

MONTHLY NEWS  
of the  
**Conservative Women's Reform  
ASSOCIATION.**  
NEW ISSUE.

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*Chairman of Executive Committee:* LADY TRUSTRAM EVE.

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Children of men! not that your age excel  
In pride of life the ages of your sires,  
But that ye think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,  
The Friend of man desires.

"Progress." By MATTHEW ARNOLD.

**Bolshevism: Its Causes and Effects.**

By LORD SYDENHAM, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., etc.

The term Bolshevism is an unfortunate misnomer suggesting the discovery of a new system of government by Lenin and his followers. "Bolshevik" is only the Russian equivalent for "extremist," and the Russian extremists have simply carried to their logical results the aims of extremists in other countries.

The conditions of Russia in 1917 were favourable to the kind of revolution which Lenin was sent by the Germans to accomplish; and while all revolutions are necessarily affected by the mentality of the people, there is nothing distinctively Russian in the system which has been misnamed Bolshevism.

The chances of constitutional reforms, which were earnestly advocated by the sane and progressive elements in Russia, were wrecked by the Kerensky régime; and when Korniloff was betrayed the way was open to the extremists, who seized upon power and proceeded to carry their theories of Government into practice. Whether, if the late Tsar had yielded to the strong appeals of Russian patriots, a constitutional government based on democratic principles could have been established we cannot know; but it is certain that the "dark forces" behind the throne were manipulated by Germany. It was the great object of the Germans before and during the Great War to foment revolution in all the countries of the Allies. That object is being pursued to-day, and in Russia it attained success. For the horrors of Bolshevik Rule, and for the destruction of civilization over a great part of Russia, Germany is mainly responsible. Spartacism, the German analogue of Bolshevism from which it derives support, is a just nemesis for the cynically atrocious secret activities of the German Government; but it is not probable that the German people will submit themselves to Soviet tyranny.

The history of the French Revolution and of the subsequent performances of the Internationale is already almost forgotten; but books will be

written to show the extraordinary similarity—in aims and procedure—between this mighty convulsion and the still greater, darker and more disastrous outburst in Russia. Behind both were some few honest idealists, who pictured a new world in which all men were equal, prosperous, and happy—a world to be attained without bloodshed by eloquent appeals to *liberté, égalité, et fraternité*. Dreamers, obsessed with an idea and on the borderland of madness, have usually been able to convince themselves that any means are justified in securing the beneficent ends which they desire, and easily become the accomplices of assassins. As Allies, they have always made use of the dangerous classes—a small minority in all countries which is ready for murder as a means to plunder. Revolutions are always brought about by minorities, and when they succeed for a time in assuming power, the extremists (Bolsheviks) dominate their actions. In France, the Revolutionists used the rabble of the great towns as paid executioners of the liberties and the lives of the citizens. The Bolsheviks have done precisely the same, bribing the riff-raff of the Army and the civil population, and even employing Chinese mercenaries to murder and torture Russians.

The social and political ideas upon which Bolshevism is based are older than the French Revolution; but they were adopted, developed and applied by Robespierre and his accomplices. Later they were systematized and proclaimed with great force, in terms alluring to the ignorant, by the German Jew Karl Marx, who, according to Sir Lynden Macassey,\* is quoted in every other workshop on the Clyde to-day. The doctrines of this friend of humanity are mainly two. Manual labour creates all wealth, and is therefore entitled to all profits. Manual labour can only obtain its rights by means of the class war, which is therefore held up as the sure passport to the new world. These doctrines are as false economically as they are morally ruinous; but, since the decline of the influence of the too plainly preposterous theories of Henry George, they have made great way in

\* *The Edinburgh Review*, April, 1919.



this and other countries. They were accurately expressed in the following appeal to the manual workers, widely circulated by the "National Socialist Party" during the war:—

"Millions of you are now armed, trained and disciplined. You have the power, if you have the will, to sweep away your enslavers for ever. Then take the final control of your country and all that it contains—Wealth may be made as plentiful as water if you will but seize the enormous engines for making goods at the disposal of man in society."

This doctrine is being zealously preached every day, and Mr. Israel Zangwill has candidly explained that "Bolshevism is only Socialism in a hurry." Bolshevism is nothing but Marxism, which itself is only a popularized edition of the theories of Robespierre.

Nothing can be more important, to the women of our Country especially, than a study of the inevitable results of the practical applications of Marxism in martyred Russia.

The first act of the Russian Marxists was to break up the Constituent Assembly by armed force, and thus to prevent the Russian people from having any voice in determining their fate. Lenin and his followers then began to issue decrees, which have been flowing ever since. They abolished all the Courts of Law, thus dealing a deadly blow to liberty, and they ordered the confiscation of private property. At the same time they destroyed the Eastern Church and proscribed all Christian teaching, though they graciously permitted a parent to instruct his children in Christian principles in his home. I cannot describe in detail the travesty of Government which was set up in order to enforce Marxian principles upon the helpless people of Russia. A Central Soviet (Workmen's and Soldiers' Council) was set up which appointed "Peoples' Commissaries," charged with various departments and exercising uncontrolled powers over the lives and property of Russians. Local Soviets with the same powers were similarly established, and might obey the decrees of the Central Body as they pleased. This was convenient; because while a local Soviet could decree and carry out the communisation of women, it was possible to deny that this was a part of the Bolshevik theory of Society. Such was the machinery by which this class war was waged, and the extermination of the "bourgeoisie"—the educated and property-owning classes—was set about. Other classes naturally either objected to tyranny or were lukewarm; and on the plea of suppressing the counter-revolution, which is a favourite justification of murder in such cases, working men and peasants have also been murdered. The instrument of the dictators is the Red Army—bribed by stolen money, fed while the masses starved, and supported by Chinese auxiliaries—and as the Marxian gospel was not everywhere received with favour, this army has been continuously engaged in a war of aggression which the Soviets threaten to carry into non-Russian territory. Trained officers are procured from the old army by the simple expedient of murdering their families if they refuse service.

Had the Commissaries of the people all been incorruptible and possessed of supreme administrative ability, the Soviet Government, based on class dictatorship, must have failed to meet the needs of a civilized people; but many of these persons are ignorant, vicious scoundrels, who have used their opportunities to amass wealth. The results of Marxism are written in letters of blood and tears. The "Terror" in France pales before the record of the achievements of the Russian extremists, and starvation and disease complete what the assassins leave undone. Not since the days of Timour has the world seen atrocities so widespread and so appalling. For the time, one of the richest countries of the world is ruined, industries and transport are paralysed, and an ample food supply has been exchanged for ghastly famine. Lenin and his German-Jewish associates assumed power with the watchwords "Peace and plenty." Murder, hunger and disease hold the field wherever Soviet rule prevails. Perhaps, worst of all, the soul of the Russian people has been killed. The full horrors of the situation are not yet known, but evidence rapidly accumulates; and as the Marxists in this country affect to disbelieve the elementary facts of this shocking tragedy of a great people, it is fortunate that the testimony of Colonel John Ward, M.P., and of Mr. Keeling, a working man, has been made public. A newspaper, which continuously preaches Marxism in this country, stated in February last:—

"The tearing and raging propaganda against the Bolsheviks was started in the Press and on the platform. No slander was too vile, no calumny too mean for them. Tales of murder or outrage, of nationalization of women, were coolly invented in the newspaper offices, and all this was done to create an atmosphere."

It is sad that anyone should be capable of writing thus, and sadder still that writers of this class should be able to count upon a hearing among British men and women. It is, however, necessary for our extremists and their alien supporters to falsify plain facts, lest their dupes should recoil with loathing from the abyss into which they are being lured by the promise that "wealth may be made as plentiful as water" by wholesale robbery and murder.

At the annual conference of the "Workers' Socialist Federation" this month, it was decided to change the name of the organization to the "Communist Party."

Resolutions were adopted expressing solidarity with the workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary and Germany. The Federation desires the abolition of Parliament and the present Local Government bodies, and the substitution of Workers' Councils on the lines of the Russian Soviet, etc., etc.

The awful experiences through which Russia is passing, supply the most tremendous object lessons ever offered to the world; but, if our men and women can be induced to ponder them in time, this old country of noble traditions may yet solve its problems of reconstruction by the methods of righteousness and peace.

Next Month "Bolshevism: Its Remedies."

## Christianity and Industrial Problems.

By the Hon. Mrs. JOHN BAILEY.

This, the Report of the Archbishop's Fifth Committee of Enquiry, belonging to a series of committees appointed as a result of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, deserves the careful study of all who are interested in the questions involved. It starts from the fact that Churchpeople as a whole have in the past kept the principles on which they have tried to base their private lives far too much apart from their activities in the industrial sphere. They had gradually come to believe, to quote the words of the Report, that "the ethical standards to which it is a man's duty to conform in his personal conduct," are somehow not applicable "to his conduct as a workman, or an employer, or a merchant." No one would probably admit that he believed this divorce between individual and social life to be justified, and no doubt lack of imagination and of sympathy have had much more to do with it than any deliberately selfish intention. But it is impossible to account for the complacent acceptance of such a state of things, for instance, as is revealed by books such as the "Town Labourer" and "Village Labourer," by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, or the conditions of employment in factories previous to the passing of the Factory Acts, without admitting that this divorce did in fact exist; and that men who in their private lives were kind, merciful, and just, were undoubtedly capable of looking on their workmen mainly as instruments of production, and were often culpably indifferent to the conditions under which they had to live and to work. It is with this divorce between economic activities and religious consideration that the report deals. It was drawn up by a strong Committee, meeting under the Chairmanship of the Bishop of Winchester, and on which capital and labour were alike represented and the result is a document full of interest and suggestion; and more than that, also of very heart-searching questions for those who wish to bring their industrial activities into line with their Christian principles.

For even now, though there is great and steady improvement, the conditions under which the great masses of our population have to live and bring up their children are often intolerable; and we all know how much "unrest" there is, how much mutual suspicion and distrust, how little all classes of the community can be said to be co-operating for the common good, instead of fretting against and trying to outwit each other.

With the main thesis of this report, therefore, we must all be in sympathy—the urging of the duty of service upon all, whether employers or employed, the emphasis laid on the payment of sufficient wages and the provision of sufficient leisure to allow of full development of the mind and spirit, the extension of educational facilities of all kinds, and—most important perhaps of all

—the frank recognition on the part of employers that their workmen have a real right to a share in the responsibility for, and, so far as is practicable, in the management of the industry in which they are concerned. But I cannot but feel that the true function of the Church in all this should be much more the appeal to the conscience and the intelligence of those engaged in industry, in whatever capacity, than the identification almost of Christianity itself with special, and often highly disputable proposals dealing with such matters as taxation, land-tenure, housing and profit-sharing. No doubt, mere exhortations to avoid covetousness and to restrain the desire for gold would not be of much use—though was not this, after all, the method of the New Testament?—but in their anxiety to avoid this, the signatories of the Report seem to me to have fallen into the opposite danger—that of identifying Christian principles which we all hold, with special measures upon which neither Churchpeople, as such, nor economists are agreed.

It is surely true that economic methods which can be easily applied to a small community such as that of the early Christians are not suitable to a complicated industrial society like our own; and while the truths of Christianity are of universal application, there is a real danger—dismissed far too cavalierly on page 24 of the Report—of trying to apply them in such a way as to make them apparently quite incompatible with the very existence of a commercial society. If this happens it will not be the fault of the principles, but of their application, and the result is bound to be a kind of Tolstoyan view of the relations between Christianity and social life which the signatories of the Report would presumably be among the first to reject. Such a view is, all the same, not an unfair deduction from much that they say. Their whole attitude towards the question of profits, for instance, is coloured by a certain reluctance to admit that large profits, at any rate, should be necessary at all—as if they were a kind of concession to the weakness of the flesh! "Profits above a certain level" what level? and by whom should it be fixed? are said to have "no moral justification," but no attempt is made to answer the very pertinent question which immediately arises as to how men are to be induced to take the large risks upon which successful enterprise depends, if they are debarred from the possibility of making large profits as a compensation. So again on page 55 there is an implied condemnation of the practice of dismissing workmen when there is no employment for them. But is it proposed to keep them on at the State expense, as was done in the case of the French "ateliers nationaux" in 1848? with the most deplorable results as we all know.



These are some of the difficulties which occur to one reader at any rate, and which seem to lead on to a more fundamental one still. Do the signatories of the Report aim at nothing less than the elimination of the whole motive of private gain from our industrial life, and the discarding of all modern methods of industry in favour of a return to the mediæval ideal of State regulation? for there is, after all, no half-way house—either the cost of production of articles is determined by competition as at present, or by State regulation of hours, wages and profits as was attempted in the Middle Ages. To a certain extent, of course, we are being gradually pushed in that direction now; but if the elimination of private profit from industry is to be the aim of all Churchmen as such, one cannot but remember that the Church carried on a very similar campaign all through the Middle Ages against the taking of interest on money at all, which was characterized as usurious. The historical summary given on pp. 29-40 seems to treat this point of view, and indeed that of the early Fathers as well, with sympathy, as establishing a "moral standard by which economic transactions were to be tried." But what happened, of course, was that the prohibition of usury was gradually dropped as impracticable—the last legal enactment against it was in 1545, not surely because it had ceased to be wrong to be grasping and money-loving, but because the particular application of this truth which the Church had tried to make was found not to be possible under the conditions of modern Europe.

It is earnestly to be hoped that this process will not be repeated, for it is absolutely necessary that the labour on which the prosperity of the community depends, should not be so

organized as to be inconsistent with the Christianity which is the inspiration of the whole national life. Some method of reconciliation has got to be found, and the Report contains many suggestions such as the extension of Trade Boards, the establishment of what are known as Whitley Councils, and of a National Industrial Parliament, which should help to bring it about. But what is ultimately required is such an improvement in the spirit of the whole people and their attitude towards industry, that abuses such as those dealt with in the Report will be gradually dropped as incompatible with it. This is what really happened in the case of slavery, and is happening now in that, for instance, of sweating.

In the remarkable collection of letters written by the late Sergeant Keeling—himself a Socialist—there is a passage in which he says that at the bottom of all Labour disputes the questions involved are not so much economic as concerned with the use and abuse of power. This would seem to be profoundly true. Many of our present difficulties are due to the rooted objection felt by employers to parting with their power over their workmen; and now that the power is passing from their hands, we shall be no better off if those workmen themselves show an equally grasping and selfish spirit. The Syndicalist, as has been said, wishes to exploit the need of the community for his own advantage, just as much as the profiteer. The main function of the Church would seem, in short, to make everyone, whether employer or employed, into better Christians, rather than to commit itself to schemes which, in the opinion of many Churchpeople, would be historically retrogressive and economically disastrous.

SARAH BAILEY.

## OUR WORK.

### THE COUNCIL.

A well-attended meeting of the Council was held on Tuesday, May 27th, at 32, Sloane Gardens, S.W., by kind permission of Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, O.B.E.

In the unavoidable absence of the President, the Countess of Selborne, the Chair was taken by Lady Trustram Eve, Chairman of the Executive Committee. In her speech on "Questions of today and to-morrow," the Chairman dwelt on the urgency of all reforms being well considered, and not the outcome of hasty legislation prompted by popular clamour. This policy was especially needed when dealing with the vital questions of housing and education.

The Treasurer's Report and that of the work of the Office were read and adopted.

Mr. John Humphreys, Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society, gave a most interesting and enlightening address on "Proportional Representation," and explained how an election in a town returning five members, would be run on this system.

The meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Gilbert Samuel for so kindly lending her house for the meeting.

### Central Executive Committee.

Application was made by the Executive Committee for permission to give evidence before the Income Tax Commission; but in view of the fact that the evidence to be given by the National Council of Women, to which this Association is affiliated, covered the ground to be taken by the Committee, the application was withdrawn in deference to the wishes of the Commission.

The Committee has recently received a message of congratulation on the Enfranchisement of Women in this country from the newly-formed Union Feminista Nacional of Buenos Aires. The Executive Committee, in thanking the Officers of the Union for their letter, wished them every success in their efforts to raise the status of the women of Argentina.

### Lectures.

On Friday, June 13th, Sir Sidney Low kindly lectured for the Association at 52, Portland Place, again placed at the disposal of the Committee by the kindness of Lady St. Helier, on "the Government of India," with special reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Bill. The lecturer gave a most interesting and instructive account of the various provisions of the Bill, and urged all present to use their influence with reference to the adoption in the Bill of the system of voting by communities, this system being the only one by which the widely divergent interests of the masses of the people would be represented.

On Wednesday, July 2nd, Mr. J. L. Garvin has promised to speak for us on the "British Empire and the League of Nations."

### "Monthly News."

The next article in the series dealing with the work of other organizations will be the "Industrial Reconstruction Council," by Colonel C. L'Estrange Malone, M.P., Chairman of its Executive Committee.

Our readers will note that the present issue has an extra page. This has been inserted as the question of the "Church and Industrial Problems" is a most vital one at the present moment. Mrs. Bailey's article will, we feel sure, be read with deep interest.

Our President, the Countess of Selborne, is in India at the present time, having been summoned there by the serious illness of her younger son, the Hon. Lewis Palmer. We are glad to state that he has now recovered, and Lady Selborne will probably be in England again about the beginning of August.

### U.S. AND WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

Washington, May 22nd.—The House of Representatives has passed an amendment to the Federal Constitution, granting women suffrage by 304 votes to 88.

New York, June 5th.—The Senate yesterday passed a resolution to submit the Women's Suffrage Constitutional amendment to the Legislatures of the States. The resolution, if ratified by three-fourths of the States, becomes effective over the whole of the United States. The present stage has been reached after a fight which has lasted nearly fifty years, but the historic event was not marked by any dramatic display.—*Times*.

### THE PEACE.

As we go to press, news is received that the signature of the Peace Treaty is assured. When as British citizens we look back over the long months and years since the eventful days of August, 1914, with all their experience and suffering, our feelings can only be those of reverent gratitude for the part played by our people in every portion of the world. The bravery of our men now forms part of the undying records of the world; the devotion of our women has been recognized at home by their enfranchisement, one of the most epoch-making steps in the evolution of humanity.

Clouds are still around us in the political and in the industrial world; but may the hope, the confidence and the wide outlook which sustained us in the dark days of war still glorify our work, till the Great Peace becomes not merely an historical fact, but a true and deep reality.



## MY LADY COMES TO TOWN.

My lady had arrived in Town. The stately family mansion in Mayfair, which for the past four years had remained shuttered and silent and uninhabited, save for the rooms which had been given over to Red Cross War-workers, was once more itself again.

Doors and windows stood smilingly open; painters and decorators had done their part: already the florist assistants were busy putting finishing touches to the window-boxes once again gay with geraniums and marguerites.

Everything inside and outside the great House showed signs of preparation for the Gala Victory season of Peace rejoicings that London is getting ready to enjoy.

But Mi-lady, who for the past four years had remained buried in her home in the country tending wounded Tommies, felt strangely unfamiliar amid her old surroundings.

The London she had come back to was not the London she had left. The War had so unmistakably left its mark—an ugly one, she felt.

She wandered round familiar places seeing unfamiliar faces, missing old friends and old landmarks, oppressed by a sense of isolation which she felt she could not shake off.

New methods, new manners, had taken the place of those she had been accustomed to before the war. Fresh difficulties, she felt, encountered her at every turn.

Even the refurnishing of her house—one of the most agreeable of all tasks that in olden days awaited her upon her return to town—now threatened to become a toil.

All too soon after her arrival the new housekeeper had come to her with a list, not of the things she had bought, but of necessities she had failed to procure.

Carpets, napery, additional household linen, curtains, cushions, and all those hundred and one et-ceteras that Mi-lady had ordered to be bought, but which for some mysterious reason she noted had failed to materialise.

"You cannot get all of them, your ladyship," the housekeeper exclaimed. "I've been to several shops but failed to match in quality and beauty the things you have here."

Then it was that Mi-lady took the matter into her own hands.

Stepping into the smart motor-car that had superseded the old carriage-and-pair, she drove direct to the shop patronised by her mother and grand-mother before her—Swan and Edgar's, the great Corner Store of Piccadilly.

Once inside she felt, for the first time since her arrival in London, on familiar ground. Here was no change—everything ran with the same smoothness and order as before the war.

Great stores of heirloom lines were brought down and displayed for her to choose from. After making her choice of that she turned her attention to beautiful curtains and rich drapery fabrics, worthy of the mansion they were destined to adorn.

By the time her visit was completed Mi-lady had ticked off every item on her shopping list as successfully secured.

"You should go to the shop with the oldest reputation if you want the most modern merchandise. You'll find you always get the utmost satisfaction there," was her only comment as she watched the astonishment and satisfaction with which her housekeeper surveyed the new purchases, making a mental note of the excellent quality and the wonderful value that her mistress had secured.

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SHORT SPEECHES.

MUSIC.

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### WOMEN UNDER THIRTY.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE  
STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRIAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS,

#### PUBLIC MEETING

at the MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4,  
TUESDAY, JULY 1st, at 8 p.m.

To DEMAND The Vote for Women on the same terms as for men, and Equal opportunities for women in the Professions and Public Service. To SUPPORT The Women's Emancipation Bill, which has been introduced by the Labour Party, which is supported by all Parties, which will open all Public Services and Professions to women and give women under thirty the vote.

ALL SPEAKERS WILL BE WOMEN UNDER THIRTY.

Chair: Miss Madeleine Symons (Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations), Speakers: Mrs. Stocks (National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship), Miss F. Campbell (National Federation of Women Workers), Miss Ruby Part (Workers' Union), Miss Rea (Cambridge University), Miss Howell (National Federation of Women Teachers), Miss Jessie Stephen (Poor Law Guardian).

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