

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

President: THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.

Chairman of Executive Committee: LADY TRUSTRAM EVE.

Central Office: 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W. 1. *Telegraphic Address:* "Cufranchis London." *Telephone:* 886 Mayfair.

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"FOLLOW LIGHT—DO THE RIGHT."

The Editor of *Monthly News* very much regrets that she has been unable to procure an article against the retention of the Turk in Constantinople, as she had hoped to print a "Leader" dealing with each side of this vexed question. She has, however, taken the liberty to reproduce the following manifesto, which was published in the *Times* some weeks ago, and which bore many influential signatures.

Sir,—We the undersigned, wish to express a feeling of profound uneasiness at the conclusions in regard to the settlement of the Near East, which rumour announces as now being entertained by the Peace Conference in London. The British people have submitted to heavy sacrifices of blood and treasure in their conflict with Ottoman tyranny; but they have always been buoyed up by the confident belief that this was the final struggle, and that the result of such a victory as has now been gained would be the complete and definite abolition of Turkish rule over non-Turkish peoples, whether in Europe or in Asia Minor.

But now we are told that the Peace Conference sitting in London proposes not only to leave Constantinople in the hands of the Turkish Government, but also to give quite inadequate relief to the desolated and decimated regions of Asia Minor, and especially of Turkish Armenia. After the appalling and deliberate massacres of 1916, resulting in the death by the sword, torture, and starvation, of nearly a million persons ordered from Constantinople as part of a policy initiated by Abdul Hamid, repeated on a vaster scale by the Young Turkish Committee, and now actually renewed in the very face of the Conference, it was thought that the limit of endurance had been reached. When the Armistice was signed, all agreed that the first of our war aims in the Near East should be the removal of Turkish rule from the non-Turkish populations. There seemed no doubt as to the necessity of bringing to an end this defiance of justice and humanity, this deliberate war of annihilation waged by the Turks against their own unarmed and helpless subjects, women and children as

well as men. Surely our young men have died in vain if such a government is to be confirmed by the sanction of the Peace Treaty.

During the war the Allies definitely encouraged the Armenians to join as volunteers in fighting for the Allied cause, and supplied them with munitions of war, encouraging them with assurances of the certain deliverance of their country in case of victory. They fought gallantly, and fell in thousands. To hand them back to their slaughterers would be to doom them for their loyalty to our cause. It is no longer possible to believe that we could guarantee them any surety of protection under Turkish rule. As long as that rule remains, the shield of Europe has always proved an added peril to the protected. The only remedy is to remove that rule altogether, and to give to these regions either complete independence or mandatory guidance under Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant.

As to Constantinople itself, it will be a misfortune and indeed a scandal, if this city is left in Turkish hands. It has been for centuries a focus of intrigue and corruption; and it will so continue as long as the Turkish Government has power there. If Constantinople were transferred to the control of the League of Nations, there could be no offence to genuine Moslem sentiment. For the Caliphate is not, and never has been, attached to Constantinople. The Sultan, if he retains the Caliphate, will be just as much a Caliph in the eyes of Moslems all over the world, at Brusa or Konia, as at Stamboul.

Many thousands of our countrymen found consolation for the calamities of Gallipoli, for the thousands of British lives sacrificed in Mesopotamian warfare or destroyed by the savagery with which the Turkish Government treated the British prisoners captured at Kut and elsewhere, by the thought that these sufferings would at least secure future safety for the oppressed races of the Near East. There will, we believe, be widespread indignation in all English-speaking lands, in our Dominions as well as in the Home Country, if the cruel and corrupt rule of the Turk is allowed to remain in any of the lands where he has sought to exterminate his innocent victims.

The Case for Keeping the Turkish Government in Constantinople.

The Turkish Government cannot be expelled from Constantinople at the present moment, because:—

1. This policy would place in imminent peril of extermination the million and more Armenians and other Christians scattered throughout Asia Minor. Their chief enemies are the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal, who is officially in rebellion against the Government of the Sultan. The Nationalist forces are at present confined to Eastern Anatolia and Cilicia, with irregular bands to the number of forty or fifty thousand watching the Greek troops near Smyrna. Although the present Turkish Ministry and a large part of the Turkish regular Army is known to be in sympathy with the Nationalists; yet as the Allied fleet holds Constantinople under its guns, the Turkish Government cannot declare itself in favour of the rebels, nor can the regular troops allow them to advance towards the railway.

The great majority of moderate, educated Turks detest and deplore the massacres. But if the Allies declare that Turkish government is to be expelled from Constantinople, the whole power in the land would be thrown into the hands of the Extremists. The Regular Army would go over to Mustapha Kemal, who would be thus enabled to advance into those regions from which hitherto he has been excluded. Nationalist bands would spring up everywhere, and a general massacre on a huge scale would take place. The exiguous Allied units, consisting of a few companies of infantry, strung out in little garrisons a hundred miles or so from one another along the Anatolian railway, would be quite helpless to prevent these massacres. They would probably be cut off and forced to lay down their arms, and the Allies would be faced with a most difficult campaign into the roadless wastes of Asia Minor in order to release them.

The massacres at Marash are the protest of the Turkish nationalists against the supposed permanent occupation of Cilicia by the French. In order to prove the impossibility of such an occupation, the Turkish nationalists attacked Marash, drove out the small French garrison, and proceeded to massacre the Christians. This would take place in every other province as soon as it were known that the Sultan's government was to be expelled from Constantinople. The million Armenians are thus so many hostages in Turkish hands, that such a policy will not be pursued. Many Armenians in London at present do not seem to realize that the Allies are not prepared to send to Asia Minor the very large reinforcements that would be required to protect or remove all these far scattered communities, in case all Turkey were inflamed against them by the loss of the capital.

2. The expulsion of the Caliph's government from Constantinople would, in the opinion of every Indian officer or Indian official, greatly intensify the present unrest in India. The best answer to the argument that the Moslem world is so divided into sects that India would not be

moved by the expulsion of the Sultan, is to be found in the anxiety of all Christian sects to turn him out. English and American bishops are not "Orthodox" nor subject to any Greek or Armenian patriarch, yet the religious organizations of the Anglo-Saxon world are the most prominent forces in this agitation. Every good Moslem prays for the Sultan-Caliph every day; moreover, he is poorer, more ignorant, devout and bigoted than the average Christian. Can we not put ourselves in his place?

He believes that the English Government gave a pledge in January, 1918, when seeking recruits in India, that it was not the intention of the Allies to drive the Sultan from Constantinople. It is probable that out of seventy million Indian Moslems, the vast majority at that time knew nothing of this pledge. But they do now; the agitator has seen to that, and this amounts to the same thing. It is said that Constantinople is not a sacred Moslem city; nor is it a sacred Christian city, yet how many Christians want to recover Santa Sophia! Bagdad, Mecca and Jerusalem may be more holy than Constantinople, but there was never a question of expelling Moslem authorities from their shrines. It is proposed to place Constantinople under Christian rule.

It is said that India cannot be allowed to dictate our foreign policy. Either we must govern India as hitherto, in what she considers her national and religious interests, or we must be prepared to strengthen our very small garrisons and hold India by the sword.

3. The Turkish Government, expelled from Constantinople, would go to Konia, where it would be quite inassailable, and could persecute the Christians and intrigue with other Moslem races, immune from our correction. Meanwhile, Constantinople with its mixed Levantine population, would remain as corrupt as ever. "Byzantinism" was there before the Turk, and would survive his departure. Heaven forbid that we should put the "League of Nations" in such an infected spot! The real powers in Turkey today is not on the Bosphorus, but at Sivas, Mustapha Kemal's Headquarters. Is the situation any better for that? On the contrary! What we should desire to do is to strengthen the Government of the Sultan in Constantinople against all such rebels in Antolia and elsewhere, and then through the moderate Ententophil, Liberal Turkish party direct the administration of the whole. All the best elements in Turkey know well that this is their only road to national salvation. Moreover, it is the only way to bring to justice the gang of criminals in the Committee of Union and Progress, that with the constant secret support of Germany, under a mere pretext of popular representation, have no misgoverned Turkey, and belied the hopes based on the revolution of 1910. All that is required for this is loyal agreement between the three Major Allies; yet our first step towards a common policy is to start a powerful agitation for the expulsion of the Turkish Government from its capital, of which policy both France and Italy utterly disapprove!

H. E. GOAD.

Notes on the Bastardy Bill, 1920.

The fact that the death rate among illegitimate children is nearly double the normal, shows that they require special protection. The really important point in the Bill to amend the Bastardy Laws which has been printed, and will be introduced in the House of Commons shortly, is that it provides for the registration of the father of illegitimate children. This is the foundation for all future improvements in the law, and I hope our Association will give its ungrudging support to this principle.

It is of the utmost importance that men should be protected from false accusations in this matter, and we should scrutinize the details of the Bill carefully, and with the help of legal advisers to see that this is done, but the reform of the law which would ensure the fathers of illegitimate children being forced to take up the responsibility of maintaining them, is long overdue.

I have no illusions on the subject of "unmarried mothers." A lot of sentimental rubbish is talked about them now-a-days. But they cannot support their children and mother them, and it is the child who suffers from the neglect of the father to take his share in its maintenance. He can be forced to pay something under an affiliation order now; but very few affiliation orders are claimed, and they are often evaded. The girls are usually feckless creatures and do not take the proper legal steps; and the longer time that elapses after the birth of the child, the harder it is to establish the claim. By registering the man's name when the child's birth is registered, giving him all possible legal protection against false accusations, the law will know the responsible father.

If it is unreasonable to expect the mother to bear the whole expense of the child's maintenance, it is still more unreasonable to demand that the ratepayers shall. It means that respectable fathers of families, who have the responsibility for their own children, are to be taxed to support these poor little illegitimates and their mothers in the workhouses. In every workhouse you will find young women, who, incapable of maintaining themselves and their children outside, have taken refuge there so that at least the children shall have food and shelter. By a provision which I think deserves our support, the Bill makes all illegitimate children wards of Court under the Children's Act of 1908.

The mere securing of a payment by the father to the mother is not enough in these cases. We might even have a repetition of the scandals which caused the abolition of outdoor relief to illegitimate children by our grandfathers in '34. Depraved women made a family of bastards their means of livelihood. I hope the members of the C.W.R.A. will procure a copy of the Bill, and study it for themselves. It is promoted by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, as well as by the Society for the protection of the Unmarried Mother and her Child.

MAUD SELBORNE.

Here and There.

It has been decided by the Chiefs of the various women's corps to form a Women's Service Association, with the object of preserving that feeling of corporal life and *esprit de corps* which was so noticeable a feature of the Women's organizations during the war. As some of the women's services had already various benevolent and welfare schemes, it was agreed by their various heads that as many as possible of the women's services should unite under one organization, so that the money already subscribed could be spent in the most advantageous way.

A constitution was drafted providing for a representative council and a working executive, the heads of the women's services—Dame Katherine Furse (W.R.N.S.), Dame Florence Leach (W.G.G.C.), Miss Christabel Ellis (Women's Legion, Motor Transport Section), Mrs. E. F. Stewart (Women's Forage Corps), Miss C. Holmes (Army Pay), and Lady Londonderry (Women's Legion), forming part of the preliminary council. The offices of the Women's Legion, 115, Victoria Street, have been lent to the Association.

Lady Londonderry stated to *The Times* representative:—

"If the response is sufficient, we shall apply to Lord Byng's United Services Fund for a grant and go ahead. The membership will be open to all women who enrolled for whole-time service for not less than six months in a corps under the direction of a British Government Department, such as the Wrens, Waacs, Women's Legion (military section), Women's Land Army, Women's Forage Corps, enrolled members of the Army Pay Corps, and W.R.A.F. We are inviting all to join on an equal basis.

"There were about a quarter of a million women enrolled in Government service of some kind during the war, and we have had many proofs that they do not wish to lose their identity as service women, or to lose touch with their old chiefs or their old comrades.

"The objects of our Association include a loan fund for training for civil work, with power to advance capital where necessary to set women up in business; a fund in connection with oversea settlement, to assist in outfitting settlers and to advance small sums for capital; a registry of employment; benevolent fund, clubs and hostels at moderate rates; and hospital accommodation and convalescent homes.

"The Old Comrades Association of the Q.M.A.A.C., W.R.E.N.S., and Women's Legion, Motor Drivers' Reserve, have already approved of the scheme and arranged to affiliate. Members of these associations will automatically become members of the Service Women's Association. It has been suggested that members of other corps who have no separate organization, ex-members of the Women's Land Army, or any other ex-service women who prefer to enrol individually, should contribute an entrance fee of 1s. and an annual subscription of not less than 2s. 6d. It will be of great assistance to us if intending members will write at once, forwarding a copy of their discharge certificate or a full record of service."

Maj. Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame, M.P., who presided recently at a meeting of the London Society for Women's Service at the Central Hall, Westminster, found occasion to praise women for their business-like handling of the various Bills of interest to them which had been brought before the House. He also said it was inconsistent that women should be debarred from the industrial life of the country, when all professional doors were being thrown open to them, and at a time when there was a world hunger for production.

The fourth meeting of the National Council for the Administrative Legal Department of the Civil Service was held on Friday, March 26th, Mr. G. H. Stuart Bunning (Vice-Chairman), presiding. The report of the Organization Committee (as recently published), was discussed. The official side stated that they reserved consideration of the questions relating to women, but otherwise accepted the report; and so far as accepted, it becomes operative. With this understanding, the report was adopted by the Council. Although proposals contained in the report marked a distinct advance, it was widely felt that they were less than women had a right to claim. It was understood that proposals have been referred back to a new committee. The report of this committee cannot give less than its predecessors, and will almost certainly give more. There is reason to believe that the Prime Minister personally interested himself in the question, and that the decision to reconsider the report of the committee emanated from Downing Street.

Increases have been granted in the wages of temporary clerks in government departments—both men and women—and advances promised to both.

In the Nottinghamshire Employment Exchanges a record has been kept of the kind of work which the war time women clerk is now taking up, showing that former clerks are now engaged as follows:—Nursing at the Metropolitan Asylums Board Institutions, spinning at Halifax, silk weaving at Bradford, mechanical instrument making, hose making, frame making, elastic stocking machinery, painting, picture frame making, wool spinning, needle making, lace manufacture and lace trade, hosiery trade, Bacteriological work.

Mr. Justice McCardie has recently pronounced himself in favour of legitimation by subsequent marriage. He advocated a system of legal adoption also.

M. Veniselos, speaking in the chambers on a petition for equality of civil rights, said he had no doubt the civil law in some respects bore heavily upon women and should be altered; but he would not go so far as to give full equality now, but would wait until the majority of Greek women asked for it and proved they wanted it, and when the time was ripe the Government would not oppose the demand. A start might be made in municipal affairs.

Parliamentary.

Since the beginning of this Session, both Houses of Parliament have had under consideration important measures affecting women. Chief among these is the **Representation of the People Bill**. This Bill attained its second reading without a division. The Bill, as drafted, not only proposed to confer the franchise on women at the age of twenty-one, but also proposed to assimilate the Parliamentary and Local Government franchises. At the first sitting of the standing committee to which the Bill was referred, Dr. Addison announced that while the government still felt that there was considerable difficulty in dealing drastically with the franchise in a private members' Bill, he would move an amendment, the effect of which would be to put women in the same position as men under the **Representation of the People Act**. This proposal, which undoubtedly met the views of the great majority of the supporters of this Bill, and of the **Women's Emancipation Bill** of the last session, was accepted by the committee. Certain members, who are resolutely opposed to any further extension of the franchise to women, made it clear that while not voting against Dr. Addison's amendment, they would move amendments to restrict the extension as far as possible. Accordingly, at the next sitting of the committee, Lord Wolmer moved an amendment to restrict the franchise to women of thirty years of age. This amendment, which was designed to wreck the Bill, was defeated by a substantial majority. Sir Frederick Banbury strongly supported Lord Wolmer's proposals, and the principle of equality between men and women was championed by Maj. Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame on the first day, and by Lady Astor and Captain Bowyer on the second. Other amendments restricting the franchise remain to be considered, and will probably meet with a similar fate.

The National Health Insurance Bill, which has passed its second reading and will come before committee after Easter, is designed to increase the rates of benefits under the National Health Insurance Act, in view of the fall in the value of money. The Bill increases the rate of sickness benefit from 10/- to 15/- a week in the case of men, and from 7/6 to 12/- a week in the case of women; the rate of disablement benefit from 5/- to 7/6 a week for both men and women, and the amount of maternity benefit from 30/- to 40/-.

The Bill retains the fundamental principle of the National Insurance Act of 1911, under which the cost of the benefits is met out of compulsory weekly contributions by workers and their employers, together with a grant of a specified proportion from the Exchequer. The joint weekly contribution is to be from 7d. to 10d. in the case of men, and from 6d. to 9d. in the case of women; and in each case 2d. of the increase is to be borne by the employer and 1d. by the worker. Thus for a man, the employer will contribute 5d. and the insured person 5d.; for a woman, the employer will contribute 5d. and the woman 4d.

Readers of the *Monthly News* will have a double interest in the political activities of Lady Astor as one of our Vice-Presidents, and also as the first woman member. Since she entered the House of Commons, Lady Astor has shown herself a live member on many occasions. As well as dealing with an unprecedented mass of correspondence, she has spoken twice: first, on the Drink question, when she acknowledged herself a prohibitionist; and secondly, on a matter dealing with the Portsmouth Dockyards. She has also asked some questions; and as we have already mentioned, it was Lady Astor, among one or two others, who came forward most strongly in favour of the Representation of the People Bill when it was in Committee last week.

Another Bill of paramount interest to women, introduced into the House of Lords last month, was Lord Buckmaster's Matrimonial Causes Bill. The Bill is based mainly upon the Majority Report of the late Lord Gorell's Divorce Commission that marriage be made dissoluble upon the grounds of desertion, habitual cruelty, five years' lunacy, three years' drunkenness.

Speaking on March 24th, the Lord Chancellor promised a free vote to the members of both Houses; and said that if the Bill passed the House of Lords, the Government would re-examine the situation. The Bill was carried by a majority of forty-eight.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill is being considered in Committee. The Committee were of divided opinion on the question of the 10/- benefit to women, as against 12/- to men. The Solicitor-General pointed out that women's contributions were less, and it was finally agreed to adjourn the question until they reached the schedules, the Solicitor-General promising to consult the Minister in the mean time.

Our Work.

Three Lectures have recently been held in Caxton Hall: the first on "The Health Acts," by the Rev. E. D. L. Harvey; the second on "The Middle East," by Captain the Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., and the third on "Penal Reform," by Miss S. M. Fry. These were all most interesting, but unfortunately were badly attended. The Education Committee has decided to hold Conferences in Drawing-Rooms during the Summer Session, and hopes all members will attend these. Those arranged are:—April 14th on "The Bastardy Bill," 1920, at 241, Knightsbridge, at 3 p.m.; April 28th, on "The National Health Insurance Bill," at 29, Park Lane, at 3 p.m.; and on May 19th at 31, Wilton Place, at 3 p.m. (subject not decided yet). These houses have kindly been lent by the Hon. Mrs. William Cecil, Mrs. Hornby Lewis, and Lady Grogan. A Lecture by Professor Spurgeon is being arranged early in May, and it is hoped to have a big propaganda meeting for the Association between Easter and Whitsuntide.

The Council held at the Countess of Selborne's house was largely attended, and was followed by a crowded Conference on "Widows' Pensions." The speakers were Miss Penrose

Phillip, the Countess of Selborne, Mrs. J. P. Boyd Carpenter, Mrs. Hubert Walter, Miss Brodie Hall, and others.

Conservative Women's Reform Association, Marylebone Branch.—An effort made by Mrs. Victor H. Veley to revive the Marylebone Branch, which had been in abeyance during the war, has met with some success. Twenty-two members have re-affirmed membership, and meetings have been arranged for the third Thursday in every month at 8 p.m. at St. Mark's Parish House, Violet Hill. The first was held on March 18th, when Lady Selborne spoke on "Nationalization." The audience was small, but very appreciative, and a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to our President for her kindness in coming to give the Branch a good send-off. Three new members joined, and it is hoped that there will be a larger attendance as the meetings become better known.

The following leaflets, published by the National Unionist Association, 1, Sanctuary Buildings, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. 1, are specially recommended for the education of the voter in town and country:—

Citizenship.

What are Taxes?
How Laws are made.
Who are Ministers?
Women and Politics.
Women and the Vote.

Against Bolshevism.

Bolshevism at first hand, by Colonel John Ward, M.P.

Save those you love from Bolshevism.
The frozen breath of Bolshevism.

Life under Lenin and Trotsky, by Keeling.

A Striking Contrast, Bolshevist and Bolshevist
Bullets.

Economics.

Taking it easy.
Why work?
Are you a capitalist?
A Levy on Capital.
How Wealth pays.
Labour's share of National Wealth.
(To be continued).

Books.

In response to various enquiries for useful books *Monthly News* has decided to publish a list of standard works, which will appear every other month.

Ten minutes talks with workers, Leaflets published by the *Times*, 4/- per 100.

Economics of Everyday Life. Penson. 3/6.

The French Revolution. Nita Webster.

The Meaning of National Guilds. Bechhofer and Reckett.

Self Government in Industry. Cole.

Democracy at the Crossways. Hearnshaw.

Serbia, Temperley.

Mercenarism and War in the Near East, Diplomatist.

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