# MONTHLY NEWS of the

# Conservative Women's Reform ASSOCIATION.

NEW ISSUE.

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"All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust."

"Reflections on the Revolution in France."-Burke

#### Bolshevism and the Remedies.

By LORD SYDENHAM, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., &c.

Last month I sought to explain the origin and the results of Bolshevism and I pointed out that the Soviet system has been imposed upon Russia mainly by foreign agency. Its instruments are wholesale murder and intimidation wielded by the most cruel tyrants the world has ever known. In the endeavour to exterminate the upper and middle classes, it has brought ruin and starvation on the workers, who also have been killed whenever they showed any resentment against the enormities of the Soviet Government.

Incidentally it has again proved that Socialistic plans for the regeneration of mankind involve the conscription of labour under cruel penalties as the only means of keeping industries in being.

In this country also, alien influence and funds are behind the preaching of Bolshevism; but they do not wholly account for the dangers with which we are confronted. I cannot here enter upon the complex causes which have led to a revolt on. the part of many workers against present industrial conditions. There are real grievances which we all earnestly desire to remove and others arising from the operation of natural laws, which must always remain. The prevailing ignorance of economic facts, of the inexorable requirements of the overseas trade, upon which the prosperity and the food of the people depend, and of figures and statistics essential to the formation of clear judgments is being manifested every day. measure, this is the fault of our system of education which has failed to teach certain elementary principles and is. therefore, partly responsible for some of the wild fallacies which are current.

There are other forces at work in the interests of Bolshevism. The disorganisation and misdirection of the great Trade Unions is one of the most painful signs of the times. From being bodies formed for the protection and advancement of the workers, led by men who belong to the ranks of labour and who never contemplated antagonism to the State, they have become almost undisciplined mobs, capable of acting together only for purposes of aggression and flagrantly

violating the first principles of democracy. Wirepulling and intrigue are rampant, and the preposterous card system, combined with other electoral devices, has made proper representation of the working classes in their councils practically The disastrous and demoralising impossible. plan of deliberately stinting the output of the individual worker is now deeply ingrained upon labour with results fatal to liberty and leading to injustice of many kinds. The harm that has thus been inflicted upon the commonwealth is incalculable. This restriction of production and constant strikes, often on trivial grounds and in defiance of the advice of the titular officials, served before the War to keep down wages and to injure our foreign trade, while strikes engineered during the war endangered the lives of our devoted soldiers at the front. All this and more would be repugnant to a majority of our workers did they but know the facts and think independently; but they find themselves caught in the toils of a machine they do not fully understand, and they may from a sense of caste loyalty be committed to action which would entail irretrievable disaster upon the nation and themselves. The Trade Unions have ceased to represent the views of the real workers and it is unjust to attribute to the latter the symptons which are now causing widespread alarm.

Another change in recent years must be taken into full account. The British worker, in common with his fellow countrymen as a whole, used to be a sturdy individualist, and it is upon individual enterprise that our Empire and the great organisations which created our trade and industries have been built up. Under the influence of the Fabian Society, Socialism was grafted upon the Trade Unions and soon showed vigorous growth and assumed dangerous forms. The peculiarity and the peril of Socialism arise from the fact that the word covers every kind of doctrine from the Christian teaching of Charles Kingsley to the ravings of the communists. The Fabians taught that the whole basis of industry ought to be changed for one in which the State should own and control everything and everyone should become a salaried or pensioned public servant. The labour extremists are determined to destroy

the present social order, but are not enamoured of the prospect of servitude to the State as now constituted. Quite naturally, therefore, they turned to the theories of Karl Marx, according to which, not the State but a section of the population—the manual workers—was to rule over the wreckage produced by the destruction of the upper and middle classes. This was evidently impossible without flinging democratic principles to the winds and setting up Soviets on the Russian model, and only by the "direct action" of powerful Trade Unions could the dictatorship of the manual worker be brought about. This direct action, with which we are now constantly threatened is thus, as the Prime Minister has said, nothing but Bolshevism. Mr. John Maclean has explained the programme :-

"By reducing hours, employers will be deprived of profits; and owing to the chaos in industry to-day, due to the war, there is a splendid chance of putting the employers on the run. With a determined revolutionary minority, we shall be able to take control of the country and the means of production at once." (The Call—January, 1919).

It is amazing to find that English women are attracted by Bolshevism. In January, 1918, at a meeting of the Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour organizations, Mrs. Snowden and Dr. Marion Phillips respectively proposed and seconded the following resolution which was sent to Litvinoff;—

"This Council of Socialistic and Labour Women protest against the calumnies which a section of the capitalist press has circulated concerning the Bolsheviks. It hails the negotiations of Brest-Litovsk as proof that the Bolshevik Government, with true Socialist insight, is taking the most direct path to secure a democratic peace."

Subsequent events may possibly have opened the eyes of this Socialist Council to the appalling crimes of Bolshevism; but the idea that the proceedings at Brest-Litovsk, since disowned by the Bolsheviks, were directed towards a "democratic peace" is sufficiently astonishing.

Sober Trade Unionists, who think for themselves, now begin to understand that direct action (Bolshevism) means the ruin of democracy, and Mr. John Hodge has significantly pointed out that the movement does not emanate from the workers, but from the middle class section allied to labour.

This is the lesson of history. The most disastrous revolutionary movements have always been inspired by intellectuals, theorists, dreamers, or ambitious self-seekers exploiting the ignorance of the workers whom they induce to believe in baseless schemes for the regeneration of society, leading straight to murder and violence.

If there are remedies for the diseases of mind and the hallucinations which the tremendous psychological disturbance caused by the war has aggravated, they must be sought in two directions—the wide diffusion of the knowledge of facts and the removal of preventible evils. Among our workers, there is a fund of good sense, of patriotism, and of regard for the interests of their fellow-men to which it must be possible to appeal with power. The miners or the railway men might be forced by their machine into action which would lead to general poverty and painful

distress among the less privileged classes. The majority of them would recoil with loathing from Bolshevism. Many have fought gallantly for their country and have learned that in war, as in all else, order and discipline are vital to success. But they have been taught that capital is their enemy, and that capital is something that can be seized and diverted to make wealth for themselves. It is easy to prove from reason and experience that this is a hopeless fallacy; but the task can only be accomplished by those who know the mind of the worker, understand his methods of thought and sympathise with his higher ideals. Lectures which would impress University students cannot appeal to those whose tuition may have ended in the Primary school. Homely and direct illustrations are necessary. It may be an evil that 148 people in this country have incomes exceeding f. 100,000 a year; but these fortunate or unfortunate persons pay £13,352,000 a year into the public purse, and in rates and taxes considerably more than half their incomes is taken from them for the public benefit, while the amount of employment which they provide is very large. It is, of course, possible to abolish the millionaire by legislation; but in that case his huge contributions to the Exchequer would have to be made up by other people, and it is a simple fact that wages are always highest where capital is most abuudant. That capital consists only of savings and that the majority of capitalists are people of very small means; that no wage-providing industry can be maintained without capital which under state or municipal management must equally be borrowed from somebody; that the whole existence of the present population depends upon sea-borne trade, itself absolutely dependent upon economic production, and that failing such production large numbers of people must emigrate or starve-all this and much more can be made plain to every thinking man or women. It is certainly more difficult to impart understanding of the facts that industry and commerce depend on credit, that adverse exchanges and heavy taxation increase prices and that war entails the destruction of capital; but all these questions can be presented in popular form. The mutual dependence of all classes, which is the most striking feature of modern civilization is easily demonstrated. It is the basis of citizenship, and the brotherhood of man is as vital from the economic as from the Christian point of view.

The educative process must, however, fail if patent and remediable ills remain, and most ills will become irremediable if economic laws are violated. The manual worker has not always received an adequate share of the product of his labour; nor has he at present such a voice in determining labour conditions or such knowledge of the economic position of great undertakings as it is now proposed to give him. His housing does not always fulfil the requirements of a decent standard of life and is in some cases deplorably bad. This is partly due to the Budget provisions of 1909, to the restriction on effort imposed by Trade Unions and to the war. The remedy is

being taken in hand, but the process must be gradual. Unfair profiteering is naturally resented, and it bears even more heavily on other classes than on those of manual labour; but present high prices—less than those in many other countries—are not mainly thus caused. Government must take strong measures to stop illicit profiteering as well as to check the general extravagance, public as well as private, that has followed the war. These and some other steps are essential in order that the manual workers may realize the universal desire that all legitimate grievances shall be redressed so far as is humanly possible.

This old country with all its noble traditions can recover from the appalling losses of the war and rebuild its prosperity on a broader basis than that of the past. But the vital conditions of success are national unity of effort, hard work by brain and hand, universal thrift and good-will, which women can do much to promote. If these conditions are not fulfilled, if we continue to drift towards chaos, if temporary sectional gains are enforced at the expense of the whole community, then all that the might of Germany, deliberately built up for one purpose during many years, failed to accomplish will inevitably be brought about by our own mad dissensions, and our heroes on sea and land and in the air will have died in vain.

#### Political Notes.

The Women's Emancipation Bill after passing its third reading in the House of Commons by a large majority—a somewhat unexpected victory in view of the retention of Clause II and its promises for the immediate extension of the franchise to women under 30 on the same terms as men—has been rejected by the House of Lords.

On the day previous to its rejection the Government Bill (Sex Disqualification Bill) passed its second reading. This Bill contains no franchise clause but provides for the opening of professions to women, It contains a proviso, however, that the Civil Service may be opened by Orders in Council. This introduces a reactionary principle and it is hoped that the Bill will be amended in this respect when it reaches the Commons.

A Bill for the raising of the income limit for compulsory insurance to £250 instead of £160 is now before Parliament and is being backed by the Approved Societies. It is urged that owing to the increased cost of living many of the industrial incomes have been raised and that the earners are in danger of losing those insurance benefits for which they have been paying while their incomes' purchasing power has not increased even though at a higher figure. On the other hand this Bill may affect disadvantageously a number of professional women with small incomes and it would seem desirable that some option should be allowed as to remaining within for those with recently increased income, desiring not to lose their benefits and to remain outside for those who would now automatically fall under the Insurance Act.

Our Work.

Mr. J. L. Garvin gave his promised lecture for us on the "League of Nations" at the Caxton Hall on the first Wednesday in July. The large audience was deeply interested is his treatment of the subject, which opened up new avenues of thought to many of those present.

Preliminary arrangements have been made by the Education Committee for the work of the Autumn Session. These include: Speakers' Classes, Weekly Debates, a Conference on the subject of the conduct of Municipal Elections, to which the majority of the Women's Organisations likely to be interested in this subject, have been asked to send representatives, and a series of Lectures. Details of the various arrangements will be published in the September-October issue of Monthly News.

## Women in the Peace Procession.

The services of women in winning the great war were fully recognised by their presence in our victory procession. The fact has been commented on in Paris, where their absence in the similar procession was conspicuous.

#### Votes for Women.

Rome, July 12th.—Signor Martini and other Deputies introduced in the Chamber to-day a Bill for granting the vote to women.—Reuter.

The Hague, July 10th.—The First Chamber of the States-General to day adopted by thirty-four votes to five M. Marchant's motion to introduce woman suffrage.—Reuter.

### British Women in the Tropical Colonies.

It has long been a matter of regret that the presence of white women has been discouraged by our rulers in the more remote districts of our tropical colonies; in East Africa it was officially stated that preference would be given to unmarried officials and the same policy was pursued in West Africa. From the administrative point of view the presence of women was a drawback where housing accommodation was a difficulty, changes of post had frequently to be effected and health was a consideration. It need hardly be said that such arguments were more than outbalanced by the notorious evils to which such unnatural separation gave rise from the point of view of both the colony and the white inhabitants.

It is therefore with much pleasure we see that, speaking on July 21st, Sir Hugh Clifford, the newly appointed Governor of Nigeria, stated that in his opinion the Government should give every facility for women to join their husbands engaged in the Colony, and "that the passage of Government officers' wives should be paid."

It will be remembered that Lady Clifford is the authoress whose works are well known under the name of Mrs. de la Pasture.

## PRISCILLA ON PEACE.

"How are you going to celebrate Peace, Papa? asked Priscilla pointedly.

"It depends entirely upon you, Priscilla," said her fond parent. "Being the most popular débutante of the Season, I take it you have already the pick of so many invitations that you can provide a programme that will be satisfactory to us both.'

"Oh! as for me," said Priscilla, "you must leave me out of the question entirely. Peace may be all very well for you, papa," she continued quietly, "but coming at the end of the most expensive of Seasons, it means anything but Peace of mind for me, I assure you. Of course, I'm pleased that the war is over; everyone is pleased with that, just as everyone is pleased with the thoughts of celebrating a just Peace, but it means "-and Priscilla cast a searching look in her parent's face—"prolonging the Season's gaieties far into the vacation. I ask you, papa, as a man of business, how can I on a limited dress allowance afford to take my share in the Peace celebrations? Already half the hostesses I know are issuing invitations for Peace dinners and dances, got up on the spur of the moment. There isn't a single night during Peace week that I couldn't be dining out at some big restaurant and going on to a dance till the small hours afterwards; its going to be gayer and more brilliant even than the Armistice, for everyone will be expected to look their best and dress up for the great occasion. With every other débutante I'm in rags, absolute rags, I've nothing left that's fit to wear." and Priscilla mopped an imaginary tear from the corner of one bright blue eye, keeping the other cautiously fixed upon her parent-"and it isn't as if this week was going to be the end, either, papa," she said; "Peace parties are going to last all through the holidays. Every seaside resort and big spa is contemplating some great Peace celebration to be held during the visitors' season, and all the big hotels are following suit. It's all very well for you men-a topper and a couple of suits will see you through-but it means dozens and dozens of dresses of the smartest and most up-to-date style for me if I'm going to enjoy Peace; and as I haven't got them"-Priscilla announced, picking up her expensive parasol and gold bag preparatory to going out—"I'll just have to buy a sunbonnet and go down into the country and make hav. It's the most economical but the dullest kind of holiday I know of."

"Wait one moment, Priscilla," said her parent, "before you go, hadn't you better tell me where you've seen all those lovely dresses that you mean to buy, and which I, of course, will have to pay for in addition to giving you a dress allowance? Didn't I see you motoring up Piccadilly as I came out of Princes' after lunch?" he said. "How clever you are, Papa!" said Priscilla, all smiles; "yes, I did pass Princes' on my way from Swan and Edgar's, the shop that has made all kinds of preparations for Peace. You've only to go in there to find model frocks for all occasions-no matter if it is a dance or a dinner, a garden party or a country fête, walk into Swan and Edgar's show-rooms and you can walk out all ready dressed for any entertainment you please. Not only do they supply model dresses, hats, wraps, and shoes, but all the latest etceteras for town or country wear; and what is more, Papa," said Priscilla, as she stooped to imprint a kiss on her parent's brow, "you'll find the bill won't be half as expensive as you imagine.

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President: THE VISCOUNTESS ST. CYRES.

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