Members' Bookshelf" places gratuitously at their disposal. Many such members are already actively engaged in public work of one kind or another, serving on councils or committees, or fulfilling similar duties of a public nature, and they have no more time to spare. But the Executive Committee believe that there are others who would willingly exchange "passive" for "active" membership if suitable opportunities were pointed out to them. In response to such appeals the Executive Committee place before the members the following *Program of Work* for the ensuing year—a program in which personal propaganda, individual and group study, investigation and research, and active political work are combined. Members are invited to communicate with the Organizing Secretary as to the kind of service that they are prepared to render.

## The Autumn Campaign for 1912.

“WAR AGAINST POVERTY.” TO DEMAND LEGISLATION NEXT SESSION FOR A NATIONAL MINIMUM OF CIVILIZED LIFE.

Foremost among the opportunities for work during the ensuing season must be named the Special Autumn Campaign which is being organized by the Standing Committee of the F.S. and I.L.P., with the definite object of obtaining “legislation next session” on some or all of the immediately practicable “seven points,” viz. (i) the Legal Minimum Wage, (ii) the Reduction of Hours of Labor, (iii) Complete Provision Against Sickness, (iv) a National Minimum of Child Nurture, (v) the Prevention of Unemployment, (vi) Healthy Homes for All, and (vii) the Abolition of the Poor Law.

This campaign, to be opened at Newport during the Trade Union Congress, will include (a) a National Conference of Delegates in London and a Demonstration at the Albert Hall on October 11th, (b) conferences of delegates of working class organizations of all kinds in provincial towns, (c) lectures to all sorts of organizations and meetings all over the kingdom, (d) resolutions, petitions, lobbyings, deputations, etc., (e) the organized use of the newspaper press, and (f) the special circulation of appropriate literature. To make this campaign successful much additional help is required, practically all over Great Britain. Members (wherever residing) who wish to know how their services can be utilized are urged to communicate at once with the Organizing Secretary.

### Committees of Enquiry.

#### A.—AT THE HEAD OFFICE.

With the view of discovering what there may be of value in certain non-Fabian standpoints, and of formulating our own ideas on the subjects, it is proposed, during the ensuing season, to conduct two Committees of Enquiry, one on “The Control of Industry,” and the other on “Land Problems and Rural Development.”

The Committee on the Control of Industry, which will be presided over by Mrs. Sidney Webb, will, probably by separate sub-committees, enquire into (a) Syndicalism; (b) Self-Governing Workshops and Industrial Co-partnership; and (c) Co-operation by Consumers (whether in the Store and its factories, the Club or the Municipality).

Among those who have already signified their willingness to take part in this Committee are Clifford Allen, Miss Atkinson, Hubert Bland, Emil Davies, H. Gillespie, J. Spencer Hill, G. Lansbury, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mrs. Reeves, H. H. Schloesser, Mrs. Bernard Shaw, H. Snell, Clifford Sharp, Sidney Webb and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

The Committee on “Land Problems and Rural Development,” which will be presided over by H. D. Harben, will enquire into the position and prospects of the English country side, both from the standpoint of production (large or small farms, tenancy and



ownership, arable and pasture farming, development of minor products, etc.), and also from the standpoint of the life of the rural citizen (how to secure a reasonable standard not only of subsistence but also of civilization for the cultivator).

Among those who have already signified their willingness to take part in this enquiry are Hugh Aronson, R. A. Bray, H. D. Harben, C. M. Lloyd and Mrs. Pease.

Members willing to take part in either of these enquiries are invited to write to the Secretary before Sept. 15th next, stating which of the two Committees they wish to join. It is intended that the Committees should not merely discuss, but actually seek to discover, and members volunteering must therefore be prepared to undertake a share of the work in one form or another. It is proposed (a) that select bibliographies should be prepared and the principal published sources of information should be consulted; (b) that expert exponents of the several movements should be invited to attend and talk them over with the Committee; (c) that (with the help of local Fabian Societies, etc.) enquiry should be made into, and perhaps visits paid to, particular examples and experiments, in order to realize the spirit which inspires them, the measure of success which they have attained, and their shortcomings or limitations. In order to enable each Committee to work together with any fruitfulness, it will be necessary for all its members to read (or to re-read) some easily accessible book (to be decided upon) so that all may start with a common acquaintance with what is known on the subject. Some members may be able, in addition, to undertake personal investigations in particular directions, or to undertake the reading and summarizing of particular reports or not easily accessible books, or to help in the necessary clerical work, or otherwise contribute their quota.

At the end of the enquiry, each Committee should, perhaps by arrangement among its several members, endeavor to prepare a report, for consideration and adoption by the Committee, for communication to the Society, and possibly for publication.

#### B.—BY LOCAL FABIAN SOCIETIES.

It is suggested that members of Local Fabian Societies should consider whether their own Society might not usefully undertake a similar enquiry, either independently into some subject of local importance (such as housing; boy and girl labor; the extent to which the Public Health, Children, Factory and Workshop, Shop Hours and other Acts are being locally enforced; how the Poor Law and the Education Acts are being locally administered), or into one of the two subjects of national scope to be dealt with by the Committees in London, for which they could act as local investigators and correspondents. The appointment of such a local committee of enquiry might well be considered at the next meeting of each Fabian Society.

#### C.—BY GROUPS.

The Women's Group calls for more workers in connection with the enquiries it has in hand with regard to Women's Wages, the extent to which women workers support dependants; and other subjects.

## Contesting Local Elections.

One obvious duty of every Socialist is active participation in local elections. The ensuing year will see an exceptional number of such elections, many of them of kinds that are usually neglected. Parliamentary bye-elections always get more than enough attention, but the various other contests, in which active citizenship is equally called for, and which offer excellent opportunity both for Socialist propaganda and Socialist administration, often go by default without even a contest. This is especially true of Rural and Urban District Council elections, which occur at different dates in different places. In England and Wales there will be, in 1912-3, the following elections:—

Town Council and Metropolitan Borough Council elections on November 1st, 1912.

Parish Council elections in March, 1913.

County Council elections in first week of March, 1913.

The Metropolitan Boards of Guardians elections in May, 1913.

Urban District Council, Rural District Council, and Board of Guardians elections (outside London), of which a large majority take place in May, 1913.

Local Groups and Fabian Societies ought at once to consider what action can be taken with regard to these forthcoming contests, action which can best be taken through the local Labor Party or Labor Representation Committee, to which (where such bodies exist) all local Groups and Societies are recommended to belong.

London members are particularly urged to consider, at once, how they can take effective action to get more Labor and Socialist members, men or women, elected, not only to the London County Council, but also to the Metropolitan Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians. Unless vigorous steps are promptly taken in each locality a large number of the 200 separate ward elections for the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and a still larger number of the 200 separate ward elections for the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians *will not be fought at all!* This can be dealt with only by local effort. We should like to see one or more members of the Fabian Society or other Labor or Socialist organizations, as candidates in every one of the 200 wards into which London is, for these two elections, divided. Those members who cannot themselves become candidates may find ample work during October and April in the election campaigns. Particulars as to qualification, how to proceed to get up a contest, method of nomination, cost of the election, etc., will be supplied by the Organizing Secretary on application.

## Service on Local Insurance Committees.

A new opening for personal service has arisen, for both men and women, in connection with the Insurance Act. The Local Insurance Committees and their district sub-committees will exercise important public functions; and it is, moreover, essential that the working of the Act should be watched and studied. Members are urged to seize every opportunity of getting appointed to these new bodies, for which, in the aggregate, over ten thousand persons will be required.

## Individual Study.

Members of the Fabian Society ought, it may be suggested, to feel a special responsibility for making themselves acquainted with every issue of social or economic interest that comes up, in order that they may be in a position, not only to have sound opinions themselves, but also to be able to influence those with whom they come in contact. With this object there is organized "The Members' Bookshelf," which places the best books on all such subjects at the disposal of individual members free of charge. Local Fabian Societies and Groups do not at all adequately avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Fabian Book Boxes. The now extensive series of the Society's publications, more than one hundred of which are now on sale, provides instruction in succinct form and extensive suggestions for further reading on nearly every subject that rises into current interest. The Secretary—calling to his aid the best expert authorities on each enquiry—is at all times ready to answer questions (including law and public administration) and to furnish carefully selected lists of books. A small trust fund is available out of which members residing in or near London, who wish to pursue systematic University Courses in Economics and Political Science, but who are unable to pay the fees, may privately obtain pecuniary assistance towards this expense.

## Distribution of the Society's Publications.

The coming autumn will see a period of great activity in this department of our work. As has already been announced, a "Biographical Series" of Tracts will be inaugurated by the publication of three treating of Francis Place, William Morris, and "Robert Owen as a Practical Reformer." Other are in preparation on "Owen as an Idealist," on John Stuart Mill, and on Ferdinand Lassalle; whilst further additions to the series will follow if the first numbers are rapidly sold off.

Alongside these the ordinary output of Tracts will be maintained. Manuscripts on Profit Sharing, on German Socialism, on Electric Undertakings, on Women's Work and Wages in the Past, and on the Civil Service are in various stages of completion; whilst the work of the Committees of Enquiry is likely to result in reports which will take the form of Tracts.

The ten volumes of the Fabian Socialist Series (Fifield; 6d. or 1s. each) could, we believe, be much more effectively pushed into circulation by our members. The latest publication, "Songs for Socialists," which has just been issued, will, it is believed, be of use to all Labor and Socialist gatherings, and needs only to be made better known to be widely appreciated. The Executive Committee have gone in for this publishing work, at the same time keeping the older Tracts revised and up to date, *relying on our members to push the sales*. The Society's activities in this direction are dependent on such personal service. New Tracts have to be paid for in cash, and the more we publish in any year, the greater the need for members' activities. During the two years

from March, 1910, to March, 1912, we published fifteen Tracts, which was more than the total number (fourteen) published in the four years 1901-2-3-4; and as recently as 1908 only three Tracts were published within the year.

In fact, the opinion, not infrequently expressed, that the Society shows less activity than in old days cannot be justified by a reference to statistics. But it is often forgotten that the issue of Tracts is expensive, not only because the money laid out is only replaced by sales spread over a considerable period, but also because every member, associate, and subscriber receives a free copy; and thus every additional Tract published means 4,000 copies supplied gratis.

There is the greatest possible diversity in the action of members with regard to disposing of the Society's literature. This is supplied at a low price for distribution (in parcels costing 5s. 4d. each). Some members are constantly sending orders for Tracts and books, which they sell or give away. Others seem never to lift a finger to help the circulation. It is hard to believe that any member, in whatever remote part of the country he may live, can find no opportunities for this work.

### Increasing the Society's Funds.

Some members who cannot give personal service contribute their quota by subscriptions in excess of the normal income tax of one half per cent. per annum (or ten shillings for each hundred pounds of income) to which our members voluntarily subject themselves. Unfortunately some members do not find themselves able to keep up to this standard, and others, it is feared, forget that there is such a standard. Whatever the cause, the Society's treasury shows signs of depletion.

The steady increase of the Society's work led to the general accumulation of arrears, and a Committee of the Executive carefully investigated the working of the office at the end of last year. In consequence of their recommendations, the Executive Committee rearranged the work, increased the staff, raising salaries where necessary. Later on, the Members' Meeting passed a resolution directing further increases in certain cases.

The result of the past activity was that we began the current year with an unpaid account of £120, and a debit balance of £169.

It is therefore necessary to ask members to increase their subscriptions wherever they are in a position properly to do so. We have not for several years made demands upon them for the Parliamentary Fund, to which in the past they have liberally contributed, and for which we shall when the occasion comes confidently appeal again. But our regular subscription income has for some years past shown no elasticity. Ordinary subscriptions from members totalled £1,074 in 1912, £1,163 in 1911, £1,243 in 1910 and £1,169 in 1909, whilst the membership has increased over 200 during these years. We

are afraid that some of the members, new and old, do not realize how much each member actually costs the Society in free literature and postage alone. We are convinced that the majority of our members will cordially welcome the activities indicated in the foregoing pages, and we have, therefore, no hesitation in calling upon them to provide the necessary means for carrying out their wishes.

Members are invited to send in supplementary donations, and to indicate, wherever possible, that they will pay an increased subscription in future years.

By Order of the Executive Committee,

EDW. R. PEASE, *Secretary.*

W. STEPHEN SANDERS, *Organizing Secretary.*

*Form for Remittance enclosed.*



# **Socialism Restated: by Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Webb**

**The object of these lectures is to explain What Socialism Means, and to describe the principal changes brought about by thirty years' experiment and discussion**

**The Lectures will be given at King's Hall, King Street, Covent Garden, on Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m., beginning on October 28th, 1913. They will be presided over by six representative Socialists, namely, Mons. Jaures, Leader of the Socialist Parliamentary Party of France; Mr. Bernard Shaw; Mons. Emile Vandervelde, Leader of the Belgian Socialist Party; the Rev. R. J. Campbell; Dr. Frank, Member of the Social Democratic Party in the German Reichstag; and Mr. Granville Barker. MM. Jaures and Vandervelde will speak in French, and Dr. Frank in English.**

I.

Tuesday, October 28th, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: MR. BERNARD SHAW.

Lecturer: MR. SIDNEY WEBB.

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## Economics.

Socialism means "the Wealth of Nations," in the strictest sense; that is, an intelligent application of our productive powers to the maintenance of life of the whole people—at present our productive powers are quite otherwise applied, with disastrous results—The Socialist Indictment of the Capitalist System now verified by experience and authoritatively accepted—No defender of the Status Quo can "dodge the Law of Rent"—Successive revisions of Socialist Theory—The Right to the Full Produce of Labour ("The Self-Governing Workshop")—The Marxian Exposition of Surplus Value, and its dynamic effect—How far did this ignore the desires of the Consumer?—Practical Applications of Collectivism in State and Municipal Ownership—How far does this (and with it the Co-operative Movement) ignore the needs and impair the freedom of the Producer?—The validity in Syndicalism and its exaggerations—The Policy of the National Minimum—The Appropriation of the Surplus (or "Rent") to common purposes—The intelligent application of the nation's production to the nation's needs demands a "Balance of Interests"—The necessary Co-partnership between the People organised as Producers and the People organised as Citizens and Consumers—The treatment of Property—Not abolition but transformation—The gradual shiftings of jurisdiction—Changes of theory with regard to Compensation—How this takes practical shape.



## II.

Tuesday, November 4th, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman : DR. FRANK, Member of the Social Democratic Party in the German Reichstag.

Lecturer : MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

### Equality.

Socialism means all the Equality that is Practicable—Disastrous results of Inequality—The consciousness of equality essential to the willing co-operation of Free Men—Equality does not imply identity or uniformity—Differences in consumption of infant, child, nursing mother, invalid, various kinds of producers and professionals—Methods of equalisation—Equality of money incomes (“The most important part of individual freedom is the control of production given by individual purchasing power”—Bernard Shaw)—Rival method of Communism (“To each according to his needs”)—An intermediate method: individual choice among commodities and services deliberately priced above or below cost—Practical experience of each of the three methods: (a) equality of salaries within each grade of Army, Navy, and Civil Service; equality of salaries of missionaries, and of Wesleyan Methodist Ministers; (b) adoption of Communism in roads, bridges, elementary schools, and infectious disease hospitals; (c) the underpriced service of secondary education; overpriced services in Scandinavian liquor selling, municipal gas and tramway profits, etc.—Special allowances for special functions—How far are we to be guided by (I) personal tastes, (II) scientifically ascertained requirements for the fulfilment of function—Probable combination of all methods in obtaining the consciousness of equality that is an essential of good manners—“Manners maketh man.”

### III.

Tuesday, November 11th, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: MONS. JAURÈS, Leader of the Socialist  
Parliamentary Party of France.

Lecturer: MR. SIDNEY WEBB.

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### Politics.

Socialism means Democracy: that is, the diffusion among the whole people of Participation in Power and Consciousness of Consent—The world's experience of Political Democracy—Socialism extends it from merely Police Government to the Control of Industry—How are we to secure the "Balance of Interests?"—Organisation by Associations of Consumers (State and Municipal Ownership, and the Co-operative Store and Wholesale)—Organisation by Producers in Vocational Associations (Trade Unionism)—Adjustment of Conditions by negotiation between these two organisations of the same people—Relation of Central and Local Government—The Problem of areas and how we may solve it—Spheres of Compulsory and Voluntary Co-operation—Evils of Bureaucracy and how we may avoid them—Fourfold function of the "Official": a skilled executant (teacher or doctor), the agent for the manual working producers (Trade Union secretary, miner's checkweighman), the agent for the consumers (Municipal tramway manager), or a scientific adviser (chemist or mining expert)—Control of Officials by Elected Representatives—Control of Representatives by Citizens—The Place of Direct Legislation (Referendum, Initiative, and Recall)—How are we to combine Knowledge and Popular Control, the fulfilment of the Consumer's Desires and Freedom for the Producer—The Probable Outline (according to the wisdom of to-day) of the State of To-morrow.

#### IV.

Tuesday, November 18th, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: MR. GRANVILLE BARKER.

Lecturer: MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

### Woman.

Socialism means the Emancipation of Women, economic, social, and political—Present state of "Arrested Development"—Result of making Woman's livelihood dependent on particular personal relationship—Eastern Zenana and the Western Household—The mercenary marriage, disorderly idleness of the female "jeunesse doree,"—disparagement of motherhood, decline in the birthrate, dark shadow of "social evil"—The million "surplus women" in United Kingdom—Increase of independent woman wage earners—rapid development of independent women brainworkers (typist, stenographer, cashier, teacher, nurse, public official, doctor, etc.)—Transformation of modern government from police to national housekeeping compels enlistment of women in public service—Need for women as electors, officials, representatives, legislators, commissioners, jury members and judges—"To each human being, its own voluntary specialisation in social service"—Socialist view of relative social values of child-rearing mother and gun-carrying soldier—Progress of Political Emancipation throughout the World, and its results—Economic subjection still remains—How can we secure to the woman the economic independence that we demand for the workman—Adolescent and the unmarried adult—Married woman in charge of household—The Mother—In the Socialist State Marriage will include an equal partnership in social service.

V.

Tuesday, November 25th, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: **MONS. EMILE VANDERVELDE**, Leader of  
the Belgian Socialist Party.

Lecturer: **MR. SIDNEY WEBB.**

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**Empire.**

Socialism means an organised Internationalism, rooted in Autonomous Nationalities; with a Collective Guardianship of the Non-Adult Races—Explanation of the unswerving “internationalism” of Socialism—Our real community of interest with other peoples vastly transcends the points of difference—The “Great Illusion” of Aggression—The development of International Conventions, Arbitration, and Police—The “United States of the World”—Socialism is also the stubborn upholder of Nationalism and of national defence against aggression—Local Autonomy as the basis of Freedom—But “particularism” fetters self-development—The Socialist conception of Empire is not domination but a Democratic federal hierarchy, based on Local Self-Government—The Eight Great Powers of the World—Their responsibility for the whole earth—Putumayo only the latest instance of the Bankruptcy of Individualism with regard to the weak—The need for a Collective Guardianship of the Non-Adult Races—The Socialist View of the British Empire—Not a “heritage” of the Anglo-Saxon race—Something more than a “Britannic Alliance”—There is an “Imperialism” which is a national duty, to be discharged with integrity—The fundamental axioms of Colonial Policy—The Socialist Policy with regard to India.

## VI.

Tuesday, December 2nd, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: REV. R. J. CAMPBELL.

Lecturer: MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

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### Science and Religion.

Socialism means application of the scientific method to industrial and political organisation—Philosopher's objection: events cannot be foreseen with sufficient precision to permit social science—Objection of revolutionary: popular upheavals without science will lead to social reconstruction—Practical administration based on prevision: post office, railway companies, Factory Act; successful administration of organ of Syndicalism, Trade, or Industrial Union—Use of scientific method implied in all human co-operation—Limits to prevision; advent of genius: unforeseeable facts of physical universe—Scientific method does not provide Ideal or Purpose, but only process by which the Ideal may be achieved—In asking for a Purpose of Life, face to face with admitted "bankruptcy of science."

Socialism implies choice of Ideal for the Life of Humanity—Socialist selects as spring of action Motive of Social Service (or Love)—Aims at world in which this motive will be dominant—The Socialist Ideal is rooted in mysticism—Alienation of Continental Socialism from Religion due to fateful embrace by the Church of Capitalism and Political Autocracy, and sanction of Motive of Pecuniary Self-Interest—Experience shows that the Motive of Love is strengthened and extended by contemplation, meditation, and prayer, which is religion—The Church of the People in the Socialist State.

## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

At the close of each lecture, answers will be given by the lecturer to any questions on the subject put from the audience, either handed up in writing or asked orally.

There will be a Book Stall in the Entrance Hall, at which a large collection of books and pamphlets, dealing with most of the subjects referred to by the lecturers, and including both propagandist and scientific works, will be on sale from one penny upwards.

## ADMISSION.

Admission will be by ticket, for the course or for each lecture separately, to be obtained of W. Stephen Sanders, Fabian Society, 3, Clements Inn, Strand, London. *As the accommodation is limited, preference will be given to applicants for tickets for the whole course.* Applicants for single tickets will therefore be reserved until October 22nd, when the remaining seats will be allotted according to priority of application.

## PRICE OF TICKETS.

Numbered and reserved stalls, one guinea for the course of six, or five shillings for a single lecture. Back and gallery seats (numbered), half a guinea for the course of six, or two shillings and sixpence for a single lecture. There will be a few unnumbered seats, price five shillings for the course, or (without guarantee of a seat) one shilling for any one lecture.

The whole of the receipts, after paying for the hall, printing and postage, will be devoted to the educational and research work of the Fabian Society, particulars of which may be obtained from the Secretary, 3, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

NOTE.—If you have already received the Syllabus, will you be so good as to forward the copy sent herewith, together with this Form, to a friend?

# Lectures by Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Webb.

TO THE ORGANISING SECRETARY,  
 FABIAN SOCIETY (3, CLEMENT'S INN, LONDON, W.C.).

Please allot to me the following tickets for the forthcoming Lectures at King's Hall, for which I enclose remittance of £.....

### COURSE TICKETS DESIRED :

..... Course Tickets (Numbered and Reserved Stalls) at £1 1s. od. ....  
 ..... Course Tickets (Numbered Back or Gallery Seats) at 10s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Course Tickets (Unnumbered Upper Gallery) at 5s. ....

### SINGLE TICKETS DESIRED

(For the shilling tickets seats cannot be guaranteed).

For Oct. 28 (Mr. Bernard Shaw, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Unnumbered Seats at 1s. ....

For Nov. 4 (Dr. Frank, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Unnumbered Seats at 1s. ....

For Nov. 11 (M. Jaurès, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Unnumbered Seats at 1s. ....

For Nov. 18 (Mr. Granville Barker, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Unnumbered Seats at 1s. ....

For Nov. 25 (M. Vandervelde, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
 ..... Unnumbered Seats at 1s. ....

For Dec. 2 (Rev. R. J. Campbell, chairman).

..... Stalls at 5s. ....  
 ..... Numbered Seats at 2s. 6d. ....  
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Total ... .. £.....

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

RESEARCH REPORT  
NO. 100

BY  
J. H. GOLDSTEIN  
AND  
R. F. W. WILSON

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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# Blackburn's Greatest Need.

## Facts about the Housing Problem.

### How the Workers are Housed.

In 1908 a Report on the Housing of the Working Classes in Blackburn was issued by the Medical Officer, and on that Report the present Manifesto is based. The enquiry covered 20,000 houses and about 90,000 people. At that time 7,151 people were sleeping about four to the bedroom, 1,094 people were sleeping five or more to the bedroom, and living over ten to the house. There were thus hundreds of bedrooms below the low standard of air space required for common lodging-houses. In 104 houses double families were living together, mainly in cottage property. At 61 houses, one of the two families was in want of a small separate house; 27 families living in houses with two bedrooms were anxious to obtain houses with three bedrooms. At that time there were only 16 houses found to let.

### 1913—Still Overcrowded.

In spite of the appalling facts brought to light, no houses have been built by the Corporation, except the few on small holdings, which it is important to remember pay their way. Setting against the 1,158 houses built by the private builder from January 1908 to February 1913, the chronic congestion existing at that time, an increase of population of about 1900, and the fact that over 6,000 marriages have taken place, the housing conditions are as bad or worse to-day than in 1908. To still further prove the futility of leaving this problem to the private builder, the average number of houses built each year since 1908 is less than in the few years preceding the enquiry.

### The Cost of Overcrowding.

The workers pay a ruinous price for over-crowding in several ways. Fierce competition for houses enables the householder to raise rents with impunity. In 1899 there was a rise in rates which cost the landlord about  $5/4$  per year of an increase on the ordinary working class house. Rents were raised threepence per week or thirteen shillings per year to pay this  $5/4$ . The following year rates went down again but rents were not dropped. Rents have been raised a second time in most cases since 1899, so that to take the whole period, tenants of cottage houses are now paying an increase of rents of 26/- per year, and in some cases 39/- per year, to meet an increase in rates amounting to 18/9 per year. It is not the rise in rates which enables the landlords to charge extortionate rents, and to neglect keeping houses in decent condition, but the shortage of houses.

### The Cost in Human Life.

In St. Silas' Ward, where housing conditions are good, the general death rate last year was just over 8 per 1,000. In St. Mary's Ward, where housing conditions are bad, the rate was over 25 per 1,000—more than three times as great. Year by year the worst ward pays from two to three times its toll of death as compared with the best ward. Life is harder and the risks of disease are three times as great in the badly-housed wards.

### The Slaying of the Innocents.

The Infantile death rate for the last ten years in St.

Silas' Ward is 92 per 1,000. In St. Mary's Ward it is 215. Out of every thousand children born 215 die in St. Mary's to 92 in St. Silas' before they are a year old, or at the rate of seven in St. Mary's to three in St. Silas's, and the result is not accident but largely a question of housing. While the workers sleep three, four, five to the bedroom, the angel of death is busily relieving the intolerable pressure of overcrowding by the sword of disease.

### Indecency.

16,000 families, of all sorts and sizes, were living in houses of two bedrooms in 1908. How some of these families, with adult brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers and children do live is shown in the Report. To take one page at random, the first page gives four males of 26, 24, 12 and 10 years respectively, and three females of 21, 16 and 7 years respectively, all occupying one and the same bedroom. Since these 16,000 houses are still tenanted and only 61 houses in the whole Borough have been closed between 1908 and the last Report up to the end of 1911, things are as bad or worse for indecency. A house of three bedrooms is the minimum of decency for a mixed family.

### Baths.

In 20,000 houses only 183 bathrooms were found for a population of 90,000 people. Twenty-three of these baths had been put into the householder's property by the tenants themselves. A still further evidence of the desire for cleanliness is shown by the increasing use of public baths with increasing facilities. In 1911, 214,738 bathers were recorded in Blackburn, inclusive of 26,850 women. In 1912, 218,693 bathers were recorded, inclusive of 30,476 women. It should also be borne in mind that last summer was much more unfavourable for bathing than that of 1911. It is of the most vital importance however that the desire for cleanliness shown in these tendencies should find adequate expression in effective demand for a bath-room to every house as a minimum.

### The Need of the Hour.

It will thus be seen that the most immediate need is for more and better houses. Private enterprise has utterly failed to prevent a problem of the gravest character arising, and failed to deal with it when it was made apparent. It now devolves upon the people of Blackburn to face the situation, and build itself houses through the Town Council which it has elected. Schemes are being put forward which would cost enormous sums of public money without touching the Housing Problem. The people of Blackburn as a community have acquired gas, water, tramways, and other property to the value of about four million pounds which yield a profit each year. It can build itself houses to pay financially, and yield incalculable benefits in the saving of human lives. The Labour Party is demanding that a Housing Scheme shall forthwith be taken in hand; it is to the interest of every worker to support this demand for the elementary human right to a decent home.



# FABIAN SUMMER SCHOOL, 1913.

## Whitsuntide Conference on Rural Problems

A Conference on Rural Problems will be held at Whitsuntide, at Barrow House, near Keswick. A Minimum Wage for Agricultural Laborers, Rural Housing, Rural Education, and Small Holdings will be among the subjects dealt with. Addresses will be given by E. R. PEASE, MRS. PEASE, R. B. GREIG, and others. The Conference period will be from FRIDAY, MAY 9TH, to WEDNESDAY, MAY 14TH. Terms, including full board and fee for Conference:—

Friday evening to Wednesday morning:

- (a) Single Bedroom, £2 2s.; (b) Bedroom for two persons, 35s. each; and (c) Bedroom for more than two persons, 30s. each.

Arrangements can be made for visitors to stay beyond Wednesday, May 14th, at the following rates: (a) 35s. per week, or 5s. 6d. per day; (b) 30s. per week, or 4s. 6d. per day; (c) 25s. per week, or 4s. per day.

Applications should be made on the attached form and sent with a booking fee of 10s. to WM. STEPHEN SANDERS, Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

## WHITSUNTIDE CONFERENCE AT BARROW HOUSE, MAY, 1913.

I send herewith booking fee of 10s. Please enrol my name as member of the Conference from Friday, May 9th, to Wednesday, May 14th. I shall require accommodation @....., for myself and.....

I agree to conform to such regulations as may be made by the Fabian Summer School Committee for the efficient conduct of the Conference.

Special requirements\*: (1) Vegetarian Diet: (2) .....

\* Please state if not required.

(Signed).....

NOTE.—To ensure accommodation this form should be filled up and posted *as soon as possible* to Wm. Stephen Sanders, Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.



# Fabian Fund for the "Daily Citizen."

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TO THE MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE SOCIETY AND OTHERS.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The Executive Committee desires to draw your attention to the position of the *Daily Citizen*. For many years the Trade Union and Labor Movement has acutely felt the need of a daily organ to place before the public its point of view in relation to current events and in particular to electoral contests. Whenever a Labor or Socialist Candidate at a Parliamentary or Local Election was opposed by both parties, the daily press on both sides misrepresented or ignored his claims and did its best to belittle his chances. After discussions at Labor Party and Trade Union Conferences for many years, the I.L.P. at length decided to take action, and the Labor Party joined forces with them. Ultimately a Company was formed, with articles carefully drawn to provide that the control of the policy of the paper should be exclusively in the hands of three representative Labor and Socialist bodies—the Labor Party, the I.L.P., and the Trade Unions—whilst private shareholders, however numerous, can only appoint one out of ten directors, and such shareholders have no voice in the management of the paper.

The *Daily Citizen* therefore is and must remain a genuinely Labor and Socialist paper, owned and controlled by the delegates of the organized workers and really representative of their opinions.

The difficulties of organizing and financing such a paper were known by all concerned to be enormous, but they have proved to be even greater than was anticipated. It was believed that a fair proportion of the millions of Trade Unionists would purchase their own paper, and thus launch it with a commanding circulation from the first. The event has proved otherwise.

Started with a capital which was deemed sufficient on this assumption, experience has shown that more time, and therefore more capital, is required to accustom the public to purchase a new paper. Daily newspapers in England are dependent either on their income from advertisements or on financial assistance from other sources, and a Labor paper, constantly advocating the rights of the

workers against the capitalists, and circulating principally amongst those who have little money to spend on expensive luxuries, is severely handicapped in its appeal to these same capitalists to advertise in its columns.

If the *Daily Citizen* should be forced to stop, we must abandon, perhaps for another generation, the hope of seeing our policy and opinions represented in the Daily Press of the country.

The Trade Union and Socialist Movement, at a Conference on March 7th, in which our Society took part, resolved to ask every affiliated organization and every individual member thereof to contribute towards the paper a sum of not less than 1s. per member per annum for three years. Such a levy would place the paper on a firm foundation for the period necessary to establish it as a going concern. Its prospects are now growing brighter every day. The circulation is steadily increasing and the income from advertisements is improving. If capital can be found for the necessary period of growth permanent success is assured.

In accordance with this decision of the above-named Conference, the Executive Committee of the Society invites all the members and others interested:—

- (a) To take the paper daily, and to commend it to others with a view to increasing its circulation and thus enabling it to command advertisements.
- (b) To subscribe a sum of at least 1s. per member per annum for three years, or to take shares to a similar value.
- (c) To use any influence at their command to secure advertisements for the paper.

Applications for shares and contributions can be sent on the annexed forms to the Fabian Society or, if preferred, direct to the *Daily Citizen*.

By order of the Executive Committee,

EDW. R. PEASE,

*Secretary.*

Fabian Office, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

25th April, 1913.

“ DAILY CITIZEN ” FABIAN FUND.

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I enclose £      s.      d. as a contribution to the Fabian Fund for the *Daily Citizen*, and I intend to send the same amount in.....1914 and 1915.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

To be sent to the Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

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Enclosed I herewith send £      s.      d. for .....shares in Labor Newspapers, Ltd.

Kindly forward me a copy of the Prospectus and Application Form for shares in Labor Newspapers, Ltd.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

Payment should be either £1 per share for full payment, or half a crown per share, being first instalment.

To be sent to the Fabian Society, as above, or to Labor Newspapers, Ltd., 92 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

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