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Industrial Politics of To-day.

BY CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE, M.P.

At the present moment there is no matter that merits graver attention than the industrial situation, and any solution which may tend towards the solving of our present difficulties would be universally welcomed.

The object of this article is to deal with the possibilities of the Whitley Council movement.

The first paragraph of the terms of reference of the Whitley Committee was as follows:—

- (1) To make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen.

The Whitley Report dealt with broad elementary principles, suggesting that the work of Councils and Works Committees should embrace the following:—

- (1) Utilization of knowledge and experience of the workpeople.
- (2) Secure for workpeople a greater share in conditions under which their work is carried on.
- (3) General principles governing employment, wages, and a share in the increased prosperity of the Industry.
- (4) Regular methods of negotiating and prevention of differences between employers and workpeople.
- (5) Security of employment.
- (6) Methods of fixing and adjusting wages, piece work, etc.
- (7) Technical Education and Training.
- (8) Industrial Research.
- (9) Utilization of inventions and safeguarding rights of the designers.
- (10) Improvements of processes, machinery, management, etc., with full consideration of workers' point of view.
- (11) Proposed legislation affecting the Industry.

There are in existence to-day something like eighty Joint bodies of sorts embracing about three and a half million organized workers. The extension of the principle is rapidly proceeding to other industries. When this has been done, it should be possible to obtain a really representative National Conference which would have a mandate from their Joint Councils to discuss Industry as a whole.

In the mining industry, as a last resort, a Coal Commission, which is virtually an undemo-

cratic Whitley Council, was called together by Act of Parliament. Had a Joint Industrial Council been formed two or three years ago, then all these troubles and grievances which are now before us might never have arisen, because they would have been discovered, analysed, and removed before this critical juncture.

Then there is the question of the railways, which have been virtually under Government control. Would not it have been possible to add to the Railway Executive some members of the National Union of Railwaymen, representatives from the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Railway Clerks' Association.

Now, what are the obstacles to this great national movement? First of all, there are the extremists at both ends of the political scale, reactionary employers who look upon the Whitley Councils as a subtle undermining of their privileges and vested powers. These men are doing as much or more to bring about Bolshevism in this country as Lenin and Trotzky themselves. Then there are the extreme Socialists who desire to attain the millenium by unconstitutional methods.

The fundamental principle underlying the Whitley Report is the desire to break down the impenetrable barriers between Employers and Employed. Hitherto they have invariably met on the eternal question of wages, and then not before a conflict was inevitable.

The following are some of the matters with which Trade Parliaments can deal:—

Costings, an elaborate science, hitherto entirely controlled on the employers' side. Knowledge of the general conditions of trade, the varying costs of raw materials, the difficulties about finance and transport, backward markets—these are a few of the thousand and one difficulties of the modern manufacturer which labour ought to know and appreciate.

Apprenticeship.—How the defective training during the war can be quickly made good, and what conditions of apprenticeship shall be required in the future, are problems on which the Government will require advice that no authority but a representative Council is in a position to offer.

Welfare.—This is one of the most important matters for industrial Councils. The health and welfare of the workers is essential.

Invention and Research.—Inventions and improvements, scientific research and experiment can well be discussed by these representative Councils, and many ideas may be brought to light and reach fruition in this way.

Scientific Management.—In the organization of the works, insignificant details often lead to vast improvements in efficiency. What man is better able to make suggestions than the turner at the lathe or the fitter at his bench?

Trade Restrictions.—A frequent complaint of commerce is that unnecessary restrictions on trade are imposed by Government departments set up in Whitehall. This is largely due to the fact that industry is badly organized.

If an Industrial Council exists, they can present to the Government the views of all interests concerned in that trade without the interference of Bureaucratic control.

Hours and Wages.—Hitherto employer and employed have usually only met to discuss the conflicting issue.

By frequent discussions of the many points enumerated above, by endeavours to look on the big side of industry, it will be found that differences, when they arise, can be settled amicably, without recourse to drastic action, which not only injures industry itself, but harms the community at large.

If this country is not going to suffer from the disease which is spreading over three-fourths of Europe, we have got to find a solution to the Industrial question, and it seems that everyone must look upon industry as a national service, as a corporate entity, and not as a combination of conflicting interests. We have got to instil into industry an *esprit de corps* something akin to that which exists in our fighting services. We have to seek another goal, and that goal should be *national prosperity*.

By general consent the old system has proved itself unworthy. From the days of the industrial revolution, the relations between employers and employed have been based upon antagonism, coercion and resistance.

Under such a system, many a forward move on the part of Labour towards improved conditions is opposed almost as a matter of duty by the Employers Associations, and conversely many improvements in the direction of increased production and efficiency are countered by the restrictive regulations of the trade unions.

The two sides rarely meet, except to make demands of one another when negotiations are carried on as between two hostile bodies. In this way great powers of leadership are diverted from constructive work into the sterile fields of useless controversy.

Industrial peace must come, not as the result of the balance of power, but as the inevitable by-product of mutual confidence, real justice and constructive good-will.

What Industry needs is confidence and a courageous forward movement, supported by the constructive genius of both sides in common council.

It is up to all those in touch with industry, whatever their responsibilities, to help in the introduction of this new spirit of co-operation and progress. If we cannot bring it about, we may be faced with industrial strife and industrial chaos. Nothing could be more disastrous than for the fruits of victory to be dissipated in a few weeks of unnecessary but perhaps provoked internal strife.

The Opportunity of Indian Women.

By Mrs. PATRICK VILLIERS-STUART.

The Indian various deputations now in this country in connection with the proposed changes in India, have only managed to agree together on one point. It must be a matter of deep interest to those who have hoped so much and worked so hard for the political recognition of women in England that this point is women's suffrage. The Indian missions, divided on other issues, speak with one voice to demand the inclusion of some qualified women in the new electorates.

It is a happy fact to notice that Indian women have no such struggle before them as we had here. Their men folk are quite unprejudiced on this subject of the franchise. Indeed the Moslem world as a whole seems to have realized in an extraordinarily vivid way that there is no going forward profitably unless they go hand in hand with their women.

But it may be said, how can a few women voters—as few they will be while educational and property qualifications provide the standards in India—make any difference?

The answer is simple. Even a few women included in the electorate will give prestige to their sisters, a prestige the Purdah ladies felt they were fast losing in British India, owing to the clash of Western ideas.

In this case one can easily see how it was often just these ladies, to whom we owe so much of the vitality of Indian life and art, who resisted reforms in health and social matters. Mostly from fright. They felt that things concerning their children's welfare were being taken out of their hands. If some qualified women were included in the electorate, they would be an educative force, and at the same time women's opinions and wishes would be better understood and carry more weight.

Bengal, with its strong racial consciousness, its Poet Philosopher, and its many advanced women, is already trying to solve this great problem, the problem of how to modernize India without Westernizing her too much; how to take from the West what is suited, and to reject what is unsuited, to the country's genius and climate.

There are, indeed, a few sincerely patriotic and religious Hindus, who feel that to achieve this end it is best to keep the home and the women who preside over it, quite apart from public life and national interests. And in many ways one can understand and sympathize with their outlook. Those who see below the surface in India know that the women have the power, for they hold the links with the past in their hands, and

only with their help can their country be successfully modernized without losing more than she gains in the process. Every artist in the East sees that very clearly. But seeing things as an artist, that is as one interested above all, in life and its manifold and constantly varying expressions and not as an archaeologist concerned only with the science of the past, one knows that this negative method is wrong. It is useless. Owing to the rapid changes in the structure of modern society the world over, this isolation of "the deity in her shrine" must before long break down. And therefore those who feel this are anxious—most anxious—to gradually draw Indian women into taking an interest and a share in the affairs of their country while they still hold the links with the past in their hands, and can help to express, as they alone can, the essential genius of India.

For if we hope for world peace, resting on a League of Free Nations, we ought to realize even more than we do, that each country has its own special gift—its special genius.

It is just here, where practical statesmen so often fail, that women may prove better guides; for like poets and artists, they rely on intuitive reasoning. India has much to contribute to the world's stock of knowledge, of beauty and enlightenment, but the contribution can only be made if her originality is maintained.

This is the great opportunity before Indian women to-day.

Our Work.

The Education Committee has already made the following arrangements for the early Autumn:

1. A Conference on Municipal Elections, to which all women's societies, likely to be interested in this vital question, have been invited.

2. A second series of Speakers' Classes, at which Miss Lucy Bell will again preside, to be held at the Office on Mondays October 13th, 20th, and 27th; Thursday, the 16th, and Friday, the 24th. Fee for the Course, 10/6; or 2/6 for a single class.

3. Afternoon debates on topics of interest. Details will be published in our next number.

Resignation of the Secretary.

We are all feeling most deep regret, both as an Association and as individuals, at the approaching departure of our Secretary, who has been appointed to a post with the Joint Parliamentary Advisory Council. Miss Raiker was with the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association from its commencement in 1908 till it was disbanded in 1918, and to her devotion and talent was due in no small measure the large part played by the Association in obtaining the vote. She has entered with the same whole-hearted enthusiasm into the need for and work of the new Association. Our best wishes go with her.

The Committee have been fortunate in obtaining the services as Secretary of Mrs. Mortimer, who has held a similar position with the recently dissolved Ladies' Emergency Committee of the Navy League.

Women and the League of Nations.

By THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.

The constitution of the Executive and permanent office of the League of Nations, is the first work that must be undertaken by the constituent Powers, if the League is to be a real factor in the Government of Europe, and become an organized, living, growing body.

By the Clause in the Treaty of Peace which gives it birth, it is set forth that all offices in the League shall be open to both men and women candidates. Probably the great majority of such officials will always be men. Certainly they will at first; but if women arise with the necessary capacity who have secured adequate training, they may be admitted. At present we do not know exactly what "personnel" will be required to work the League. There must be a certain number of delegates from each of the subscribing Powers, and there must be a Secretariat with clerks. But all is at present very nebulous. At the Conference between the various organized women's societies, held on September 4th, it was decided to form a list of women who could be recommended for different departments of this work, in the hope that this might be of some use to the Government should it desire such assistance. I felt myself that these societies were too narrow in their outlook to be the sole source of such recommendations. The whole trading community, for instance, was quite unrepresented. Women are not so largely embarked in trade as men; but there are a considerable number of them, and some trades are almost entirely in their hands.

Mothers, the largest and most important class of women, were not directly represented, though, of course, there are many women who were there as representatives of some society or other, who were themselves mothers. (I have always felt that the modern educationalist is apt to wish to trample the parent underfoot, and that mothers should assert themselves).

However, no one else seemed to have any misgivings on the subject; and at any rate it was better that some list of women whom experience has shown to be capable of guiding and directing others, should be compiled, even if the body compiling it were not the best possible for such work.

It was taking a practical step towards putting the machinery in order, and that is a thing to aim at just at present. I believe the feeling in favour of carrying out the experiment of such a League is very strong among women. We are all desperately anxious that such a war as that which has raged for the last five years may never again take place. The embers of that fearful conflagration are still blazing, and we cannot yet estimate the terrible amount of damage which has been done. The League seems the most hopeful plan for arranging international disputes without going to war; and if we are to do away with war, some other means of settling our differences must be found, as human nature being what it is, disputes will occur.

Letters from a Town to a Country Woman.

LONDON, September 30, 1919.

With the end of September, which sees the return of late holiday-makers, London is beginning to settle down to the normal and everyone is making preparations for the winter season that promises to be gayer than ever before.

Already in anticipation of the many balls and dances that are announced, to say nothing of numerous private dinner-parties and At Homes, all the big dressmakers' firms and shops have issued invitations to exhibitions of their model dresses for winter wear, which are more gorgeous and infinitely more beautiful than they have ever been before.

Of these the most important is the big dress display announced by Messrs. Swan and Edgar of Piccadilly Circus, W., to be held in the Rouge Salon of Princes Restaurant, Piccadilly (Jermyn St. entrance), from 3 o'clock to 5 o'clock each afternoon of Wednesday and Thursday, October 8th and 9th. Already I hear several hostesses are arranging to give luncheon parties at Princes Restaurant on these dates so as to take their guests to the dress show afterwards, admittance to which is by invitation only, cards being obtainable upon written application to Swan and Edgar, Piccadilly Circus, W.

Indeed, so great is the interest aroused by this display that I understand quite a lot of women are coming up from the country in order to attend this exhibition that fits in so conveniently with their winter shopping, and a jaunt to the new plays, several of which have been produced during the past four weeks.

What makes the show of special interest, is the fact that Swan and Edgar have set the fashion for selling model gowns rather than copies of the same—a departure that ensures their customers being thoroughly up-to-date as regards the fashion of wearing beautifully cut clothes—which undoubtedly make for a smart, well-dressed appearance.

Consequently, instead of limiting their models to a dozen or so toilettes that are merely bought to be copied, this firm buy in hundreds. In this way they not only ensure the pick of the clothes turned out week by week by the leading French and English designers—but they are able to sell their models outright—a method by which their customers are saved all the trouble of fittings and delays. For although this firm have a great reputation for designing and copying model gowns they also employ a special staff of expert dressmakers and tailors whose work it is to alter models to buyers' special requirements.

With the advent of the winter season lovely evening dresses are being made a feature of this house, which believes in being so thoroughly up-to-date that it includes some of the pick of the best models from Madelaine and Madelaine of Paris, the new designers whose creations have created such a stir that every woman is eager to see for herself what their dresses are like.

Furs are also of supreme importance. Noting this, Swan and Edgar are including a lot of quite new models in their fashion display. Some of the most attractive take the form of cape-shawls, which, fashioned of squirrel, kolenski, and Jap mink, are so smart and serviceable for both day and evening wear, that they have completely put the old-fashioned stole into the shade.

Fashioned after a quite new style, and cut somewhat after the fashion of a square-shaped scarf, these new fur shawls are of such ample proportions that they completely envelop the shoulders and the back of the wearer, so forming one of the cosiest wraps for day or evening wear; while the fact that many are lined with richly stamped velvet enables them to be worn inside for a change.

The only drawback to this new mode is that these new fur shawls make all other types of stole and ties look sadly meagre and out of date, as, fashioned of the richest, softest furs, they achieve that peculiarly rich and luxurious effects so in keeping with the modes of the moment. Consequently, Swan and Edgar's furriers are being kept busy altering old capes and stoles to the new shape, work which is beautifully and quickly executed at no great cost.

Queries on current fashions will be answered, and shopping commissions for country customers executed, by Messrs. Swan and Edgar's expert, Miss Mary Marsh, c/o. Swan and Edgar, Piccadilly Circus, W. 1.

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LECTURES

Sat., 4th Oct. 5 p.m.	"The Everyman Theatre"	Mr. NORMAN MACDERMOTT. Chairman ... Mr. ST. JOHN ERVINE.
Wed. 8th Oct. 8 p.m.	"The Influence of Clubs in Civil Life"	Miss MARY NEIL. Chairman ... Mrs. BOYD DAWSON.
Wed., 15th Oct. 8 p.m.	"The Indian Home"	Mr. BHUPENDRANATH BASU. Chairman ... Major D. GRAHAM POLE.
Wed., 22nd Oct. 8 p.m.	"Widows' Pensions"	Miss PENROSE PHILP. Chairman ... Mrs. C. D. RACKHAM.
Wed., 29th Oct. 8 p.m.	"Marriage and Divorce Laws"	Mr. J. WELLS THATCHER (Barrister at Law). Chairman ... Mr. CECIL CHAPMAN, J.P.
Wed., 5th Nov. 8 p.m.	"Indian Womanhood"	Mrs. ANNIE BESANT. Chairman ... Mrs. DESPARD.

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Oct. 1st—Miss ABADAM	"Flouting Women—The Divided Faggot."
" 8th—Miss CLARA ANDREW	"Adoption in Relation to the Unwanted Child. (Work of the National Children Adoption Association)."
" 15th—Miss LIND-AF-HAGEBY	"The Re-valuation of Women."
" 22nd—WILLIAM AIRD, Esq.	"The Food of the Future."
" 29th—Miss PENROSE PHILP	"Juvenile Delinquency—Why does the Child Offend?"

Nov. 5th—Mrs. WHEATLEY

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