

**LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM**

THE WILSON CENTER



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C.

**WORKING PAPERS**

Number 169

THE IDEOLOGY OF FEMINISM IN  
THE SOUTHERN CONE, 1900-1940

Asunción Lavrin  
Howard University

Number 169

THE IDEOLOGY OF FEMINISM IN  
THE SOUTHERN CONE, 1900-1940

Asunción Lavrin  
Howard University

An earlier version of this paper was presented at a colloquium  
under the auspices of the Latin American Program, March 12, 1985.

I would like to thank the Social Science Research Council for  
partially funding research for this paper.

This essay is one of a series of Working Papers of the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The series includes papers by Program Fellows, Guest Scholars, interns, staff and Academic Council, as well as work from Program seminars, workshops, colloquia, and conferences. The series aims to extend the Program's discussions to a wider community throughout the Americas, and to help authors obtain timely criticism of work in progress. Support to make distribution possible has been provided by the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Editor: Louis W. Goodman; Assistant to the Editor: Eric L. Palladini, Jr.

Single copies of Working Papers may be obtained without charge by writing to:

Latin American Program, Working Papers  
The Wilson Center  
Smithsonian Institution Building  
Washington, D. C. 20560

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars was created by Congress in 1968 as a "living institution expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson . . . symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs."

The Center's Latin American Program, established in 1977, has two major aims: to support advanced research on Latin America, the Caribbean, and inter-American affairs by social scientists and humanists, and to help assure that fresh insights on the region are not limited to discussion within the scholarly community but come to the attention of interested persons with a variety of professional perspectives: in governments, international organizations, the media, business, and the professions. The Program is supported by contributions from foundations, corporations, international organizations, and individuals.

#### LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM ACADEMIC COUNCIL

William Glade, Chairman, University of Texas, Austin  
Jorge Balán, Centro del Estudio del Estado y la Sociedad (CEDES),  
Argentina  
John Coleman, New York University  
Enrique Florescano, Instituto Nacional de Antropología  
e Historia, Mexico  
Carlos Fuentes, Mexico  
Bolívar Lamounier, Instituto de Estudos Econômicos, Sociais e  
Políticos de Sao Paulo (IDESP), Brazil  
Rex Nettleford, University of the West Indies, Jamaica  
Walter B. Redmond, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México  
Joyce Riegelhaupt, Sarah Lawrence College

Richard Morse, Secretary

THE IDEOLOGY OF FEMINISM IN  
THE SOUTHERN CONE. 1900-1940.

Asunción Lavrin  
Howard University

The role and status of women in the society of the three countries known as the Southern Cone of South America (Chile, Argentina and Uruguay) changed significantly in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Such transformation was the result of many complex factors affecting not only women, but society at large. However, because women had been legally and culturally assigned a subordinate position in society, the changes taking place had deep effects on them as a group.

Although the three nations remained largely dependent on the export of either agricultural or mineral products, the growth of their economies and their main urban centers in the period between 1880 and 1930 transformed them into predominately urban societies.<sup>1</sup> Immigrants from Europe helped to satisfy a growing demand for labor in Argentina and Uruguay, and to bring into the countries new social and political ideologies which would eventually help to strengthen social change by challenging the traditional holders of power. Chile received fewer immigrants, but they left a significant imprint on education and the organization of the army. The social elites of the three countries, who remained in control of politics until the beginning of the twentieth century, were intellectually aware of the social implications of rapid economic growth, and of the changing nature of socio-political control. They faced the early decades of the twentieth century under growing pressure to accept reforms that would closely reflect the transformation of society.

The changes contemplated by forward-looking leaders were the broadening of the political base, the adoption of an educational reform that would make the population more capable of assimilating technological changes for the benefit of expanding economies, and a greater attention to the thorny issues of public welfare such as housing, wages, public health, and the regulation of working hours. Such an agenda of change caused considerable tension among various segments of the population, and eventually resulted in significant innovations or displacement of older political structures. Although the very complexity of these changes challenges generalizations, I would like to cite, as important transformations of these societies, the growing role of the state in matters of social welfare, the trend toward democratization through more broadly based political parties after the adoption of male suffrage, the growing strength of the labor movement, and the rise of a new political leadership to suit the formation of new social groups.<sup>2</sup>

In the usual histories of Latin American nations, the manner in which these general socio-political changes affected the female half of the population, or the activities generated by women themselves, are most often neglected. I would argue for a revision of the historian's viewpoint, by incorporating women into the general picture of this period, and to account for their growing share of the labor force in the budding industries, in the educational systems, and in the national bureaucracies. The impact of women's entrance into the labor pool forced, in turn, a reappraisal of their legal status as members of the family and the nation, insofar as their legal subordination to men, which they especially experienced as married women, became increasingly incongruous with reality. Thus, a process of redefinition of the status of women in society began when legislators started to discuss proposals to give women more control over their earnings and their children. The eventual acceptance of various reforms in the Civil Codes to grant women greater personal freedom meant an increasing acceptance of their presence in many activities outside the home, and the recognition of their ability to perform tasks alongside or even in competition with men. As their intellectual activities and their economic potential expanded, the issue of their role as members of the community and citizens of their nations, posed the question of their acceptability as political entities.

The redefinition of the role and status of women in societies undergoing a process of transformation is the essence of the period under study in this paper, and my argument is that feminism was the ideology which accelerated the mental and material transition of women from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. Feminism attempted to blend traditional social values with the new social realities, to allow men, and women themselves, to accept and assimilate the changes that were becoming an intrinsic part of their daily realities. This was no easy task for those who called themselves feminists in countries with a strong tradition of roles separation based on gender, and hierarchical divisions of power and authority in society as well as in the family. For this reason, the changes that took place in the first four decades of the twentieth century were of cardinal importance, as they catapulted Latin societies into a process that took much longer to develop in other areas of the world.

For the purposes of this paper I will consider as feminists, not only those who so called themselves, but others who by their actions or ideas demonstrated sympathy or support to the tenets of feminism. Thus, for example, the lawyers who helped define the concept of legal equality of women, or the politicians who introduced legislative drafts on women's behalf, belong in this study as much as the men and women who wrote essays for newspapers and journals or founded and supported women's organizations. Although most feminists in this period belonged to an urban middle class of professionals and white-collar workers, feminism also had followers among members of the working class, as part of the broader ideology of social and personal liberation of women from the conditions of exploitation derived from the development of industrialism and capitalism.<sup>3</sup>

Feminism was a term that workers' leaders used frequently in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. In the 1920's, however, as a result of the preponderance of urban middle class women in feminist associations, working women's groups made less use of the term, although not of some of its implications.

Given the number of people who in one way or other felt compelled to support feminism, the variety of approaches and interpretations of the term is challenging. However, sorting through a rich output of writings in the three countries, I will attempt to highlight some of the themes which reflected their hopes as much as their activities, and also the problems experienced by the societies in which they lived. A full definition of feminism demands taking into consideration the nuances that time added to the meaning of the term, and the special stress that some groups put on some of the objectives they pursued. Feminism was a kaleidoscopic phenomenon, with a rich variety of messages, appealing to various groups, sometimes for different reasons. While the topics discussed below do not comprise the full spectrum of feminist ideas, they form part of a common stock, which linked together various feminist groups. As such, they defined the basic contours of feminism.

#### Facets and meanings of feminism

Feminism was a term rarely used in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in any of the countries of the Southern Cone, and was not introduced in printed publications for women until the turn of the century. However, the possibility of creating a new role for women in society preoccupied members of the ruling classes, intellectuals, and politicians since mid-century. Educators, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and José Pedro Varela, and statesmen, such as Juan Bautista Alberdi, showed interest and concern for the potential contribution of women to national progress.<sup>4</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, men and women of the urban middle class made of female education a symbol of the culture and "civilization" which they regarded as appropriate for nations desiring to integrate themselves into the mainstream of European and North American progress. The establishment of secondary school systems for women in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the result of their concern, and a watershed in the history of women and feminism in particular, since the impulse for the change of women's role in society came from the educated elite graduating from those educational centers.

Argentina and Chile achieved a significant measure of political stability by the 1870s, and were ahead of Uruguay in the development of higher education. Argentina took an early lead in the discussion of legislation promoting special social and legal changes for women, and in the number and quality of feminist leadership, while Chile did not fully join the women's movement until the mid-1910s. Ironically, Uruguay was propelled into feminist reforms much earlier than Chile and more effectively than Argentina as a result of the

activities of the members of the ruling Colorado Party who, identifying "progress" with the improvement of the status of women, legislated and imposed reforms from above after the first decade of the century.

In the second half of the nineteenth century women initiated the discussion of their own interests in magazines for "the fair sex."<sup>5</sup> As an example of how the concept of "emancipation" was treated in some of these journals, I will focus on one Argentinian journal of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, La Ondina del Plata, published in Buenos Aires in the 1870s. This magazine counted with a selected roster of male and female subjects. The most distinguished and articulate of the pro-feminist writers was María Eugenia Echenique who, writing from Córdoba, opened what became a short but illuminating debate on the emancipation of women in a series of articles on "The Needs of Argentinian Women" and "The Emancipation of Women."<sup>6</sup> Echenique constructed her argument on the principle of "reconquering" the rights and privileges that nature granted women as intelligent beings. The emancipation of women, she stated, meant absolute freedom to work and to carve their own destinies, although remaining as men's companions. Going beyond the personal reasons for emancipation, she pointed out the potential benefits the state would accrue from "liberating" women by using their labor as postal employees, telegraph operators or typographers. Men would then be free to employ themselves in other occupations that would demand their superior physical strength, and thus alleviate Argentina's importation of male workers, which wasted the potential of its female citizens.

Echenique's writings reflected the aspirations of the educated middle class of her generation. While she rebelled against the impoverishment of women's life by traditional attitudes, her redefinition of women's goals had no place for political arguments or for a break with femininity as a fundamental attribute of the female sex. Her ideas were shared by many other men and women, whether they expressed them or not. Surprisingly, they not only made a discreet appearance in women's journals, but in legal tracts, education and literary journals as well.

Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century an important ingredient of national pride moved a small number of lawyers and legislators in the three countries to discuss the legal subordination of women, and to propose the advisability of a minimum of legal changes for them. They did not wish to see their nations fall behind the material progress they perceived in Europe and North America. They were willing to concede that if part of that progress consisted in a greater participation of women in the labor force, their juridico-economic rights had to be changed. The incongruity of pursuing national progress while curtailing contribution of women to society and maintaining them in legal subordination was an important ideological component of the thought of this period.<sup>7</sup>

Although better educational opportunities were deemed a precondition for entering the labor market and participating in the "progress" of their countries, the redefinition of the meaning of the concepts

of equality and freedom was just as important. The contradiction between the principle of theoretical equality established in the constitutions of these countries, and the reality of restrictive civil codes, which denied women a number of rights, was first discussed in the 1890s and continued to be debated through the late 1930s, by which time several important, albeit not complete, reforms of the civil codes of the three nations had taken place. Since the legal issues of equality, and not the gender roles, were those first discussed and challenged, a brief survey of the restrictions on women embodied in the civil codes will help better to understand the goals of early twentieth-century feminists.

At the outset of the twentieth century, women of the three nations, and especially married women, were in a position of almost complete subordination to men, reducing their juridical personalities to a minimum. Marriage was indissoluble, and remained so throughout the period under study in Chile and Argentina. The influence of the Church and the weight of social mores prevented the approval of a number of divorce proposals studied and discussed in the two nations.<sup>8</sup> In Uruguay, on the other hand, divorce legislation was approved as early as 1907, mostly as the result of the top-to-bottom reform blueprint the Colorado Party, and specifically, its leader José Batlle y Ordoñez, had for the nation. Batlle believed that Uruguayan women had to be "modernized" and liberated (even against their wills). Divorce served the dual purpose of diminishing the influence of the Church on women and the family, and giving the former an opportunity to change the course of their lives, if they so wished. The unpreparedness of the women to accept such legislation, however, forced the Colorados to pass a different piece of legislation in 1913. A new law allowed women to sue for divorce without having to "prove" anything, and as a result "of their own wish" (por la sola voluntad de la mujer).<sup>9</sup>

An important aspect of marriage was the economic partnership (societed material) which allowed men to take over the administration of women's properties and made both spouses liable for the debts of the husband. In theory, married women could not legally enter into any legal contract, work, or dispose of their own earnings without their husbands' permission. While this theoretical subordination was not completely enforced (women were not required to show proof of marital permission by potential employers), the question of the administration of women's property and earnings became one of the greatest concerns for the feminists (male and female) of the turn of the century, and one of the most important objectives for the reform of the civil codes. Although such a reform suited nineteenth-century liberal concepts of personal freedom, what was at stake for feminists was the possibility of eroding the monolithic marital power of the husband over his wife. Another concern was the possibility that a growing number of female wage earners were, in theory at least, at the mercy of their husbands' gallantry or good will. This disturbed many working-class women, and was a concern expressed and reiterated in several labor newspapers.

Another important issue was the legal power, personal and economic, that fathers had over their children (patria potestad),



and which could not be exercised by mothers or female members of the family, except in the complete absence of male relatives. Married women could not be tutors for a minor sister or brother. Single women, under the legal guardianship of fathers, or other male members of the family, passed from this situation of filial subordination to that of marital subordination. Personal freedom and juridical personality were achieved at reaching legal majority, ages twenty-three or twenty-five. Widowhood was the other route to social and legal recognition of personal independence. Since the feminist ideology strongly supported motherhood, the reform that would allow women to share patria potestad with the husband during marriage, was considered not only a matter of legal equality, but a bolster to this preeminent feminine role.

The legal concerns that so distressed the feminists could only affect women during the period of juridical minority, but most single women, whether minors or not, traditionally remained in their parents' home because it was not proper to live elsewhere. Many women of the lower and lower-middle classes did not marry, but lived in consensual unions. Yet, to the credit of feminists, the narrow legalistic discussion of the rights of married women, was soon extended to include the issues of unwed mothers and the paternal responsibilities of men, the working conditions of laboring women, and the correction of abuses created by the cultural perception of women as requiring less "equality" in practical matters such as salaries.<sup>10</sup>

The first priority of feminists of all extractions and political orientations was to put an end to inequality, and to place men and women on an equal footing as persons and as members of society. The frequent use of such terms as "liberation" and emancipation, and the reiteration of terms such as "enslavement" to describe female subordination to men becomes understandable against this background of legal constraints. Thus, one of the earliest Uruguayan feminists, María Abella y Ramírez could legitimately interpret feminism as "nothing else than a new doctrine of freedom for the woman who proclaims herself as an enemy of all slavery." "When feminism triumphs, we will not be dominated by men; we will enjoy freedom and so will be as happy as they are, because being free is one of the greatest things in this world."<sup>11</sup> Feminism was the means to take control of themselves and of their own destinies. Adelia de Carlo, founder of a feminist party in Argentina (Partido Humanista, 1920) reiterated the hoped-for idea of freedom when she defined feminism as liberation from the state of "servitude," and a "return of their human integrity to women."<sup>12</sup>

To support the concepts of feminine freedom and equality the legal minds who dealt with the issue of female equality resorted to the concept of natural law and justice, maintaining that inequalities between men and women were artificial social constraints. Two important nineteenth-century ideological sources supported their arguments: English liberalism represented by John Stuart Mill, and German socialism, as expressed by August Bebel.<sup>13</sup> Rights were

moral realities that belonged to both sexes as "moral entities."<sup>14</sup> The state's role was to guarantee the individual's rights. Equality of the sexes meant the rights granted to men should be extended to women. The so-called "legal incapacities" of women, whether they were used as an excuse to disposses them of their natural rights, or to protect them from undertaking certain duties, had to be struck from the civil codes. When South American socialists joined the ranks of feminism in the last decade of the nineteenth century, they argued that special protection to some groups -- in this case women -- would guarantee justice for them. Both these approaches were later combined by succeeding feminist cohorts. The feminists of the 1920s and 1930s, regardless of their political affiliation, suscribed to the dual concepts of equality before the law, and special protection for women in some of their activities and social functions. They saw no contradiction in this juxtaposition, but a practical means to insure a maximum of justice to women and to redress centuries of subordination.

Some supporters of female equality accepted the need to upgrade the legal status of women, but wished to preserve a modicum of hierarchical order in society, especially within the family, where they believed the role of the man as head should be preserved.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many men remained unconvinced of the wisdom of granting women broad equal civil rights, although they agreed that some reforms were necessary. Bolivian-born jurist Santiago Vaca Guzmán represents that type. Although he believed that women should be given equal educational opportunities, he was convinced that they would never achieve men's intellectual heights, because nature herself had put limits to their abilities.<sup>16</sup>

Male and female feminists continued to focus on legal equality, and specifically on the economic aspects of such equality through the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. This choice reflected the gradual incorporation of women into the labor force in the three countries, and also served to avoid the issue of personal confrontation of men versus women, from which most women feminist in the Southern Cone wished to be spared. Elvira López, the first woman to carry out a thorough study of feminism in the Southern Cone in 1901, emphasized that feminism was not the struggle of women against men, but a struggle to obtain economic and educational opportunities equal to those of men protected by a legal infrastructure.<sup>17</sup>

The incorporation of women into the labor force in the first three decades of the twentieth century was indeed an important factor in the perception and the reality of change for women. Although there are few studies of this subject, national statistics show that the demand for feminine labor in the cities was impressive. Certain industries (garment, textiles, matches, tobacco, leather work and food processing) relied on the cheaper labor of women. The teaching profession gave middle class women an important outlet, while new technologies and services such as the telephone, some sectors of the governmental bureaucracy, and department stores employed more

women as time passed. Thus, by the second decade of the century female employment was no longer a new phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> Some contemporary observers, in fact, interpreted the development of feminism as a result of this growing engagement of women in the labor force.<sup>19</sup> The contribution of women to the sustenance of their homes and families became one of the feminists' most resorted-to arguments in their efforts to assert legal equality and citizenship. Furthermore, since working women confronted a chronic situation of lower wages, demands for equal wages, paid maternity leave, and retirement benefits became part of the feminist agenda as more women joined the labor pool.

One of the earliest and most eloquent exponents of the close connection between feminism and the changing role of women as wage-earners was Alicia Moreau, a member of the Argentinian Socialist Party, and a prolific writer on behalf of women's causes. In a 1911 article entitled "Feminism and Social Evolution," Moreau identified women's new socio-economic conditions as the true source of feminism. The emergence of the female worker raised the question of who would administer women's wages, and who would seek justice for them when they received lower wages than men. Women's lack of experience in unionism made it imperative that these issues be dealt with and recognized by workers and society at large.<sup>20</sup> Moreau was only one of many socialist writers who addressed the economic issues of feminism. Since 1903 the Argentinian Socialist Party had adopted a platform supporting women's equality, and by 1940 it could claim to have been the oldest ally of female economic emancipation and the rights of working women in the Southern Cone. In the 1930s the party's women's magazine (Nuestra Causa) served as a forum to discuss the specific needs of working women in Argentina. Given the weakness of women's representation and activities within the strongest unions in Argentina, this journal served the useful purpose of support and advocacy of their interests. A similar role was played by other feminist journals in Chile and Uruguay. The economic validation of feminism became more apparent than ever in the early 1930s, when the grip of depression forced some bureaucrats to devise plans to establish quotas for women in certain areas of employments. A Chilean attempt to this effect gave the feminists the opportunity to appeal to a large number of women to rally for the defense of their economic rights. The growing acceptance of the feminists' point of view was reflected in the sympathetic response of the respectable El Mercurio, which sided with the feminists.<sup>21</sup> Chile, where a strong leftist movement developed by the mid 1930s, was the only Southern Cone country in which radical feminism of the left had the opportunity to expand and flourish. La Mujer Nueva, the mouthpiece of the Movimiento Pro-Emancipación de la Mujer de Chile (MEMCH) frequently published data on the salaries of women, and on the need for protective legislation for working women.<sup>22</sup> The explanation of feminism as a result of economic forces was never carried out to extremes of philosophical materialism among the feminists of the Southern Cone who, mostly belonging to the urban middle class, hardly ever adopted radical attitudes. Quite the contrary, for the majority, work represented a form of spiritual expression of the desires for a fuller life, a completion of the

process of self-maturation in women. "Economic independence is necessary to obtain a true and complete emancipation, but that is not all. We must destroy all other barriers and limitations. Only then we will achieve complete spiritual freedom."<sup>23</sup> Thus, the Chilean socialist María Antonieta Garafulic extended a bridge between the ethos of work and the ultimate goal of feminine liberation.

A strong reaffirmation of the self, however, was essential to nurture the desire for freedom. Feminists -- male and female -- sought to reinforce women's understanding of their personal capacities and thus their rights to demand equality supported by proven abilities. That capacity could be most easily proved through engagement in many types of work, but it could also be asserted through more subtle qualities concomitant to other forms of social participation. That women could engage in productive labor had already been proven. Thus, from the second decade of the century onwards, the writings of feminists and their supporters added moral overtones to the themes of "aptitude" and "responsibility."

Dra. Ernestina López, in the keynote speech of the First International Feminine Congress (Buenos Aires, 1910), had already considered this additional dimension. Women's work was "proof" of their economic and social responsibility. They worked because they wished to raise their own and their families' standard of living. But they also worked, she added, because they felt a moral responsibility towards the well-being of others related to them. Thus, work was a process of self-dignification, of development of the personality, as such as a process of moral uplifting.<sup>24</sup> After World War I, feminists in the Southern Cone, pointed to the example of European women in the war effort as an irrefutable example of the capabilities of women. That capability was more than physical. It was also ethical, as it involved the understanding of the duty to join in the defense of their nations.

Aptitude and responsibility -- those two cardinal qualities which feminists sought to have recognized by men -- could also be shown by participation and engagement of women in the new civic challenges. The focus of feminism broadened to include suffrage in the late 1910s, especially after World War I. Universal male suffrage became effective in these same years in the three nations. Abroad, an increasing number of nations were granting women the right to vote. The establishment of ties with North American women also helped to kindle the interest. Southern Cone feminists moved to establish their claim to the ballot in a bold bid to share the rights conceded to men by the political reforms adopted by the three countries.

Since inaction had always been women's greatest enemy, some feminist leaders claimed, the new ethos of work for the betterment of the female sex would be tested in a campaign for obtaining the right to vote. All feminist groups stressed the importance of concerted and sustained activity as the key to male recognition of their aptitude for political action. In the early 1920s the Chilean journal Acción Femenina, the mouthpiece of the first women's party

in the country (Partido Cívico Femenino), urged women to study the Civil Code, and to present legislators with their own versions for social and political reform. Women were encouraged to participate in the activities of this and other organizations. While collaboration with men was necessary, it was no substitute for female action. Only through their own initiative would women reduce men's overwhelming influence on their lives. Women had to work if they wished to be liberated.<sup>25</sup> This strong message of action was carried by the feminist groups in the 1920s and into the early years of the 1930s, a period of increasing social and political instability. This growing militancy among feminist groups must be credited with forcing the national assemblies to discuss female suffrage in the early years of the 1930s.

It is difficult to assess in what way the political crises that involved the three nations in the early years of the 1930s influenced the final decision of male politicians to grant women suffrage. Cooptation and compromise to avoid political confrontations with opposition groups, and also a growing hope of utilizing the female vote were strong considerations among perceptive politicians in the three nations. The feminist cohort of the 1930s perceived those years as critically propitious for the achievement of this objective. The proliferation of women's organizations on support of suffrage and political participation indicates a consensus in their goals despite the fragmentation of their organizations. Through different means of propaganda all organizations drilled their members to press for the vote, hoping also to make the idea acceptable to public opinion. Several approaches were used, ranging from polite petitions to assertive statements of the need to do justice to the female sex, because women had earned the rights they demanded. The argument of the potential female contribution to the social and public needs of the motherland was never neglected or forgotten.<sup>26</sup> In a broad sense, the campaign for the vote was fruitful. The three nations approved female suffrage between 1930 and 1933. In Chile it was a municipal vote; in Uruguay and Argentina the national vote. Yet, in Argentina, the legislation approved by the Congress remained shelved by the Senate for the rest of the decade, and women never voted until 1947. Such mixed results should not obscure the meaning of important achievements, such as the impressive organizational efforts made by women, and the fact that most politicians were willing to accept the concept of female suffrage.

Once suffrage was a reality for Chileans and Uruguayans, the feminist organizations continued to press the theme of participation. Men and women were uncertain as to what direction the female electorate would take, but for the groups that had engaged in the drive for suffrage, the most important goal was to demonstrate that women were indeed interested in exerting their newly gained right. The Uruguayan feminist Partido Independiente Democrático Femenino, for example, urged women to register and vote as part of their duties to help in the progress of the country and help suppress social injustices.<sup>27</sup> Early in 1935 the Directorate of the Partido Cívico Femenino of Chile urged its membership to engage more actively in their activities, especially in view of the forthcoming municipal

elections.<sup>28</sup> A massive effort by a number of feminine organizations to coax women into social and political action resulted in the founding of Acción Nacional de Mujeres de Chile (1934), and Acción de Voluntades Femeninas (1937). In addition, MEMCH, an umbrella organization containing a variety of center and left-wing associations was founded in 1935. It actively supported the National Popular Front in 1938. Although the Chilean feminists continued to press for the national franchise, the election of nineteen council women in 1935 and the engagement of women in the voting process suggests that in Chile the ethos of service and participation had rendered early results. In Uruguay the electoral process was stalled by the 1933 coup d'etat of Gabriel Terra, and women could not vote until the constitutional system was restored, and elections carried in 1938. In the 1942 elections, women ran for office for the first time, and two were elected to the National Chambers.

The struggle for equality, which filled the agenda of the first feminists, was partially fulfilled by 1940 in more ways than one. In both Chile and Argentina the civil codes had been reformed to grant women a greater degree of personal freedom over themselves and their earnings, and while Uruguay struggled with the legal issues of these reforms, it had achieved women's goals with other changes. Protective legislation, the target of many socialist and working-class women's organizations had made considerable strides in the three nations, which by the mid-1930s had issued several work regulations aimed at restricting the most salient forms of exploitation of feminine labor.<sup>29</sup> However, by the same token, these regulations were not thoroughly enforced, and to some they constituted restrictions on women's opportunities to work. Regulation raised few objections among women, but the lack of enforcement of the protective legislation did. Since the system of welfare support for working women was as yet inadequate, feminists still had material for discussion in the 1930s.

Arguments that feminist's interest in their own stated objectives declined at the end of this decade are not sustained by evidence. One must, however, admit a reorientation in the feminists' activities. Feminists faced bittersweet results in their long campaign for the recognition of women's intellectual equality and civic responsibility. A general consensus existed on the aptitude of women to act as citizens, to perform responsibly in the labor market, and to engage in intellectual activities. Women were no longer talking from a position of subjection. They had their own voices, but salaries were still lower for them, and opportunities to occupy decision-making positions in government, labor, or politics were restricted to a definite minority of women with great talent or obvious high social position. Thus, time had brought changes, but it was also forcing feminists to move their goals to slightly different ground. The main issues after World War II were to learn how to use newly acquired rights effectively and how to gain both authority and power. Throughout the formative years of the early twentieth century, feminists had learned to appreciate the worth of some accepted social values to gain respectability and support. Among them were femininity and motherhood. Because they nourished

the activities of feminists before and after 1940, it is important to analyze them in greater detail.

### Feminism, Gender Roles, and Politics

At the core of feminism was a deep commitment to the attribution of women qua women. South American feminism did not dismiss the gender roles of the sexes commonly accepted for several centuries in Latin America. On the contrary, they used them extensively to demonstrate that they remained very much part of their societies, and that in no way had they lost touch with time-honored values, or their own identity. This concern over gender roles was a response to the constant assault from opponents, who challenged feminism as a masculinizing ideology. Accusations of hombrunería plagued feminists as they started to write early in the century. Other critics used a different tactic. They claimed that the fulfillment of women's gender's special attributes were so important to society that women should not endanger their privileged position by divesting themselves of their special rights as mothers and wives.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout the whole period under study feminists were on the defensive about their sexual identity, spending a considerable amount of energy defining their femininity and trying to demonstrate that the traditional image of the caring and the loving mother, and the socially-engaged feminist could be embodied in one person. The persistent prejudice against feminists obliged them to perpetuate stereotypes of women as super-females and supermothers. They had to reconcile the concept of femininity expressed as sensitivity, delicacy and a spirit of sacrifice, with those of struggle, challenge, and a desire for sharing with men tasks that required the strength femininity would have seemed to preclude. Feminists relied on their own interpretation of the special qualities of women to solve the sometimes contradictory nuances of their position. Strength was found in weakness, and inspiration for a broad agenda of social change was drawn from the ethos of duty and the role of motherhood. Feminists stressed the relationship between those elements from the earliest days. In 1910 Ernestina López stated that through all their new conquests, women pursued the ultimate goal: the triumph "of their condition of mothers." Through feminism, women would evolve toward a broader concept of maternity, which could not be fulfilled by nurturing their own children, but desired to embrace all humanity.<sup>31</sup> Home and motherhood served as the underpinnings of practically all social issues with which feminists dealt. In this regard, the words of the educated middle class feminists and the women who advocated working women's liberation had many similarities. Even a convinced anarchist such as Juana Rouco, could write in 1926: "We want women to be emancipated so that they become revolutionary mothers who will educate their offspring and teach them to be as free as birds . . . We want women to be the tender companion of man . . ." <sup>32</sup>

Reinforcing the theme of motherhood was the attribution of a special sensitivity to women for the sufferings and sentiments of others, and a higher sense of duty and morality. If allowed full

participation in the larger national scenario, as men's collaborators, women would rectify men's errors, help to eradicate vice, amend injustices, and contribute towards the creation of a more just society.

In recent analyses of women's political activities in Latin America, Elsa Chaney, Evelyn Stevens and Jane Jacquette have advanced that the concepts of supermadre and marianismo (the emphasis on the role of the mother in countering the predominance of male values in society, to confer on women a share of authority based on the attributes of their sex) support female activities in politics and society at large, and delineate the activities that women undertake in society.<sup>33</sup> The history of the first experiences in women's practical political behavior in the Southern Cone countries confirms their observations. It is understandable that prior to World War I few women or women's groups were ready to advocate female participation in politics, or to make suffrage one of their goals. Universal male suffrage was not a reality in these countries until the 1920s. But feminists were quick to perceive the important social and political transformations taking place in the last years of the second decade of the century, and wasted no time in joining other groups in making their own bid for gaining a measure of participation and authority. This explains the rapid formation of female groups and the proliferation of activities at an increasingly rapid pace from 1918 onwards.

Prior to 1918 only a few women, such as Julieta Lanteri in Argentina, and men, such as Rogelio Araya (Argentina), Héctor Miranda, Emilio Frugoni, Pablo Minelli and José Batlle (Uruguay), and Luis Undurraga of the Conservative Party in Chile made public statements favoring women's political rights. Women in groups such as Unión y Labor, in Buenos Aires, were reluctant to support the intervention of women in politics. They believed that Argentinian women needed preparation to exert the vote "consciously and effectively." Although they printed articles on women's suffrage, the editors declared that their intentions were not to encourage women's ambitions on the subject, but to inform the readers on the progress achieved by other societies.<sup>34</sup> Because the opponents of suffrage often referred to the incompatibility of motherhood and politics, feminists had to counterargue on the feasibility of fulfilling motherhood and political activities. That task was admirably performed by such women as Alicia Moreau, who explained the connections between the home and national politics, between motherhood and the new mission of woman. As a very young activist in 1911, Moreau was already convinced that feminism could not be isolated from other social issues. Feminism had to consider women in their relationships with children, the family, and humankind. As such, it would inevitably lead to political action.<sup>35</sup> Throughout her long career as a socialist and a feminist, Moreau never ceased to point to the similarities between the home and the community, where she saw a rightful place for women's civic activities. Other feminists in later years would expand on the theme of management of political issues in the same vein as home affairs. Thus, the boundaries between the privacy of the home and the community beyond it were blurred.



In Uruguay, motherhood was brought into politics by the founder of the Uruguayan National Council of Women and dedicated feminist, Dra. Paulina Luisi. She argued that participation in civic life was a form of fulfilling the duties of motherhood with nobility.<sup>36</sup> Earlier, another Uruguayan, María Abella y Ramírez, had sustained the concept that all women had the right to be mothers if they so wished, and that the state had the duty to become responsible for all children, regardless of whether they were born of legal or informal unions.<sup>37</sup> These feminists advocated motherhood as a social function. Both contended that women provided the state with lives and resources in the form of human beings. In return, the state owed mothers special protection and consideration. This position tried to establish a new relationship between women and the state, in which the latter would assume responsibility for social and welfare services for mothers and children. Male and female feminists of all political affiliations came to accept those ideas, which became the foundation upon which projects for social welfare would be built in later years. A slight variation of the need to protect motherhood in the name of feminism was offered by Uruguayan philosopher Carlos Vaz Ferreira. True equality between men and women was impossible, he argued, because women's biological functions gave them a handicap, a vulnerability, which needed to be corrected by the society with special protective measures. This form of compensatory feminism, which accorded men and women special functions, was acceptable to many because it accorded freedom and respect to women, without disrupting the traditional relations between the sexes or challenging the specific gender roles of men and women.<sup>38</sup>

The extension of the presumed special wisdom that motherhood gave to women to the practical aspects of politics was an interesting and significant nuance of the feminism of the 1920's. It sought to make women priestesses of a new moral order, and to invest them with a new and almost uncontested source of authority and respect. Given the fact that women represented a social group which had still to claim civil equality, motherhood was a very important asset in support of their claims for a share of power. Delia Ducoing, founder of the Unión Femenina Chilena (1927), and later publisher of Nosotras (Valparaíso), maintained that women possessed "a messianic common sense" born out of their conditions as mothers. The activist feminist would use her maternal sentiment for social betterment.<sup>39</sup> An Argentinian professor and supporter of feminism, Enrique Senet, favored female suffrage because mothers, he stated, were indispensable in the government of the community. Societies ruled exclusively by men were orphan societies.<sup>40</sup>

When women started to organize their own parties, the protection of motherhood was a sine qua non in their programs. The Partido Feminista, and the Partido Humanista, founded in 1920 in Buenos Aires, the Partido Nacional de Mujeres, founded in Santiago in 1935, and the Partido Independiente Democrático Femenino, formed in Uruguay in 1933, for example, based their appeal to women of all social classes on their presumed common interest in protective legislation for the sake of future generations. All these parties urged women to put their maternal instincts to work for the benefit of society.

The assumption of women's moral superiority as mothers did not depend exclusively on that function, however. Feminists argued that it belonged to them as a gender. This idea was shared by male as well as by female feminists and even by those who did not agree with other tenets of feminism. This belief in the greater capability for dealing with and solving moral issues among women facilitated to some degree the feminist campaign, although it was not sufficient by itself to bring about the political rights that feminists wanted. However, female moral sensitivity was a reality for Chilean deputy Luis Undurraga, a Conservative, and Argentinian Radical Party deputy Rogelio Araya, when they introduced law drafts in 1917 and 1918 respectively to concede political rights to women. To support their projected reforms, they argued that women were more suited than men for civic life and that they would inject moral values into politics, and defend the social order by defending family values.<sup>41</sup> A certain air of utopic chivalry pervaded in statements of male supporters of women's political rights in the 1920's and 1930's. Aware of deeply rooted prejudices and fears about women's potential voting preferences, they too resorted to ethical arguments to boost women's bid for political participation. In the midst of what appeared to be a losing battle for female suffrage in the Argentina of the mid-1930s, socialist deputy Enrique Dickmann used the arguments of women's moral power and its potentially beneficial influence on the moral dissolution surrounding Argentinian politics, while Alicia Moreau maintained that women were the ones called to cleanse a polluted political atmosphere.<sup>42</sup>

Women's assumed willingness to follow their sense of duty and sacrifice for the common good was another argument used by feminists. Altruism and a sense of mission for the solution of social ills became the leit motif of feminists, as individuals and as groups. The editors of Acción Femenina the mouthpiece of the first Chilean women's party, conveyed the message of mission throughout the two years of the magazine's existence in the 1920s. "Woman demands her rights neither for the sake of vanity nor for haughtiness of egotism, but . . . as an act of abnegation and altruism . . . so that endowed with full civil rights it may be possible to demand from her full responsibility in the fulfillment of her duties."<sup>43</sup> The strength of these arguments continued to support and inspire feminists through their victories and defeats. Thus, after female franchise was approved in Uruguay in 1932, Elola de Andreasen, secretary of the Uruguayan Committee Pro-Derechos de la Mujer explained to an Argentinian daily the feminists' new role in politics: "We wish to bring a vivifying breath to the tired spirit of men." "We are the ones in charge of demonstrating to them that a new world, a new dawn exists. We know that everybody expects a healthy renovation in the political atmosphere of the country, a more altruistic orientation . . . We will try not to fall short of these hopes."<sup>44</sup> Did the cult of motherhood, moral superiority and a spirit of sacrifice give feminists a reliable base to build their new political role in society? In my opinion these concepts helped feminists to raise themselves by their own bootstraps and make a successful case for themselves before the male leadership. Women might not have made such rapid inroads into public life had it not been for

the appeal presented by images of long-revered feminine roles. Between 1900 and 1940 women of all ideological orientations stepped into public life in the Southern Cone. In order to counter many forms of prejudices they had to reach for symbols that would be acceptable to men and other women, and lofty enough to suit the traditional images of women. Marianismo, of course, was double-edged in its effect, insofar as it reinforced the stereotype of women's biological image, and confined them to certain areas of public and political life.

Another problem, created to a large extent by women's insistence on basing their appeal on gender-specific issues, was the increasing ineffectiveness of "women-only" associations and parties. In order to foster feminine understanding and solidarity, female feminists founded a number of "parties" and political associations throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Given the overwhelming domination of regular parties by men, the idea of organizations where women would feel comfortable and express their interests is understandable. To this, feminists added that their insulation would keep them clean of any suspicion of surrender to the corrupt male politics. Furthermore, as women were in the process of being trained for politics, they should be made aware of the specific needs of women in their own organizations. The reiteration of gender politics was common to all the parties.<sup>45</sup> However, not all feminists shared those ideas. In fact, they aroused strong opposition among some women who believed that those organization mimicked men's parties and created an unnecessary and "absurd situation of battle between the sexes." The Argentinian Socialist Party was adamantly opposed to women's parties, as was Pauline Luisi.<sup>46</sup> The viability of female parties continued to be a subject of debate in the 1940s. As women became more familiar with the political process, it became more obvious that ideological cleavages were stronger than gender issues. And yet, the concept of women's "affiliated" organizations was not abandoned in these countries. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, after universal suffrage was extended to women in Chile and Argentina, several parties founded adjunct feminine organizations, assuming that women felt more comfortable among themselves. The weakest element in the conceptualization of feminine parties in the 1930s was not the gender issue, however, but the dichotomy, created by fostering political interests in presumably "apolitical" organizations. This mistake was not repeated after World War II.

#### Feminism and "the Social Question"

Other facets of the feminist ideology are better understood when seen in the light of this deeply seated conviction of women's moral capability to cure the ills of society and transform the character of human relations. This self-assuredness should not be dismissed as naive. It was a form of defining the new power feminists sought to achieve for women beyond the family and the home. Ironically, however, such power had to be based on their ability to deal successfully with family and home problems because of the strong delineation of gender roles in Latin American cultures. For women, especially in this period, success had to be described in a vocabulary intensely feminine, moral, and preferably associated with issues affecting the "weaker" members of society.

The large number of "social problems" besieging the urban centers of the Southern Cone offered the feminists an ample field for the promotion of programs through which women could evolve a new socio-political role for themselves. Crowded and unhealthy housing, inflation and low wages were important urban problems faced by the working and lower middle classes in the three cities. Tuberculosis and venereal disease, with no known cure, constituted serious health problems. Infant mortality rates were consistently high.<sup>47</sup> Feminists in search of a mission of social relevance had their work cut out for them. Their interest in these problems was genuine, but their ability to develop strategies of action was limited by their lack of resources. In general, feminist organizations acted mostly as pressure groups and conscience-raisers. The most effective groups were those associated with the Argentinian Socialist Party, which counted upon party support and know-how for a long period of time.

In this discussion I will focus on the ideology supporting campaigns on moral reform, since in tackling social issues feminists faced many problems which had moral underpinnings. The discussion of a single standard of moral behavior became the cornerstone upon which rested the examination of a host of issues related to the basic interaction of men and women at a personal level, and their social consequences, Unidad de la moral was one of the earliest themes developed by feminism, and one that retained its validity beyond the period under study. For centuries, Latin American women had been made responsible for their personal honor, as well as that of their families. Personal honor had deep sexual connections, resting strongly -- albeit not solely -- on the preservation of virginity prior to marriage. On the other hand, men were accorded much greater sexual freedom and a large degree of irresponsibility towards the consequence of their amorous exploits.

Feminists felt that moral codes that "gave men the impunity and women the responsibility" were cynical and unjust.<sup>48</sup> Justice was the allocation of equal degrees of sexual responsibility to both parties. The stigma surrounding unwed mothers and illegitimate children represented the ultimate abrogation of men's responsibilities and the denigration of women as mothers. Thus, feminists pressed for the passage of legislation that would allow paternity investigations, an issue which traditional legislation had proscribed.<sup>49</sup>

Feminists expected to establish a single moral standard and that meant that men had to raise their own moral standards to those expected of women, and not vice-versa. Purity campaigns, similar to those waged in Europe and in the United States in previous decades appeared in the Southern Cone from the 1910s onwards, supported by the activities of associations such as the Liqas de Profilaxia Social.<sup>50</sup> The activities of the Liqas were closely connected with the issues of the white slave trade and prostitution. Feminists targeted both social problems as part of their moral reforms campaign, and because they involved the dignity of all women. Neither the history of the white slave trade to the cities of Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Valparaiso, nor a study of prostitution

in these cities really belongs here. However, the involvement of the feminists with these problems is worthy of discussion, as it was part of their commitment to the solution of problems related to double standards of morality, social health progress, and mother-child protection.<sup>51</sup>

At the core of the feminists' concern with prostitution was the issue of whether this activity should be "regulated," i.e., controlled and policed by the government, which registered prostitutes and maintained health checks on them, or totally abolished, which meant that it would not be tolerated or regulated by the state under any circumstances. The latter position was known as "abolitionism," and had its main source in the English moral crusader Josephine Butler, whose activities on behalf of prostitutes and "abolitionism" in the 1880s left a deep impression on feminists of the Southern Cone.<sup>52</sup>

The most committed feminist defender of abolitionism in the Southern Cone was the Uruguayan Paulina Luisi, who, as the first woman graduating from the medical school in Montevideo, developed a deep concern for the victims of the white slave trade, and for the public health issues posed by venereal diseases. Her campaigns for the establishment of sex education in schools began in 1906, before she received her medical degree, and lasted until her death in 1950. She was a strong supporter of "social prophylaxis," which, among other objectives, aimed at uprooting prostitution, the white slave trade, and venereal diseases.<sup>53</sup> In 1918, at her prompting and that of a number of male physicians who shared her ideas, an Uruguayan-Argentinian International Federation was established. This institution, through its feminine committee, and in collaboration with the Asociación Argentina Contra la Trata de Blancas, founded in 1902, carried out educational campaigns, counting with the help of Argentinian feminists such as Blanca C. de Hume, Elvira Rawson de Dellepiane, Alicia Moreau, and Luisi herself. They urged other women to become involved in the general campaign of moral reform, for their own sake and that of their children. The women's parties founded in this decade, such as the Partido Humanista and Partido Feminista Nacional, adopted stands against regulated prostitution and in support of sex education.<sup>54</sup> In Chile, female physicians such as Ernestina Pérez and Cora Meyers became involved in similar campaigns in the early 1920s, having the support of the Chilean Social Prophylaxis League.<sup>55</sup> In the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, Luisi and Moreau never failed to cooperate with the activities of the Leagues, preaching the dangers of venereal diseases and urging the adoption of personal and social rules of moral control.<sup>56</sup>

Prostitution was connected to the family and the health of the progeny, feminists argued, since men infected by venereal diseases could bring evil effects to their wives and offspring. Beyond the purely medical concern, some feminists tried to educate the public about the issues of poverty as a source of prostitution, and the high rates of infant morality and illegitimacy. However, the abolitionist campaign focused more on the issues of health and morality than on the economic problems of the prostitutes.<sup>57</sup> Even

though the discussion of issues related to social prophylaxis opened the discussion of previously taboo subjects such as male and female sexuality, the feminists did not break through the many behavioral inhibitions placed on middle class women. They were also far from explaining or understanding the sexual drive that moved women of the presumably lower classes to enter into many consensual unions. The anarchists' call for "free love" without formal ties, and their acknowledgement of female sexuality never found any sympathetic echoes even among the most outspoken feminist personalities. The goals of women such as Paulina Luisi, who wrote extensively on the subject were to establish sexual purity for both sexes. She hoped that through early sex education both men and women (although men were in greater need) would learn to restrain their sexuality. The society which she envisioned would be one in which men and women would rank the begetting of healthy offspring above the pursuit of sexual pleasures. Feminists believed in chastity, not in sexual release. The children and the family mattered more than the satisfaction of the self through sexual liberation. That such choices were running against the grain of the ongoing Western trends toward greater sexual freedom was beyond the awareness of the feminists who engaged in sexual and moral reform.

The recognition of the real value of healthy motherhood and childhood were important reasons behind the feminists' strict approach to sexuality and related issues of morality. The unchecked growth of the cities, the lack of quality controls in the regulation of housing, food, and the working place, mattered to feminists insofar as they affected the growing number of working mothers, their children, and the wives of workers. The motherhood of any nation suffered as a result, since sick or weak mothers could not beget or raise strong children. They dramatically pointed to the increasing numbers of underweight, underfed, and chronically weak school children, upon whom the future of the nation itself depended. Inasmuch as most male politicians seemed to have ignored these health issues, the feminists felt a duty to make them sensitive and responsible to them.

The formula which they used for arousing the interest of male authorities in a potential solution to national health problems was that of eugenics. As an offshoot of scientific positivism, eugenics applied to the human species some of the principles of heredity tried out in plants and animals. It posited the possibility of bettering humans through genetic selection. Furthermore, as medical knowledge increased and revealed the potential damages inflicted on the fetus by diseases such as syphilis, the need to create and maintain some form of regulation on the reproduction of people affected either by such diseases or by physical handicaps, began to appear as an urgent social problem. Eugenics proposed a purposeful selection of stronger individuals to maintain, if not ignore, the quality of the population by favoring the reproduction of the best human specimens. Eugenicists used evolution as the basis for their belief in physically and morally superior future generations.<sup>58</sup>

For Southern Cone feminists concerned with the quality of motherhood and childhood, eugenics had a fascinating attraction. Eugenics provided the link between sex education and social reform. Restraining the sexual urges to achieve conscious procreation, and guaranteeing the health of parents and offspring seemed to be an admirable pursuit for women -- and men -- who were interested in uplifting motherhood. In addition, since women's health was paramount to healthy offspring, eugenics could end the neglect of female health problems.

Eugenics was introduced in the Southern Cone through the Museo Social Argentino, a journal devoted to social studies. Dra. Elvira López, one of Argentina's first feminists, wrote an informative article on the activities of the British Eugenics Education Society, founded in 190.<sup>59</sup> Eugenics received a considerable degree of attention in the Southern Cone in the 1920s and 1930s<sup>60</sup> However, the brand of eugenic concepts popular in South America during these years was not one of population control or racial selection. When feminists and others wrote of improving the health of "the race," they referred to the nation, since no strong identifiable racial differences existed in the southern urban centers. The concerns expressed by numerous writers focused on the potential sapping of the "national strength" by the spread of contagious disease.<sup>61</sup>

One of the first converts to eugenics was an Argentinian educator who never called herself a feminist, but who was a committed socialist, and shared such in common with socialist feminists. She was Raquel Camaña, who died an untimely death in 1915. Camaña drew her inspiration from Sir Francis Galton, and regarded eugenics as prenatal childcare, a science in the process of development. She threw her support behind it because she believed that the procreation of the best adapted would improve the future of society. However, being a socialist, she did not favor an elitist approach to social selection. Instead, she suggested that the masses should be taught all the conditions necessary for healthy reproduction in order to overcome the handicaps of poverty and ignorance. The state should assume the task of propagating eugenic concepts, and exert some form of control over alcoholics, the mentally ill and those afflicted with tuberculosis or syphilis.<sup>62</sup> Another early eugenics supporter was Carolina Muzilli, a self-educated socialist of working-class origins. Muzilli also turned eugenics on its head to make a case for the working classes. Realizing that the poverty to which the working class was condemned and the unhealthy situation in which workers lived conspired against them in the so-called struggle for survival, Muzilli argued that the only acceptable eugenics practices were those which gave the workers an opportunity to better their life, physically and morally. "To raise the standard of living of the popular classes will be the . . . fundamental eugenic measure. . ."63

Paulina Luisi also became interested in eugenics in the early years of her career. Although she was not prepared to support experimentation with human beings, she favored state intervention in restraining the reproduction of persons with contagious or hereditary diseases. Luisi supported education of the public about

the consequences of drug and alcohol abuse, and state-supported plans to assure an improvement in the living conditions of the majority of the population.<sup>64</sup>

As time passed, Luisi slowly moved away from eugenics into the broader boundaries of state welfare for the poor. Camaña, Muzilli, and Luisi gave eugenics a social meaning with which feminists in the Southern Cone were quick to identify, and which served them to draw blueprints for social services which they presented to national health and political authorities in the name of "social hygiene" to solve "the social question."

#### Feminism and Working Women

The issue of whether feminism had any appeal to the working woman poses a challenge to the historians of women and labor.<sup>65</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, the labor movement in the countries of the Southern Cone was at various stages of organization, responding to the appeals of socialist, anarchist, and anarcho-syndicalist ideologies which, due to the constant migration of workers from Europe, in the cases of Argentina and Uruguay, had developed a strong sense of militancy by the turn of the century.<sup>66</sup>

As factories grew in the cities, certain industries sought and received a growing number of women and children, often paid at much lower salaries than men, and preferred to men for the performance of certain tasks demanding care and patience. Thus, by the first quarter of the twentieth century, women had become a fixed and irreplaceable element in the labor force. Both male labor union leaders and the feminist nucleus already in formation by the first decade of the century in these countries, regarded the emerging numbers of working women as a challenge. Seeking the support of women, labor leaders produced an interesting ideological phenomenon hardly explored to this point in Latin American history. The use of women's liberation ideas by socialists and anarchists, who by encouraging non-elite women to organize and to think about their problems, reinforced and broadened the process of social change affecting the female sex.

Working women in the three countries responded positively to the formation of mutualist associations. Although this is not the place to trace the emergence of working women associations, it is important to underline that since the last decade of the nineteenth and through the first quarter of the twentieth centuries, some women workers were extremely active in the discussion of their problems as wage earners, and those originating in their legal subordination to men.

The ideological guidelines of the groups formed by women workers, and the arguments addressed to them by male and female leaders can be gleaned in the anarchist and socialist press of the period.<sup>67</sup> There were important differences among them, as they placed different emphasis on specific aspects of women's role in society and the family. Nevertheless, they had a common belief in



the need to change the condition of women, for the benefit of society, the family, and men and women themselves. Anarchists and socialists shared some key ideas with feminists, even though such similarities were not often acknowledged officially by the three groups. The three groups advocated the education of the female sex in an academic and an ideological manner. Women workers were the least educated of all women in the three countries, and even though public schooling was available to all interested, many of these women had not gone beyond the primary school and had little time for further education. Ideologically, they needed to be educated in their rights as women. Anarchists and socialists stressed their rights as workers as well, and to a much greater extent than feminists. The latter, however, never disregarded the key role played by women's participation in the labor market. However, socialists and anarchists were more deeply conscious of the class differences between proletarian women and their upper middle class counterparts.

The propaganda carried out by anarchists and socialists had the purpose of winning not only women's minds, but their presence and support of their own political activities. They called on women to stir themselves from the inertia which had characterized them, to open their minds to new ideas and gain consciousness of their economic and social oppression. Metaphors in their writings suggested the awakening from a deep sleep, and the reception of the new light of knowledge that would illuminate the darkness of women's minds with new beliefs.<sup>68</sup> Anarchists and socialists, like the budding feminists of the early twentieth century, used the analogy of enslavement and personal as well as social oppression, to underline their appeal to women. As ideologies of equality, they shared a firm commitment to revindicating the intellectual equality of women, and to ending their legal subordination, both to men in general, and their employers specifically.<sup>69</sup>

Anarchists pursued their arguments with bold and relentless logic. To obtain the personal freedom from the yoke of traditional and stifling social institutions they rejected marriage and the "bourgeois" concept of the family, both of which bound men and women in hypocritical unions. They perceived marriage as largely motivated by the self-interests of decadent elites. Love, expressed as a personal and mutual bond, and based on the natural acceptance of human sexuality, led to free unions. Some anarchist exponents also espoused birth control as the workers' means to escape poverty and the obligation to sell their labor cheaply to support their families. Depriving the capitalists of a surplus of labor was a strategy which anarchists considered essential to undermine their power.<sup>70</sup> This sensitive and controversial subject was discussed since the beginning of the century by some anarchist writers, but it received much attention and publicity in Chile in the mid-1930s, when it was broached by the radical leaders of MEMCH in Santiago.<sup>71</sup> In contrast, feminists and socialists stressed motherhood and the family, and never discussed birth control or family planning.

Early anarchist propaganda in Argentina and Uruguay focused on the organization of working women's resistance associations and the formation of a class conscience. It was not until the early 1920s that they took a definite position on suffrage, which was then advocated strongly by socialist and middle-class feminists. Anarchists rejected suffrage as a political travesty. After feminists organized their pro-suffrage campaigns in the early 1920s, anarchists newspapers printed position articles discussing the futility of their assumptions and their campaign.<sup>72</sup> Altogether, anarchism endorsed a defiant form of personal freedom for women. In its most radical interpretation, it rejected both socialism and feminism because while supporting women's liberation, they still expected women to follow certain principles of morality and social order. Radical anarchism claimed that it neither set a male model for women to imitate nor contradicted itself expecting male protection for presumably free women. However, it would be misleading to believe that anarchists proposed a totally new social role for women. Although their writings stressed the equality of men and women, they often present women as the companion of man and as the teachers of their children. It is indeed, as mothers of new generations, that anarchists saw women contributing most positively to the new society they wished to construct. Although this position was difficult to reconcile with the rejection of marriage, anarchists claimed that bonding between couples and parents and children took place naturally if their relationship was based on true love.<sup>73</sup>

The anarchist attack on the family and the advocacy of free unions was not altogether popular among the workers, and even less among the middle classes. Even though consensual unions were common among peasants and workers in the southern cone, the ideal of marriage was very appealing as a sign of social mobility, status, and respectability. Given the emotional appeal of motherhood shared by most men and women in the late nineteenth century, and the anarchists' own ambivalence about motherhood, it is not surprising that neo-malthusianism did not progress much among the workers. There is no evidence that family planning or birth control were practiced in significant numbers by the class to which the message was addressed.

Socialists had much more in common with feminists than with the anarchists on the subject of women's equality, and they had a larger number of working women followers than the anarchists. As it has been discussed before in this paper, a number of eminent socialists had adopted the feminist ideology by the second decade of the century, and formed a common front with women of other political orientations during the 1920s. However, women such as Alicia Moreau, Juana Maria Beguino, Gabriela Coni, and Paulina Luisi, were themselves educated middle class socialists. As such, I will not use their writings here as examples of working class feminist-socialists. To appreciate the ties of socialism and feminism one must turn to the writings of female workers of a socialist inclination.

A group of early twentieth century Chilean working women form perhaps the best exponents of this ideological orientation. They founded two journals at the beginning of the century, La Alborada, and La Palanca. La Alborada was directed by Carmela Jeria G. and its stated purpose in 1905 was to be the "defender of the proletarian classes." It later defined itself as a "feminine publication," and ultimately as a "feminist publication."<sup>74</sup> This important evolution in such a short period illustrates the ideological change of all those involved in the publication. After the paper folded in 1907, one of its long supporters, Esther Valdés de Díaz, a needleworker herself, returned to journalism in 1909 as editor of La Palanca.<sup>75</sup> This publication called itself a feminist paper for the working woman. Thus, feminism interpreted by women of the working class appeared in Chile well before the first group of university graduates met to discuss the tenets of women's liberation in that country in 1915.

To obtain a reevaluation of women's rights as workers was the first objective of Carmela Jeria, Esther Valdés, Eloisa Zurita and others involved in the activities of organizing female workers in Valparaíso, Antofagasta, and Santiago. They were mostly concerned with the exploitation of female labor, expressed in low salaries and long working hours. The reduction of the working hours of women working in factories was the most specific of Valdés' demands, although she also hoped for schools for their children and other social amenities.

The drive for female association was another very important objective for these women. Only through organization and common understanding of their goals could working women hope to rise to the challenge of their own liberation as women and as workers.<sup>76</sup> In this pursuit socialists became competitors of the anarchists, who were also involved in the recruitment of working women's support, especially in Argentina and Uruguay. The antagonism developing between anarchists and socialists became quite open after World War I, especially in Argentina, where anarchist newspapers such as La Protesta waged its own campaign against the bourgeois and the socialist as well.<sup>77</sup>

Despite the fact that their interests as workers were fundamental to the early Chilean socialists, the thrust for women's liberation was present and forceful since the inception of these groups and newspapers. The eventual acceptance of a feminist message as such confirms the strong consciousness of gender issues among these women and men. When La Alborada defined itself as a feminine rather than a workers' publication, one of its contributors declared that they were proud to lead in the movement to reform women's social status and "ascend the mountain of liberty."<sup>78</sup> The amplification of feminist concepts in succeeding issues included the denunciation of women's mistreatment at the hands of men, whether employers or husbands, and the need to recognize that the revindication of women demanded the consideration of women's own self-esteem vis-à-vis men's vilification of their abilities and worthiness. By the end of this publication's days in 1907, the

example of English suffrage fighters had been quoted, the possibility of women's political participation in the nation's life as deputies had been discussed, and the readers had been served a mixed message encouraging them to continue their struggle, but without forgetting that female liberation was a goal belonging to all women.

Like other feminists in the southern cone, at this and later periods, Chilean and Uruguayan socialist working women and men extolled motherhood and the companionship of men and women within the family and society. Appeals to male workers to show understanding of their wives' needs, and to support their objectives as workers and women were based on the concept that women were men's best source of encouragement and support in life. Collaboration with men in the social struggle was always assumed, and confrontation of the sexes was avoided as much as possible. Men's own emancipation depended on women's education and personal liberation. El Despertar de los Trabajadores led by Luis Recabarren was consistent in the publication of articles on women's liberation from 1912 through 1915, with more sporadic attention through the early 1920s, when Recabarren became a communist.<sup>79</sup> To be sure, anarchist writers also used the same arguments, since they shared many ideological points with the socialists.

It is possible to quote more class-conscious writings among women, such as those of Julia Arévalo, an early Uruguayan socialist who later became a communist and was among the first women elected in Uruguay. For her, association and unionization were above other concerns.<sup>80</sup> However, socialist working-class propaganda among women mixed several themes, and was not exclusively concerned with unionization.

The pool of general ideas on women's liberation comprised many themes such as: the reaffirmation of the need to obtain women's legal, social and economic equality; the extollment of their intellectual abilities; the support for their association in groups to act on behalf of the needs of their own sex, the respect for the family and motherhood, and a concern with female sexuality. All these were dealt with, with various nuances and in different degrees, by women and men of proletarian origins at the beginning of the century. The voice of women workers was strong during that period, but as time passed, by the late 1920s it seemed to ebb. Juana Rouco, the Argentinian anarchist founder of a totally-female newspaper, Nuestra Tribuna, had to end its publication in 1925 forced by lack of funds, and under the criticism of anarchists who did not believe in such gender separation.<sup>81</sup> Socialist personalities such as the women of the Argentinian Socialist Party maintained a focus on the need of women workers through the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1930s, the Chilean group MEMCH revived the issue of working women's participation in the feminist movement, under the general concept of creating a pluralistic women's movement. However, in both instances, the leadership of these groups was largely middle-class. Feminism has been dubbed a middle-class movement, but there is enough evidence to state that in the countries of the Southern Cone it spoke with many voices at different times, and that it did have strong appeal and support among women workers.<sup>82</sup>

### Final Thoughts.

In several recent works, the late Chilean social scientist, Julieta Kirkwood, inquires into the possibility of rediscovering the hidden history of women as a premise to understanding the problems facing women today.<sup>83</sup> The history which she, and other Southern Cone women, would like to see written is one that would uncover women's own objectives in the past.

The history of feminism will help answer some of the questions posed by contemporary feminists in the Southern Cone. The question of whether or not women realized their own subordination and discrimination is of cardinal importance, and the answer, in my opinion, is that they did. Feminism allowed women to understand and expose the mechanisms and institutions which constrained their social behavior, and to seek the forms of redress they defined for themselves. The solutions they offered to their own problems reflected their time and the socio-cultural mores of their societies. They may not be those which women search for themselves today, but they were in tune with their time and the means to solve them. Despite the regional and cultural peculiarities we may detect in the ideology of Southern Cone feminism, there is, nonetheless, a basic cosmopolitanism in their answers, since they drew much inspiration from women in Europe and North America.

To the question of whether or not feminism helped to define women's own world, I would also answer affirmatively. The public debate prompted by the activities of feminists called attention to the existence of issues specific to women, as individuals, and as members of the family and society, to which men had not seriously paid attention before, and which they themselves had not been prepared to address. Through the writings of feminists, one approaches a world in which women explored extensively their own problems and dared to oppose openly many of the prevailing social and legal attitudes about their sex. Their grievances and their hopes were their own, and not those defined by men. Although there was no complete unity in that world, there was a certain general consensus among the feminists of the three nations on what were the basic problems faced by women. Their differences were due to the means proposed to achieve those ends, which, in turn, were influenced very much by the local and political conditions of their own countries, and the receptivity of their male and female co-citizens. However, it is still surprising to note that feminists, socialists and anarchists had a common pool of ideas on women's liberation, despite specific ideological nuances of their own.

The final question posed by Kirkwood refers to the issue of whether or not feminists identified gender as a more important variable than class in their efforts to gain a hearing for their case. Here, the answer has to be more cautious and remain guarded. Middle-class urban feminists made serious effort to reach women of different socio-economic backgrounds in a manner that respected the personal integrity of all concerned, even though they could not overcome certain concerns and approaches inherent to their own socio-economic backgrounds. As medical doctors, teachers, social

workers, and journalists, feminists learned a great deal about less affluent women, and were instrumental in raising the sensitivity of the men in command not only to their own problems as women, but also to the problems of a large number of working people. Ultimately, women feminists--whether middle class or workers--are better understood if they are seen as representatives of an emerging group in societies undergoing a significant process of social change. They felt keenly the restrictions imposed on them on account of gender, and they reacted by attempting to have these gender-specific grievances recognized above others. As historians, to the voices of workers and students, we must add the voices of feminists and feminist women in particular. They too had an important message to deliver: their arrival at self-recognition (conciencia de sí) and their taking place in society as equals of men.

## NOTES

1. José P. Barrán and Benjamín Nahúm, Batlle, los estancieros y el imperio británico, Tomo I. El Uruquay del Novecientos (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1979); Tomo 3, El nacimiento del batllismo (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1982); Russell Fitzgibbon, Uruquay: Portrait of a democracy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1951); Roberto B. Guidicci, Batlle y el batllismo 2nd. ed. (Montevideo: Editorial Medina, 1959); M.I. Vanger, José Batlle y Ordoñez: Creator of his Times, 1902-1907 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); Alfredo Traversoni and Lilian Lastra, El Uruquay en las primeras décadas del siglo XX (Montevideo: Editorial Kapelusz, 1977); David Rock, Politics in Argentina, 1890-1930 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Alberto Ciria, Parties and Power in Modern Argentina (1930-1946) (Albany: University of New York Press, 1974); Julio Heise González, Historia de Chile. El Período Parlamentario, 1861-1925 (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1974); El período parlamentario, 1861-1925, Tomo II, (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1982); Claudio Orrego et al., Ensayos sobre Arturo Alessandri y Palma (Santiago, Chile, 1977);

2. Torcuato S. di Tella, Argentina, sociedad de masas (Buenos Aires. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1971); Roberto Azaretto, Historia de las fuerzas conservadoras (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1983); Samuel Baily, Labor, Nationalism, and Politics in Argentina (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967); Gabriel del Mazo, El radicalismo: Ensayo sobre su historia y su doctrina, II (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Gure, 1957, 59); Richard J. Walter, The Socialist Party of Argentina (Austin: The University of Texas, 1977); Ricardo Donoso, Alessandri: Agitador y demoleador (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952); Robert J. Alexander, Arturo Alessandri. A Biography, 2 Vols. (Rutgers University Latin American Institute: University Microfilms International, 1977); Angel M. Cocchi y Jaime Klacso, "Rafces históricas de la democracia uruguaya." Paper presented at the Conference "Uruguay and Democracy," The Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies, Washington, D.C., September 12-14, 1984; Jorge I. Barria Seron, Los movimientos sociales de Chile desde 1910 hasta 1926 (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria, S.A. 1960).

3. See, for example, La Protesta Humana (Buenos Aires), 13 June 1897, 1-2; 1 August 1897, 2.

4. Juan Carlos Rõbora, La familia chilena y la familia argentina (La Plata: Talleres Gráficos Tomás Palumbo, 19388), 42-47; José Pedro Varela, La legislacion escolar, 2a edicion (Montevideo: Imp. "El Siglo Ilustrado," 1910); Obras Pedagógicas, 2 Vols. (Montevideo: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, 1964, II; 184-86, 209-222; Carlos Octavio Bunge, La educación, Libro I (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1928), 100-103; Carlos Octavio Bunge, El espíritu de la educación. Informe

para la instrucción pública nacional (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1910), 201-300; Eugenio Marfa de Hostos, La educación de la mujer (Santiago: Imprenta del Sud-Americano, 1873); Cecilia Grierson, Educación técnica de la mujer. Informe presentado al Sr. Ministro de Instrucción Pública de la República Argentina (Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaría Nacional, 1902).

5. As examples of women's magazines, see: La Camelia, published in Buenos Aires in 1852. It was among the first journals devoted to women. It published fourteen numbers and disappeared in May 1852; La Ondina del Plata, Buenos Aires, 1875-1879; El Búcaro Americano, Buenos Aires, 1896-1907; Nosotras, La Plata, 1902-1904. For Uruguay see, El Eco de las Niñas (Montevideo, February-April, 1887). For Chile, see La Familia. Períodico Quincenal de Ciencias, Artes, Modas i Conocimiento Útiles, (Santiago, Chile, 1890-92).

6. La Ondina del Plata I:43, 46; II:33, 35, 41, 42.

7. See, for example, Guillermo Echeverría Montes, Derechos civiles de la mujer (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1893); Mario Bravo cites the efforts of Luis Drago at the beginning of the century to grant ampler civil rights to married women. See Mario Bravo, Derechos Civiles de la mujer (Buenos Aires: "El Ateneo," 1927); Alejandro Valdés Riesco, La mujer ante las leyes chilenas (Santiago, Chile: Imp. y Lit. La Ilustración, 1922); Nicolás Minelli, La condición legal de la mujer (Montevideo: Imprenta y Encuadernación de Rius y Becchi, 1883).

8. See, Código Civil de la República Oriental del Uruguay (Paris: Rosa Bouret, 1871); Códigos de la República Argentina (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-americana de Billetes de Banco, 1901); Colección de Códigos de la República de Chile (Santiago: Roberto Miranda, editor, 1896).

9. Guidicci, Battle, Chapter VIII. Both in Argentina and Chile a separation which prevented remarriage until the death of one of the spouses--a practice approved by the church since the sixteenth century--was called "divorce." In order to obtain such a divorce, women had to prove extenuating circumstances of marital abandonment or mistreatment, or continuous public and scandalous adultery. See, Ricardo Rodríguez Molas, Divorcio y familia tradicional (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1984); Juan Carlos Rébora, Los regímenes matrimoniales en la legislación argentina (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni," 1922); La familia chilena y la familia argentina (La Plata: Talleres gráficos Tomás Palumbo, 1938).

10. Alfonso Atero, "La patria potestad en el derecho histórico español," Anuario de Historia del Derecho Histórico Español, 26 (1956), 209-241. With the exception of the Uruguayan Civil Code, which incorporated divorce as early as 1907, no major reforms of women's civil rights took place until the third decade of this century. In 1926, Argentinian legislators approved a reform to grant women a fuller juridical personality. The Chilean Civil Code



underwent changes to that effect in 1934. To be sure, certain rights such as patria potestad were not fully defined as a mother's prerogative, but the economic-legal subordination of the wife to the husband was eliminated. While in these two countries civil legislation reform was possibly seen as an advisable step in the "evolution" of female rights, the Uruguayans remained in an anachronistic situation when, after enfranchising women in 1932, they delayed the approval of the reform of the Civil Code. A reform approved by the Deputies lingered in the Senate for many years. The disruption of the constitutional political process from 1933 through 1938 hindered a possible approval of the legislation. The final reform of the civil code was completed in 1946. See, Juan Carlos Rébora, La emancipación de la mujer (Buenos Aires: Librería y Editorial "La Facultad," 1929); Emilio Frugoni, La mujer ante el derecho (Montevideo: Editorial Indo-Americana, 1940); Arturo Alessandri Rodríguez, Tratado práctico de la capacidad de la mujer casada, de la mujer perpetuamente divorciada, y de la mujer separada de bienes (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1940).

11. María Abella y Ramírez, Ensayos feministas, 2nd edition (Montevideo: Editorial El Siglo Ilustrado, 1965), 68-70, 75-76; Nuestra Causa, II:18, May 1920, 126. Abella resented the fact that marriage enforced a loss of personal freedom on the female partner, a reminder of "remote times of barbarity and oppression." She supported divorce, to give women an opportunity to free themselves from the "bondage of marriage for life;

12. Adelia di Carlo, Nuestra Causa, II:13 (May 1920), 125-27. Anarchists in the three countries published numerous articles on the bondage of women within marriage, and stressed the legal servitude of the female sex. See, for example, La Protesta Humana (Buenos Aires) 20 February 1898, 3; El Sembrador. Suplemento (Valparaiso), 23 March, 1926, 2; La Protesta (Buenos Aires), 19 February 1910, 1 August 1913, 1; 22 March 1914, 8.12.

13. The first translation of John Stuart Mill's On Woman's Bondage into Spanish was carried out by the Chilean Martina Barros Bordono, and published in the Revista de Santiago, II (1872-73), 112 ff. Elvira V. Lopez, author of the first doctoral dissertation on feminism in South America, quoted Stuart Mill extensively. See, Elvira V. Lopez, El movimiento feminista. Tesis para optar al grado de doctora en Filosofía y Letras (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Mariano Moreno, 1901). August Bebel was often, although not always, cited by socialist writers. See Ernestina López, "Discurso. Sesión Inaugural," in Primer Congreso Femenino Internacional de la República Argentina (Buenos Aires: Imprenta A. Ceppi, 1910), 40; Juana María Beguino, "La condición económica de la mujer," in Primer Congreso Femenino. 210 ff: Corina Echenique Uriarte, "Colonias de Vagabundos," in Primer Congreso Femenino. 143.

14. Luis A. Mohr, La mujer y la política (Buenos Aires: Impresores G. Kraft, 1890; Minelli, La condición legal).

15. Yezud Urquieta O., La desigualdad sexual en nuestro derecho (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta y Encuadernación Chile, 1910; Alberto Ebensperger H., De la capacidad legal de la mujer, (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta y Encuadernación Chile, 1910).

16. Santiago Vaca Guzman, La mujer ante la lei civil, la politica i el matrimonio, 2 Vols., (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Pablo E. Coni, 1882). Vaca Guzman was an active figure in Argentina.

17. Elvira Lopez, El movimiento feminista.

18. The scarcity of studies on women's incorporation into the labor force makes any attempt at generalizations difficult at this point. However, national statistics provided by the offices in charge of labor and industries offer reliable data. The feminine labor force was more developed in Argentina than in Chile and Uruguay by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. The Argentinian 1914 Census showed that in Buenos Aires women were 15.9 percent of the total industrial work force, mostly employed (93.1%) in food processing, garment, chemical and packing material industries. A similar pattern was repeated in the main provincial cities. See, Republica Argentina, Tercer Censo Nacional (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos L. J. Rosso y Cía., 1917, VII, *passim*). From 1895 to 1941 the number of women employed in commerce had doubled, the number of teachers had increased almost sevenfold, and those women working in health-related professions had nearly tripled. See, Elena Gil, La mujer en el mundo del trabajo (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Libera, 1970), 43. As a contrast, Chilean women employment was much less diversified. The 1907 Census was not a very good indicator of women employment, categorizing seamstresses, washerwomen, embroiderers and artesanal workers as "industrial workers." They constituted 92.9 percent of all women employed. However, between 1912 and 1925, the character of the female work force changed considerably. In 1925, women were 25 percent of all workers categorized as "laborers" (blue-collar work). The garment, textile, and food industries employed most women. That percentage remained constant throughout 1940. See, Anuario Estadístico, (Santiago, Chile: Oficina Central de Estadística, 1914), VIII; Volume IX for 1925 was published in 1927 by the same publisher; Robert McCaa, comp., Censo de la Población, 1940 (Santiago: centro de Demografía de Celade, 1976), 119120; Peter De Shazo, Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). In Uruguay, between 1884 and 1908, women were mostly employed in artesanal occupations related to the garment industry. Such women constituted 29 percent of the female active population. In 1913 women worked largely in leather-related industries (23 percent of the employed women); 16 percent in chemical industries and 11 percent in the tobacco industry. See, Silvia Rodríguez Villamil, "El trabajo femenino en Montevideo, 1880-1914," in N. Filgueira et al., La mujer en el Uruguay: Ayer y hoy (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1983), 91-116. By 1923 women were ten percent of the industrial labor force in the country, and in some industries such as match and cigar factories, they predominated. They were also significant in textile factories,

meat-packing and shoe factories. See, Libro del Centenario del Uruguay, 2 Vols. (Montevideo: Agencia publicitaria Capurroy y Cia., 1925), II, 771. In the three countries the number of women employed as domestics varied. It was above the 50 percent mark of the total female workforce at the beginning of the century, declining as work in offices, restaurants, (services sector of the economy), opened for women. The most important gain for the women of the middle classes was the acceptance of primary teaching as a desirable female occupation. By 1907 women were 60 percent of the primary school teachers in Chile, and this percentage climbed to 75 percent by 1950. In 1940, 90 percent of the primary school teachers in Uruguay were women. See, Chile, Estadística Chilena, (Santiago, Chile: Oficina Nacional de Estadística, 1953); Uruguay, Anuario Estadístico (Montevideo: Imprenta Nacional, 1941), I:11. Figures for Argentina are unavailable.

19. Rébora, La emancipación, 21-23, 81-83. One of those who viewed feminism as an economic problem was Gabriela Mistral, who in December 1936 stated that the equality of wages and working conditions were the essence of feminism, and more fundamental than suffrage. See, El Mercurio (Valparaíso), 2 December, 1936.

20. Humanidad Nueva, III:4 (1911), 356-75.

21. El Mercurio (Valparaíso), 28 November 1936, p. 3; 4 December 1936, p. 3. In the latter issue a male writer defended women's right to work for economic need, and commented that the attempt to establish a lower minimum wage for women was "a repression of the magnificent women's emancipation movement." See also, Nosotras, I:13 (December 1931), 3; I:21 (April 1932), 6; II:46 (July 1933), 4.

22. La Mujer Nueva (Santiago), I:2 (December 1935), 1; 1:5 (March 1936), 7; I:12 (December 1936), 1.

23. La Mujer Nueva I:1 (November 1935).

24. Primer Congreso Femenino, 34-42.

25. Acción Femenina, I:5 (January 1923), 2-3.

26. Nosotras, I:1 (August 1931), 3; III: 48-49 (August 1935), 6-7; La Mujer Nueva, II:18 (November 1937), 8, passim.

27. Ideas y Acción (Montevideo). This was the newspaper of the Partido Independiente Democrático Femenino, directed by Sara Alvarez Rey. See also, Uruguay, Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo Paulina Luisi, Carpeta 1, No. 73.; Acción Femenina, IV:5 (March 1935), 9.

28. El Mercurio (Valparaíso), 26 November 1935, p. 4; 30 October 1936, p. 8; El Mercurio (Santiago), 15 June 1935, p. 15; 21 June, p. 1.; Estatutos del Movimiento Pro-Emancipación de las Mujeres de Chile (Santiago, Chile: Imp. "Valparaíso," n.d.; El

Mercurio (Santiago), 15, 21, 22, 23 June, 1935; Acción Nacional de Mujeres, broadsheet, n.d.; Defensa de Acción de Voluntades Femeninas, Publicaciones del Comité Central, (Santiago, Chile: n.p., 1937); Accion Femenina, VI:26 (November 1937), 29; Voz Femenina I:1 (May 1935), passim.

29. Enrique Díaz de Guijarro, La ley de trabajo de mujeres y menores ante la jurisprudencia (Buenos Aires: Antología Jurídica, 1932); Julio José Martínez Vivot, Los menores y las mujeres en el derecho del trabajo (Buenos Aires: Editorial Asstrea, 1981); Uruguay, Instituto Nacional del Trabajo, Publicaciones (Montevideo: Imprenta Nacional, 1935). The Instituto Nacional del Trabajo y Servicios Anexado was created in 1933. In 1935 it published several pamphlets on the regulation of labor.

30. Abella y Ramírez in Nosotras, I:26 (April 1903), 230-32; Fernando J. Carbonell, Feminismo y marimachismo (Montevideo: Publicaciones del "Centro Natura," 1919; Darwin Peluffo Beisso, Femineidad y política (Montevideo: n.p., 1931). Peluffo Beisso claimed that the biological make-up of women bound them to their maternal roles, sharing with many men and women this attachment to gender-predestination view. Even among those who claimed to support feminism, the fear of masculinization remained. Thus, in 1930, Arturo Llerena, writing from Paraná, Argentina, stated that while supporting the concept of women's equality to men, he could not accept the loss of women's "triumphant femininity." See, Arturo Llerena, La mujer en la historia y la sociedad moderna (Paraná: Talleres Gráficos de "El Diario," 1930), 30.

31. Primer Congreso Femenino Internacional, 35-36. See also Nosotras, I:1 (August 1931), 3, 5. The distinguished Chilean educator Amanda Labarca, explaining the power of women's weakness in their task of social reform, stated: "Acaso porque somos mas débiles sufrimos mas entrañablemente las antinomias de ¡nuestra; cultura. Y quien sufre mas, es como un arco tenso: tiene mayores energías para dispararse a la lucha. He aquí porque creo que la reacción, si no viene del lado de la mujer, no surgirá de parte alguna." A donde va la mujer, 65.

32. Nuestra Tribuna Quincenario Femenino de Ideas, Arte, Crítica y Literatura, (Necochea), 1 September 1922, 2.

33. Elsa Chaney, Supermadre, Women in Politics in Latin America (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1979); Evelyn P. Stevens, "The Prospects for Women's Liberation Movement in Latin America," Journal of the Marriage and the Family, 35:2 (May 1973), 313-321; Jane Jacquette, "Female Political Participation in Latin America," in June Nash and Helen Safa, eds., Sex and Class in Latin America (New York: Praeger, 1976). Motherhood and the nurturing role of women in society had deep roots in Spanish America. Both indigenous and Spanish social systems regarded the mission of women in society to be determined, above all, by their roles as mothers and wives. In the early twentieth century, Swedish writer Ellen Key advocated a special role for women in society based on their maternal functions. Key was often quoted by feminists in South America. See, Ellen

Key, The Renaissance of Motherhood (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914). For a socialists' support of maternal roles, see, La Voz del Obrero (Montevideo), 2a epoca, IV:18 (May 1910), 3. Juana María Beguino, an Argentinian socialist writing in this Uruguayan workers' weekly, stated: "Es necesario que todas las mujeres tengan una sola aspiración: han nacido para ser madres y deben saber desempeñar esta grandiosa misión, para que redunde en bien de sus hijos." Socialist women stressed motherhood more than other working class groups.

34. Unión y Labor, I:12 (September 1920), 22023; III:25 (October 1911), Editorial. In 1912 La Prensa editorialized against the Socialist Party for allowing its female members to distribute political propaganda during the election. La Vanguardia, the Socialist daily, answered that it was appropriate for women to carry out their civic duties. See, La Prensa, 10 April, 1912, p. 11, and La Vanguardia, 11 April, p. 2. The controversy over the suitability and possible ill effects of political activities on women and the family continued to rage throughout the 1930s. Opponents argued that politics was a dirty business for women; others believed that women's participation in politics would tear the fabric of the family. See, Tribuna Popular (Montevideo) 13 October, 1929; December 6, 1929; El Imparcial (Montevideo), 19 May, 1930; José Manuel Estrada, Curso de derecho Constitucional, 3 Vols. (Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio de Cabaut y Compañía, 1901-02), II, 336. Political functions, argued Estrada, were incompatible with domestic duties. Women could not be soldiers, and soldiers could not be mothers. In his opinion, democracy and the order imposed by God on societies would be endangered if women were allowed to vote. The well-known Argentinian publisher and educator Estanislao S. Zeballos argued that the vote would be a form of slavery for women, and an obligation incompatible with their mission. See, Estanislao S. Zeballos, "Misión social de la mujer argentina," Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras, 72 (May 1922), 135-56.

35. Alicia Moreau, "El feminismo y la evolución social," Humanidad Nueva, III:4 (1911), 356-75. In Chile, twenty years after Moreau's writings, Adela Edwards de Salas, conservative supporter of women's political rights, stated that the municipality should be like a big house, everybody's house, and not a center of political machinations. Women could help solve the problems of public health, local education and welfare, from the municipal government. See, Acción Femenina, VI:1 (September 1934), 8-9.

36. Acción Femenina (Montevideo), III:2 (April 1919), 31-32.

37. Abella y Ramírez, Ensayos feministas, 51-53.

38. Carlos Vaz Ferreira, Sobre feminismo (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Amigos del Libro Rioplatense, 1933). Vaz Ferreira first discussed these ideas in 1914.

39. Nosotras, I:15 (January 1931), 3. "La mujer de hoy está en situación de usar para beneficio de todos, en su intervención social, un arma poderosa: el sentimiento maternal, acción que encierra multitud de condiciones favorables para el verdadero progreso de los pueblos."
40. Miguel Font, ed., La mujer, Encuesta Feminista (Buenos Aires, n.p., 1921), 56.
41. La Nación, Buenos Aires, 31 October, 1920, p. 29; El Mercurio, Valparaíso, 19, June 1935, p. 3; 18, 26 November, p. 4 in both issues; 30 October, 1936, p. 8; 11 November, p. 6; Ideas y Acción, I:4 (July 1933), 2.
42. Enrique Dickmann, Emancipación civil, política y social de la mujer (Buenos Aires, n.p., 1935); Alicia Moreau, "Ante la farsa electoral," Vida Femenina, III:28 (November 1935), 14-15, 41; Acción Femenina, I:1 (September 1922), 18. Another contributor to this magazine writing in late 1922 envisioned the struggle of feminism as a battle in which women used the spiritual arms of their generous souls. See, I:4 (December 1922), 16-17.
43. Acción Femenina, I:1 (September 1922), 18.
44. Uruguay, Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Paulina Luisi, Caja 257. Carpeta 7 and 8 contain numerous newspaper clippings on the suffrage campaign. See also Caja 260, Carpeta 1.
45. See the program and reports of the first convention of the Partido Nacional de Mujeres de Chile in El Mercurio (Valparaíso), 18 November, 1935, p. 4; 26 November, p. 4; 11 November, 1936, p. 8. See also reports on the second convention of Acción Nacional de Mujeres, an all-female organization presided over by Adela Edwards de Salas in El Mercurio (Santiago), 15 June, 1935, p. 15. Yet another Chilean women's party was the Partido Nacional Femenino, founded in 1931 by journalist Celinda Arregui de Rodicio. See, Voz Femenina, I:1 (January 1932), 1. The rationale behind the foundation of the Partido Independiente Decretivo Femenino was similar to those of other feminine parties.
46. La Vanguardia, 31 December, 1932, p. 1; América Nueva (Montevideo), I:8 (January 1933). This was a journal founded by Zulia Nuñez, who opposed women's parties.
47. Peter De Shazo, Urban Workers; Roberto Cortés Conde, Tendencias en la evolución de los salarios reales en Argentina, 1880-1910 (Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato di Tella, Cuaderno de Trabajo, 1975); Jose Pedro Barrán y Benjamin Nahun, eds. Sectores populares y vida urbana (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 1984). The Boletín del Trabajo issued respectively by the Oficinas del Trabajo in Chile (1911-1927) and Argentina (1907-1922) contain especially important material on the cost of living and salaries of workers during the first three decades of the century. Reports on infant mortality appear in many sources. One of the most reliable for

Chile is the Boletín de Higiene y Demografía, 1898-1912. This publication was succeeded by the Boletín del Ministerio de Higiene, Asistencia y Previsión Social, 1927-29. The Anuarios Estadísticos for Chile and Uruguay have data on infant mortality. See also Acción Femenina, IV:8 (August 1935), 24-25. Infant mortality in children under one year of age in Santiago in 1935 was reported to be 227 per thousand. In Uruguay it was 110/1000 in the late 1920s, and in Argentina it was estimated in 34.4/1000 in 1920.

48. Aurora Estrada y Ayala, "Una sola moral para los dos sexos," Nosotras (Valparaíso), II:46, p. 1.

49. Blanca C. Hume, "La mujer ante los problemas morales," Acción Femenina, III:23-24 (September 1919), 148-151; Consejo Nacional de Mujeres, Uruguay, Informe correspondiente al primer trienio. Illegitimacy rates in the three countries were considerably high, pointing to a rooted social problem. Between 1933 and 1935 illegitimacy rates rose slightly from 17.8 to 18.7 percent in Buenos Aires province. In 1934 the capital's rate was 11.3 percent. The provinces had much higher rates. For example, it was 57.5 percent in Corrientes, 43.3 percent in Juzy, 17.2 percent in Cordoba and 26.6 percent in Mendoza. See, Boletín de la Dirección General de Estadística de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, XXXVI (La Plata, 1936), 1,710; Anuario Estadístico de Buenos Aires, (Buenos Aires: Dirección general de Estadística de la Nación, 1936), 24. In Chile the average national illegitimacy rate was 29 percent for 1931 and 1932, and 30 percent for 1933 through 1935. Estadística Chilena, XVIII:8 (Santiago: Dirección General de Estadística, 1935). In Uruguay, a censal series from 1876 through 1930 shows the lowest illegitimacy rate in 1884 (17.2%) and the highest in 1925 (29.2%). In the twentieth century, the average rate was close to 25 percent. In 1935 the national average was 29.5 percent. Republica Oriental del Uruguay, Anuario Estadístico, (Montevideo: Dirección General de Estadística, 1930), 6; Anuario Estadístico, 1943 (Montevideo: Dirección General de Estadística, 1943), 1,071. Illegitimacy was more related to poverty than to "immorality," but social judgments that blamed women for births out of wedlock were often wrapped in moralistic language.

50. Declaración de principios y estatutos de la Liga de Higiene Social, 2d.ed. (Santiago: La Ilustración, 1926); Contribución al estudio de las enfermedades sociales, 3d. ed. (Santiago: Liga Chilena de Higiene Social, 1925). I am indebted to Prof. Donna Guy for these two references; Liga Argentina de Profilaxis Social, Memoria y balance correspondiente al ejercicio de 1926, (Buenos Aires: Talleres Graficos, 1926. Reports for other years are available. The Argentinian Liga was founded in 1907 by Dr. Emilio Coni, whose wife, Garielle Lapiere was one of the founders of the Centro Socialista Femenino. See also, Alfredo Fernandez Verano, La reforma sanitaria del matrimonio (Buenos Aires: Imp. de E. Spinelli, 1931); Nicolás V. Greco, Estado actual de la lucha antivenérea en el país (Buenos Aires: Imp. de E. Spinelli, 1936).

51. The only in-depth studies on the white slave trade to South America, and specifically on prostitution in Argentina are by Prof. Donna Guy. See, "Back on the Road to Buenos Aires. White Slavery in Argentina, 1864-1936." Paper read at the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies, Tucson, February 1984; "Politics and Gender: The Socialist Position on Legalized Prostitution in Argentina, 1913-1936," paper read at the 45th meeting of the Congreso de Americanistas, Cartagena, 1985.

52. Edward J. Bristow, Vice and Vigilance. Purity Movements in Britain since 1700 (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977); Ruth Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, Prostitution in America, 1900-1918 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and State (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Paulina Luisi, Una verguenza social. La reglamentacion de la prostitución (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos "Juan Perrotti," 1919; Otra voz clamando en el desierto, 2 Vols. (Montevideo, n.p., 1948), 23-48, 265-75. A considerable number of works in the form of books or pamphlets denouncing prostitution was written in the Southern Cone during the period under review, and the full bibliographical reference would be too long to be recalled here.

53. Paulina Luisi, Pedagogía y conducta sexual (Montevideo: Imprenta "El Siglo Ilustrado," 1950), passim; Cynthia Little, "Moral Reform and Feminism," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 17:4 (November 1975), 386-397. Little describes the moral reform campaigns in Argentina and Uruguay, and synthesizes Luisi's activities.

54. Nuestra Causa, I:12 (April 1920), 280; II:13 (May 1920), 22; II:19 (November 1920), 157.

55. Acción Femenina, I:12 (August 1923), 20.

56. See, for example, Alicia Moreau, "La lucha contra el mal venéreo," in Por la salud de la raza (Buenos Aires: Liga Argentina de Profilaxis Social, 1936). Luisi's many speeches and writings are gathered in Otra voz clamando en el desierto.

57. Little, "Moral Reform," 395.

58. Sir Francis Galton, Essays on Eugenics (London: The Eugenics Education Society, 1909); Ellis Havelock, The task of social hygiene (New York: Houghton and Mifflin Co., 1912). Ellis linked the social and sexual hygiene concepts with the new role of women in society. See also, Carlos B. de Quirós, Eugenésia jurídica y social, 2 Vols., (Buenos Aires: Editorial Ideas, 1943; Julio León Palma, La eugenésia. Memoria de prueba para el grado de Licenciado en la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas de la Universidad de Chile (Concepción: Imp. "El Aguila," 1937).



59. Elvira López, "Eugenesia," Museo Social Argentino, II:21 (September 1913), 313-323.

60. See, for example, J.A.S., "Eugenesia," Accion Femenina (Santiago), VII:32 (July 1938), 14; Alicia Moreau de Justo, "La eugenesia como problema social," La Vanguardia, 23 December, 1932, p. 5.

61. For example, see El Mercurio (Santiago), 1 June, 1924, p. 3. In an article entitled "Hacia la despoblación," Moises Poblete Troncoso, an intellectual deeply interested in the working class and worried about problems such as the high rate of infant mortality and the poor living conditions of the workers, called for the "protection of the race." He suggested a program for the teaching of hygiene, the reform and enforcement of the Sanitary Code, and the creation of a Secretariat for Hygiene. He praised the work of the League of Social Hygiene, and urged that working-class maternity receive special protection through the principles of eugenics, "the science that applies the laws of Biology to the perfecting of the specie. . ." See also, "Eugenesia nacional," in Boletín del Ministerio de Higiene, Asistencia, Prevision Social y Trabajo (Santiago), I:6 (October) 1927, 5. This article explained that although eugenics wished the improvement of individuals, "the human specie should not be treated like plants or animals. . ." Many geniuses, it added, had lived in deformed or sick bodies. However, the goal of eugenics remained to form physical and intellectual elites, and to achieve the highest perfection for the higher number. The inconsistency of some of the arguments betrays the soft line of approach to the subject.

62. Raquel Camaña, Pedagogía Social (Buenos Aires: "La Cultura," 1915), passim.

63. "El mejor factor eugénico. "Las mas acertadas medidas eugenicadas," La Vanguardia, 19 February 1917, 1. A number of her articles appeared in La Vanguardia, on February 16 through 19, 1917; Carolina Muzilli, Para que la patria sea grande, in Colección El Pensamiento Argentino, I:3 (August) 1918. Her essay "El Trabajo Femenino," won a silver medal in the 1913 Ghent International Exposition. It first appeared in the Boletín Mensual del Museo Social Argentino, II:15 (March-April), 1913, 65-90. Two other works on female and child labor won prizes in the 1913 National Congress of the Child (Buenos Aires), and the 1915 San Francisco International Exposition. See also, José Armagno Cosentino, Carolina Muzilli (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1984).

64. Paulina Luisi, "Algunas ideas sobre la Eugenesia," La Vanguardia, 5 January, 1917, p. 5; In 1917, La Vanguardia published a number of articles on the danger of alcoholism on the development of the unborn, warning women against alcoholic men. See issues of 27 February, 1917, p. 4, and 2 March, 1917, p. 5.

65. The relationship between working women, socialism and feminism in the United States and some European and Asian countries has been studied recently in such works as, Mary Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern, eds., European Women on the Left (Westport, Ct., Greenwood Press, 1981); Sally M. Miller, ed., Flawed Liberation, Socialism and Feminism (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1981); Charles Sowerwine, Sisters or Citizens? Women and Socialism in France since 1876 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Batya Weinbaum, The Curious Courtship of Women's Liberation and Socialism (London: South End Press, 1978); Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, eds., Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Elsevier Press, 1978); Elizabeth Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

66. The bibliography on Latin American labor movements is extensive, yet, there is not a single in-depth history of women in the labor movement. Passing, or brief references on women are made in some studies. Thus, I will simply refer the reader to a short number of works on the subject. Works on Argentina dominate the field. See, Sebastian Marotta, El movimiento sindical argentino 2 Vols. (Buenos Aires: Libera, 1976); Diego Abad de Santillan, El movimiento anarquista en la Argentina. Desde sus comienzos hasta el año 1910 (Buenos Aires: Editorial Argonauta, 1930); Jacinto Oddone, Historia del socialismo argentino (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1934); Ricardo Falcon, Los orígenes del movimiento obrero (1857-1899) (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1984); Catalina H. Wainerman and Maryssa Navarro, El Trabajo de la mujer en la Argentina: Un análisis preliminar de las ideas dominantes en las primeras décadas del siglo XX (Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios de Población, 1979); Hernán Ramírez Necochea, Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile. Siglo XIX (Santiago: 1956); Charles W. Bergquist, "Exports, Labor and the Left: An Essay on Twentieth-Century Chilean History," (Washington, D.C.: The Wilson Center Latin American Program Working Paper Number 97, 1981); Peter De Shazo, Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Francisco Pintos, Historia del movimiento obrero en el Uruguay (Montevideo: Suplemento de "Gaceta de Cultura," 1960).

67. Material for this analysis has been collected in many newspapers. Those I have used for this paper are: La Alborada (Valparaíso, and Santiago, 1905-07), La Palanca (Santiago, 1908); El Sembrador (Valparaíso); La Reforma (Santiago, 1906); El despertar de los trabajadores (Iquique, 1912-25); El Sembrador (Valparaíso, 1925); Claridad (Santiago, 1922-23); La Protesta Humana (Buenos Aires, 1897-99, 1901-03); La Protesta (Buenos Aires, 1904-05, 1910, 1913, 1914, 1918, 1920-23); La Batalla (Buenos Aires, 1910); Nuestra Tribuna (Necochea, Tandil, Buenos Aires, 1922-25); El Trabajo (Montevideo, 1915-16), La Voz del Obrero (Montevideo, 1897-98, 1900, 1902), El Derecho a la Vida (Montevideo, 1906); La Tierra (Salto, Uruguay, 1922-23, 1932-33); A more complete list of newspapers will be used for the longer manuscript on women, feminism, and society which I am preparing.

68. See for example, "A las de mi sexo," written by C. S. in La Voz del Obrero, (Montevideo) III, 2a epoca, No. 25, 1st Sunday December, 1902, p. 4. "Abrid los ojos a la luz, a la ciencia: el ser humano no debe inclinarse ante un leño o una piedra; dejad de ser esclavas y venid a luchar en el palenque de las ideas redentoras para así conquistar el lugar digno y elevado que nos corresponde." The wood and the stones are references to the figures of saints in the church. Anarchists, socialists, and "freethinkers" of this period shared a common anticlericalism. See El despertar de los trabajadores for propaganda and caricatures of priests as dominators of women; El Sembrador, 13 March, 1926; La Protesta, 17 February 1910, p. 1, 1 August 1913, p. 1; 5 August 1913, pp. 3-4. Chilean socialist--and later communist--leader, Luis Recabarren wrote his first pieces on the defense of women's rights in La Reforma. However, he was not the only advocate of women's liberation during this period. Zenon Torrealba and Ricardo Guerrero O., the latter a builder, were regular collaborators in La Alborada from 1905 through 1907.

69. Ros, "La mujer considerada como factor social," La Protesta Humana, 2 August, 1902, p. 2; Anon., "Para las obreras," 30 August 1902; Soledad Gustavo, A las proletarias (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Questione Sociale, No. 3, 1895); Agustín Bravo Zisternas, "La mujer," La Alborada, first fortnight December, 1905, p. 1.

70. See, El Sembrador, 20 November, 1926, p. 2; 15 January, 1927; Ezequie Chinatti, "La mujer en el amor," La Tierra, 13 November 1932, p. 3; Luis A. Rezzano, "Elogio del amor," La Protesta 26 January 1919, p. 3. Among socialists of earlier decades, some women had expressed support for birth control. See, La Palanca Junio 1908, pp. 14, 19; Claridad (Santiago de Chile), Manuel Marquez Buin, "La mujer," 16 June 1923, n.p.; Nuestra Tribuna, 1 April 1925, p. 2, advertisement of books on birth control and family planning. For other anarchist material especially addressed to women, see, Ana María Monzoni, A las hijas del pueblo (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Questione Sociale, 1895), f 1; A las muchachas que estudian (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Questione Sociale, 1895) f 2; La Unión Libre (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca de la Questione Sociale, 1895), f 3. Nuestra Tribuna, founded by Juana Rouco Buelo stands out as an anarchist newspaper managed by women, and written for women.

71. M. V. (Marta Vergara), "El problema del aborto y la mujer obrera," La Mujer Nueva, February 1936 (n.d.), p. 1; "A los enemigos del aborto pedimos protección para la mujer obrera," May 1936, p. 1.

72. Anon., "Otra conferencia feminista," Nuestra Tribuna, 1 July 1925, 2-3; Praxedes Guerrero. "La mujer," 9 September 1923, p. 2; J.M., "El problema feminista," 16 September 1923, p. 3. This essay posited that to concede to women the same rights society granted men was a misunderstood form of liberation. What women needed was autonomy from men and economic self-sufficiency.

73. Ramón Ybañez, "A las madres," La Tierra, 26 May 1923, 3; Anon. "Eres mujer y madre," 9 June 1923, 1; Pellico, "Amor con amor se paga," La Protesta Humana 30 August 1902, 2; Rafal Ulecia y Cardona, "Cartilla higienica para las madres," 24 October 1903. See also, "La unión libre," in A las muchachas que estudian, pp. 12-15.

74. See issues of 10 September 1905, 11 August 1906; 18 November 1906.

75. La Palanca started publication on 1 May, 1908.

76. La Alborada, 2a quincena de julio, 1906; La Palanca, May 1908, p. 2; August 1908, p. 42. During these years the writers and organizers seemed to have favored the formation of female gremios to coparticipation with men in mixed associations. See, La Alborada, 9 December, 1923, p. 4; 23 December, 1906, p. 4; 30 December, 1906, p. 4; 28 January, 1907, p. 2.

77. See, for example, 5 February 1919, p. 1.

78. See issues of 11 August 1906, 6 April, 1907, 27 January, 1907 and 24 February, 1907.

79. El Despertar de los Trabajadores, see, for example, 15 February 1913, p. 3; 25 February 1913, p. 2; 12 March 1914, p. 1; 25 July 1915; La reforma, 26 June 1906; 3 August 1906; El Trabajo, 1 December 1915, p. 3; 17 January, 1916, p. 3; La Voz del Obrero first Sunday April, 1903, p. 1.

80. Julia Arévalo, "A las obreras mis hermanas," El Trabajo, 1 December 1915, p. 3; 17 January 1916, p. 4.

81. Juana Rouco Buela, Historia de un ideal vivido por una mujer (Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconstruir, 1964); Nuestra Tribuna, 1 November 1924, p. 4.

82. We need also to explore further the efforts to organize working women under the aegis of the Catholic Church, which by the 1920s was borrowing some basic feminist concepts. For example, El Sindicalista (Santiago), in several of its 1918 and 1919 issues reports sympathetically on the activities of the women of a military garment factory who had associated to obtain better working conditions. "Respecto a su sexo podemos decir con toda seguridad que si hay explotación en nuestra patria son ellas las que más directamente padecen, ¡ pobres mujeres!, pero al fin se levantaron triunfantes de su esclavitud porque así lo quiere la Iglesia, así lo dijo Jesucristo en su doctrina. . . pero este triunfo ha de ser del esfuerzo de ellas mismas, que cobijandose bajo el manto bienhechor de la Iglesia saldrán de la explotación en que se encuentran." See, April 1919, p. 3. See also, Sandra McGee, "The Catholic Church, Work, and Womanhood in Argentina, 1890-1930," paper delivered at the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies, Tucson, February 1984.

83. Julieta Kirkwood, "Chile: La mujer en la formulación política," FLACSO, Documentos de Trabajo (Santiago, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLASCO), 1981); "La formación de la conciencia feminista en Chile. Material de discusión," (Santiago, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLASCO), 1980); "Women and Politics in Chile," International Social Science Journal, 98, pp. 625-638. See also, Gloria Bonder, "The study of politics from the standpoint of women," International Social Science Journal, 98, pp. 569-584. Bonder is the Director of the Centro de Estudios de la Mujer en Buenos Aires.

## ERRATA

- Page 5 societed material should read sociedad marital  
Note 1 (page 28) Uruguay  
Note 5 (page 29) Uruguay  
Note 10 (page 29) Alfonso Otero  
Note 11 (page 30) "bondage of marriage for life."  
Note 22 (page 32) La Mujer Nueva  
Note 26 (page 32) November 1937  
Note 29 (page 33) Servicios Anexos  
Note 30 (page 33) Fernando J. Carbonell  
Note 31 (page 33) nuestra cultura  
Note 34 (page 34) 22-23  
Note 35 (page 34) welfare  
Note 45 (page 35) Partido Independiente Democrático Femenino  
Note 50 (page 36) Gabrielle  
Note 53 (Page 37) Cynthia Little  
Note 70 (page 40) Ezequiel  
Note 83 (Page 42) FLACSO