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" Friends Abroad: Transnational Cooperation and Women's Organizations in Early Twentieth Century Chile."

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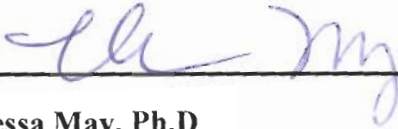
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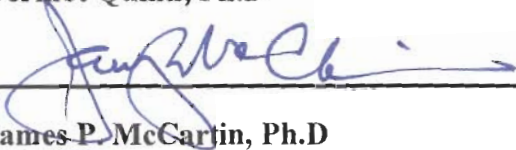


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Introduction:

In November of 1940, the Second Congress of *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile*, or the Movement for the Empancipation of Chilean Women, included an obligatory course entitled “Global Women’s Movements,” in which the “political consequences of the feminine vote in the diverse countries in which it has been established” was taught by one of the organization’s co-founders, Marta Vergara.¹ The appearance of this course was indicative of the international approach taken by women’s movements in Chile over the previous forty years. The first half of the twentieth century was a time of social change and frequent shifts in political power in Chile. As a result, Chilean women’s movements during this time varied along with the changes in population and political climate that took place over the first fifty years of the twentieth century. However, one thing remained the same. The Chilean women who organized themselves, whether it be for social preservation or social change, looked beyond the domestic sphere of Chile for support and education regarding their causes. Chilean women’s movements recognized that there was an international element to the causes they supported, and they sought to harness the support of other women worldwide to further their platforms. International relationships allowed Chilean women’s groups to transcend national, social and political structures.

Chile is sometimes characterized as a frontrunner in the enfranchisement of women in Latin America. Chilean women of means were some of the first women in Latin America to be admitted to institutions of higher education or sent abroad for higher education.² However, political enfranchisement for Chilean women came much later than educational opportunities.

Until, 1934 the women of Chile were excluded from participating in any elections. In that year, 1934, women were given the right to vote in municipal elections.³ Finally, in 1949, Chilean women were granted full suffrage.⁴ Advanced educational opportunities were not as meaningful when even highly educated women were prohibited from taking part in the country's political, intellectual culture. So, educated women found their own ways to contribute to Chile's political discourse. The result was the formation of various women's clubs and organizations that solicited membership based on shared social and political beliefs. For instance, Doña Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux, the founder of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas*, and the co-founders of *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile*, Marta Vergara, Graciela Mandujano, Aída Parada, and Elena Caffarena, created their organizations after completing their education at home and abroad and perceiving a certain niche for women in Chile's political discourse. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Chilean women's organizations advocated government policies that best suited their interests, and lobbied the government to maintain those policies, all the while never casting a vote until 1934. Women's organizations in Chile were the path to political influence for the country's women.

This thesis will use the window of political participation opened by Chilean women's groups to demonstrate a common awareness among Chilean women of a transnational dimension in women's political causes. I will illustrate this trend through an historical analysis of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* and *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile* and their respective publications. *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* was established in 1912 as a women's organization for the Catholic, elite women of Chile. The primary objective of its agenda was the preservation of the traditional gender roles of Chilean society. The second group that I will

analyze, *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile*, or MEMCh, was founded in 1935. The group advocated equal rights for Chilean women and condemned the rise of fascism abroad, and therefore, allied themselves with left-wing political coalitions. In the context of this thesis, *La Liga* represents a women's organization that operated in the 1910s and 1920s and identified with the political right, and MEMCh represents a group that functioned in the 1930s and 1940s and supported leftist political parties and candidates. By using organizations from different time-periods and with different political allegiances to exemplify the general tendency of Chilean women's groups to seek international support, it is possible to focus on the groups' commonalities, rather than their differences. In other words, the Liga and MECh are good indicators of an overarching phenomenon of international communication between women's groups in the first half of the twentieth century because their goals and dates of existence were different.

The historiography of Chilean women's movements is polarized by the political affiliations of the groups in question in a given history. Historians have asked questions regarding the historical reason why Chilean women chose to support one side of the political spectrum or the other. In "More than Mere Pawns: Right-wing Women in Chile" and subsequent book *Right-wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende, 1964-1973*, Margaret Power explores the reasons why some women in Chile supported the dictatorship of Pinochet. Though this seems, at least in part, anachronistic, Power aims to understand their choice by historicizing what seems like an endorsement of political violence to contemporary readers. Her analysis is based on political difference, and other authors have followed suit. Ericka Verba also pits the left against the right. In her book, *Catholic Feminism and the Social*

Question in Chile 1910-1917, she analyzes the ways that *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* differentiated their brand of “Catholic feminism” from the progressive, or liberal, feminism of other women’s groups.⁵ These dichotomous analyses are important to understanding the motivations of a particular women’s group, but do not speak to trends in Chilean women’s movements as a whole. What do these groups have in common? In “Chilean Feminists, the International Women’s Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950,” Corrine A. Pernet begins to fill the historiographical gap by pointing to a tendency among Chilean women’s groups to have an international outlook. However, she organizes her analysis into two eras that are defined by the prevalence of women’s organizations in Chile that supported either conservative or liberal politics. She defines an early era in the 1910s and 1920s in which women’s groups were primarily supporters of conservative policies and political candidates and a later period during the 1930s and 1940s in which they advocated more liberal agendas. Thus, her argument is still framed by partisanship.

It is also the tendency of the historiography of Chilean women’s movements to portray a linear history of the existence of women’s groups in Chile. Pernet’s analysis describes a chronological shift from conservative groups to liberal ones, and therefore, implies that the women’s organizations of her early period were in some way precursors to the groups that existed in her second era. Due to the historical and political context of Pernet’s two eras, an organization that existed in one era may have been more or less likely to maintain a certain political orientation, but women’s groups on both sides of the political spectrum existed at all times. Chilean women’s groups in the 1930s and 1940s were not simply more liberal versions of women’s organizations in the 1910s and 1920s. Instead, women’s organizations in Chile on both

sides of the political spectrum developed side-by-side with their own ideological principles as a blueprint.

In the case of *La Liga* and MEMCh, the two groups' origins and goals were entirely different, and a linear history of the two organizations is problematic. An examination of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas'* publications reveals a mobilization that was driven by an intention to preserve Chilean social classes and the need to regulate the behavior of their peers in order to ensure that the proper role of an upper-class woman was being fulfilled. This kind of platform stands in contrast to *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile* whose publication, *La Mujer Nueva*, launched a politically-charged campaign in favor of equal rights for women in Chile, and adamantly opposed the effects of fascism on women and children abroad. While it is true that both groups were composed of women and formed and functioned during the first half of the twentieth century, it is not clear how *La Liga* paved the way for MEMCh, since the organizations had entirely different goals. However, both organizations demonstrated an understanding of the international scope of their platforms. It is important to note that despite having different political agendas, both *La Liga* and MEMCh possessed this quality; thus, making an international outlook a characteristic of Chilean women's groups, rather than a feature of a particular political orientation. In this way, *La Liga* did influence the activities of subsequent Chilean women's organizations, including MEMCh. Ultimately, both groups exemplify a trend in the strategies of women's organizations in Chile, and the existence of an era of women's mobilization in which women across the globe exchanged information and strategies for achieving political goals no matter on which end of the political spectrum those goals registered.

Thus, I argue that Chilean women's movements transcended national, social and political structures by garnering support for their causes internationally. Using *La Liga* and MEMCh as examples of women's groups in their respective time periods and political orientations, I aim to show that Chilean women's movements of all political affiliations and dates of existence reached out to other women internationally to bolster support for their causes, and were exemplary of the kind of cross-national cooperation that is so often present in the history of women's mobilizations.

In order to better explain the activities of each group and their connection to other women internationally, a thorough history of each organization and an analysis of their publications and goals is needed. Thus, the following thesis will begin with a history of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* and their platform of "Catholic feminism" and social preservation as seen through their two journals published from 1912 to 1917; followed by a history of *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile* and their objectives of bringing equal rights to Chilean women and publicizing the devastation of fascist rule abroad as they appear in issues of their magazine published between 1935 and 1941; and finally a conclusion, which synthesizes the international approaches of the two organizations.⁶

**La Liga de Damas Chilenas, Catholic Feminism, & Social Preservation,
1912-1917**

La Liga de Damas Chilenas took shape during a time of rapid social change in Chile, and the organization was composed of the elite women who feared the impact that these changes would have on their way of life. As a result, the ideologies and goals that governed *La Liga* were shaped by the upper-class position of its members and their anxieties regarding the stability of that social status. Moreover, as an auxiliary, social organization of the Catholic Church, the group's platform and activities were also shaped by the Church's position on the proper role of women in society. Therefore, *La Liga's* activities and publications were largely determined by two factors: "Catholic feminism," which I will define further later in this chapter, and social preservation.⁷

As Chile entered the Twentieth Century, increased industrialization and growth in the copper, nitrate, and coal industries brought economic growth, but also fear among Chile's elite class of the social transformations that the expanding middle and working-classes were bringing to Chilean society. Expanded industry created a growing group of Chileans that considered themselves members of the laboring classes, and it also provided opportunities for economic advancement that allowed a significantly sized middle-class to form. From 1891 to 1925 Chile's population as a whole grew about sixty-one percent. The population increase during this time was concentrated in two regions: urban areas, such as Santiago and Valparaíso, and rural mining regions, such as Norte Grande. Thus, the regions of Chile that maintained the most population growth were the areas in which industry was most concentrated.⁸ Rural mining regions provided a hotbed for population growth. Growth in the mining sector, particularly in nitrates during

World War I, was a defining industry for the Chilean economy at the turn of the century, and in the case of mining, laborers migrated to areas that were rich in mining resources.⁹ For some mining Chileans, this meant moving from mine to mine as work became available and mining of a particular resource became more lucrative than others. Most often this meant a shift from copper to nitrates as their respective markets fluctuated. Nevertheless, mining regions in general attracted laborers from throughout Chile, particularly, dissatisfied agricultural workers.¹⁰ Urban areas also became population epicenters. In 1925, almost half of Chile's national industry was dominated by food and beverage production for domestic markets.¹¹ The land-owning elite who controlled the *haciendas*, where a large portion of the raw materials for food and beverage goods were produced, saw an opportunity to expand their wealth and influence in the industrial sector. Landowners used agricultural loans from the federally created Mortgage Land Bank as capital for industrial investments.¹² As a result, the industrial sector saw significant growth in the early twentieth century, and the population of the urban areas of Chile, where industry was the most concentrated, grew as rural Chileans migrated to cities in search of jobs in the industrial sector. Population growth in areas that were dominated by mining and industry meant that the portion of Chile's population that grew was comprised of Chileans who labored in factories and mines. In other words, early twentieth century Chile experienced a growth in its working-class population. Thus, the Chilean working-class and their often inadequate working and living conditions were more visible than they ever were previously, and questions arose regarding the role of the Chilean state in addressing those conditions.

The plight of working-class, or the "social question," became increasingly politicized by the politics of the Left.¹³ In 1912, Luis Emilio Recabarren used his influence as a labor leader

among nitrate workers in Iquique to form the *Partido Obrero Socialista* (POS), or the Socialist Worker's Party.¹⁴ Recabarren and the POS captured the support of the majority of the *Federación de Obreros de Chile*, or FOCh, and eventually ousted any dissenting opinions within the labor union. Eventually the POS changed its name to the Communist Party, and using the Russian Revolution as a model, Recabarren and his supporters called for radical changes in Chile's government.

Chile's working-class was not the only segment of the population to experience growth and expanded political opportunities in the early twentieth century. The Chilean middle-class also increased their influence during this time. Industrial growth resulted not only in more job opportunities for laborers, but also investment opportunities for entrepreneurs. Although traditionally only the wealthiest elite of Chilean society owned land, at the turn of the century many elite families began to run out of money, and in response, sold portions of their large land holdings, which often included several haciendas, to wealthy industrial and mining entrepreneurs. The social position of being a landowner allowed some of Chile's nouveau riche merchants and industrial investors to rise to the status of elite in Chilean society. These individuals became a part of the upper-class, and usually participated in their political traditions.¹⁵ But, a truly middle-class group of Chileans originated in the surge in government employment from 1875 to 1925. In the 25 years between 1900 and 1925, government employment jumped from 5,500 to 26,500 Chileans.¹⁶ Furthermore, the children of government employees and moderately successful merchants and entrepreneurs obtained easier access to education when in 1919 the *Universidad de Concepción* became the first facility for higher education outside of Santiago. As a result, the number of Chileans who entered middle-class

professions such as law and engineering increased, and subsequently the entire middle-class expanded.¹⁷

Increased educational opportunities gave Chile's middle-class the social capital that was necessary to become intellectually and politically active, and while Recabarren and the working-class mobilized under the cause of communism and worker's rights, the middle-class allied itself with the Radical Party. Though it was traditionally a political organization of the elite, the Radical Party was soon dominated by the middle-class.¹⁸ Its politics were moderate, and the group believed that the elite's domination of Chilean politics was wrong, but also felt that the kind of revolution promoted by Recabarren and the POS was too extreme. As part of the moderate changes that the group hoped to bring to the Chilean state, the Radical Party promoted state-funded welfare programs and the elimination of the influence of religion in state affairs.¹⁹

As Chile's working and middle-classes became politically active, the country's upper-class began to worry that the social changes that their social inferiors were advocating would come to fruition. Upper-class Chileans saw a rapidly changing political environment and an expanding laboring-class as a threat to their social positions. The labor reform legislation that aimed to alleviate the problems of the "social question" was typically in opposition to the business interests of the Chilean elite.²⁰ In particular, Chile's rural, landed aristocracy saw labor reform as challenging to their unrestricted authority over the *campesinos* who labored on their *haciendas*.²¹ Díaz Sagredo, who was a conservative delegate to Chile's legislative branch from the agricultural province of Arauco, went as far as to say that the "social question" did not actually exist in Chile.²²

Concurrently, the Catholic Church developed concerns regarding their influence in a changing Chilean society. After all, working-class Chileans were led by Recabarren, who refused to swear on a Bible as part of his inauguration as a member of Chile's legislative branch, and the middle-class and the Radical Party were overtly undermining the Catholic Church by suggesting that it should be excluded from state matters.²³ Moreover, the Church perceived a disintegration of piety and morality among the working-class, whose way of life it viewed as fostering poverty and vice. Traditionally, Chilean women had been the most ardent supporters of the Church and its ideals regarding family. Thus, the Church identified women as the perfect disseminators and recipients of their message of morality. Best of all were upper-class Chilean women, who were already fearful of the changes taking shape in Chilean society and politics. They were the ideal social group to reach out to the working-class with the goal of promoting Catholic morality and maintaining social order. However, maintaining social order also included assuring themselves and the Church that upper-class Chilean women would continue to uphold their stations as the moral beacon of Chilean society, and this meant that they would also need to regulate the morality of their peers.

In response to the Church's perceived need for greater morality in Chilean society, *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* was formed on July 10th 1912 as an exclusively Catholic women's organization.²⁴ Just as its name implies, the group was comprised of *damas*, or ladies, of Chile's upper-class. *La Liga* was created as an auxiliary social group of the Catholic Church, and was explicitly sanctioned by both the Chilean Church and the Papacy. The organization's agenda was to promote its own brand of feminism which they named *Acción Social Femenina*, or *Feminine Social Action*. Verba calls their platform "Catholic feminism" because it was defined

by a commitment to Catholic morality and opposition to situations in which women stepped outside of their divinely dictated place in the domestic sphere.²⁵ Moreover, *La Liga* was founded as a part of an international federation of Catholic women's organizations known as the *Federación Internacional de Ligas Femeninas*, or International Federation of Feminine Leagues, which *El Eco* called a "union of the principle Catholic elements of different countries."²⁶ Moreover, the Chilean *Liga* "maintained constant communication with the Central Bureau" of the Federation.²⁷ The Federation included organizations in Germany, France, England, Austria, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Hungary, Switzerland, Portugal, and Uruguay.²⁸ All of the women who maintained membership in the International Federation of Feminine Leagues had something in common that not all Chilean women shared. They were all Catholic women of high social status, and they shared the framework of "Catholic feminism" as the foundation for their activities and publications.²⁹ As a result, an international network of Catholic feminists formed a convenient and reliable means of communication and strategy-sharing with which the Chilean *Liga* was able to exchange ideas.

Among the women who were a part of the Federation's network of communication was the woman responsible for the foundation of the Chilean *Liga*, Doña Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux. Doña Amalia, as she was known, was born into an aristocratic, Chilean family. Her father, Don Maximiano Errázuriz, was described by his granddaughter as "purely noble, integrity and virtue as far as the features of his beautiful and distinguished figure."³⁰ Don Errázuriz was a diplomat, who held various public positions throughout his career including a stint at the Chilean embassy in London.³¹ His internationally focused career helped to shape the experiences of Doña Amalia. In 1871, at only eleven years old, Amalia made her first trip to

Europe.³² She witnessed the devastation of revolution and war in France, but it was her life in Rome that “was radiant with enthusiasm and with happiness.”³³ She was especially taken with the Vatican City and Pope Pio IX.³⁴ Thus, from the beginning of her life, Doña Amalia had an inclination for international relations and Catholicism. This combination of interests was compounded later in her life when her husband, Ramón Subercaseaux, who was also a career diplomat, became the Chilean ambassador to the Vatican City.³⁵ The couple spent a large portion of their early married life abroad. Upon their return to Chile, Doña Amalia took notice of the Uruguayan *Liga* and their theater censorship program. She applauded their efforts, which combined her two greatest passions Catholic morality and international networking. As a result, she, along with Adela Edwards de Salas, founded the Chilean installment of the Federation of Female Leagues. Thus, from its conception, the Chilean *Liga* was based on the examples of its sister organizations abroad. In fact, it was often the case that *La Liga* modeled their activities after the programs of their sister organizations internationally. For instance, the store for the “protection of women’s work” was based on a similar project taken on by the Spanish *Liga*.³⁶ The group’s journal, *El Eco*, was even modeled after the Uruguayan *Liga*’s journal of the same name.³⁷

Members of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* answered the Church’s call to defend the morality of Chilean society, and supported a distinctively Catholic form of feminism. As supporters of “Catholic feminism”, *La Liga* distinguished their brand of feminism from what the organization labeled as *feminismo sin Dios*, or Godless feminism.³⁸ Godless feminism referred to the efforts of progressive feminists, who opposed gender inequality in society and advocated social reforms, which would remedy these inequalities. The women of *La Liga* opposed the

efforts of progressive feminists to eliminate separate gender roles for men and women. They saw the work of progressive feminists as both unfeminine and violent. *La Liga* disapproved of the “many women” who dressed in “semi-masculine costumes,” and used “extremely violent terms” to persuade others “of the absolute necessity that women had equal participation with men in the conduct of public affairs.”³⁹ In an article called “A New Terrorism,” *La Liga* admonished the violent behavior of progressive feminists, especially London’s radical suffragettes. It said:

The wire counts every day the misdeeds and follies that the suffragists aimed to draw attention and impose their will. One day a house is burned down by them, another time the bomb that they threw on a passenger train. Countless have already committed offenses against government and private property, and even against people of faith; several ministers of state bear the marks of these sweet representatives of the weaker sex.⁴⁰

The women of *La Liga* believed that this kind of feminism was contrary to their natural, peaceful inclinations as women and damaged the greater good of a society by promoting violence. Instead, the women of *La Liga* believed that “the truth” was “for a woman to be a feminist it is not necessary that she undertake elevated studies, nor that she take independent airs, nor that she abandon her natural obligations,” and according to *El Eco*’s slogan, those obligations included a peaceful commitment to “God, Fatherland, and Family”⁴¹

In contrast to progressive feminism, “Catholic feminism” supported the gender disparities in Chilean society as God-given, and dictated that women be respected and given rights that corresponded to their position as the proprietors of morality and Godliness in society.⁴² According to *La Liga*, feminism meant five things. First, “to be feminist is to

recognize to the woman the right to live off her work.”⁴³ Second, “to be feminist is to defend the development of the mentality of the wife to assert her influence in the family home.”⁴⁴ Third, “to be feminist ought to be, for a mother, not to sacrifice daughters to sons; give everyone a culture.”⁴⁵ Fourth, “to be feminist is not to be content to inspire in daughters care for their moral dignity, but also instill in sons respect for themselves and women.”⁴⁶ Fifth, and finally, “to be feminist, is not to be enclosed in the selfishness of family life, is to form a broader horizon and follow the big issues in which the feminine interests are intimate.”⁴⁷ All five of qualities of feminism, as defined by *La Liga*, were defined by an association with what were considered inherently feminine aspects of life. Three of the five characteristics listed involve the home and family, and as the fifth quality reminds *El Eco*’s readers, the influence of Chilean women was not limited to the realm of home and family, but their authority outside the home was limited to “feminine interests.”⁴⁸ However, “feminine interests” proved to be a broad category of analysis for *La Liga*.⁴⁹ In the case of women’s suffrage, the organization remained divided on whether votes for women constituted a feminine interest that could be considered within the realm of *La Liga*’s activities. For some elite, Catholic women in Chile, granting women suffrage was consistent with the Catholic feminist belief that women held superior powers of moral persuasion in a society because voting would enable women to exert their moral authority on a grander scale and in favor of political parties and policies that affected the home and family in a positive way. Others felt women’s suffrage would allow women to cross the line into the public sphere of Chilean men, and was as a result inherently contradictory to the principles of *La Liga*’s brand of feminism.⁵⁰ Due to the conflicting opinions on the subject of suffrage within *La Liga*, the organization remained largely neutral, and suggested that its members “pray and plead for light

to lead men, and legislators to give us good, intelligent, Christians, who can defend the good cause.”⁵¹

In short, the women of *La Liga* believed that true, “Catholic feminism” meant that improvements to the condition of women could be made without Chilean women crossing into the realm of what was socially considered masculine.⁵² As the keynote speaker to *La Liga*’s first grand assembly reminded the four-hundred and fifty women in attendance, “But there is a feminism that agrees with reason; that does not contradict the laws of nature.”⁵³ Catholic feminists did not want to change their social position, which was dictated by God and the laws of nature. They wanted to fortify the role that they felt these entities had organically constructed for them. Thus, *La Liga*’s position as Catholic feminists was dependent upon a demonstration of moral righteousness among its peer-group and the ability to affect the moral constitutions of women of other classes and social positions.

La Liga’s platform of Catholic feminism consisted of a two-prong approach, which Verba has described as both “intra-class” and “cross-class” in nature, meaning that the women of *La Liga* had an obligation to closely monitor morality amongst each other and a maternal responsibility to protect the women outside of their class and status, who might fall victim to the ideologies of Recabarren’s Socialist Worker’s Party, or the atheism of the Radical Party and progressive feminism.⁵⁴ *La Liga* declared in its mission statement in the very first issue of its journal *El Eco* that

We are united in a large number in a Holy League, a broad and necessary crusade. It is about defending our rights which are none other than decency and virtue. We seek to defend our children, our society, the whole world. Because this work is great, it is ambitious, it has no limits.⁵⁵

Between the years 1912 and 1917, *La Liga* published a journal under two titles: *El Eco* (The Response) and later *La Cruzada* (The Crusade). Under both titles, the journal provided the women of *La Liga* with information on how they could best further both the “intra-class” and “cross-class” goals of the organization.⁵⁶ The upper-class *damas* of *La Liga* could strengthen the morality of their own social class by using their superior powers of moral persuasion to assure that their families were upholding the ideals of “Catholic feminism.”⁵⁷ They could impact the morality of the working-class by empowering their working-class counterparts to do the same. Each issue of *La Liga*’s publications reminded its readers that these were the ideals that would save Chilean society from the perceived, negative effects of social change.

Early in its existence, *La Liga* focused primarily on the “intra-class” portion of its platform.⁵⁸ The group was concerned with the potential immorality of the social activities of their members. In particular, *La Liga*’s publications made recommendations to its readers regarding the books, plays, theaters, and social events its editors found suitable for the *señoras* of Chilean society. The first edition of *La Cruzada* warns its readers that:

This demoralizing power exits from the same centers of civilization that it already degenerates. It is coming to us in the form of books, publications, and entertainment, which offends our sight and wounds the most sensitive delicacy and our honor.⁵⁹

La Liga’s reservations regarding the appropriateness of leisure activities became the foundation of their “intra-class” moralizing campaign.⁶⁰ The organization formed a theater censorship board, which was charged with the task of reviewing plays and films in terms of their morality. If a particular play or film was considered indecent by the censorship board, a public declaration of its licentious nature was published in *La Liga*’s journal along with an appeal to readers to boycott

performances or showings of the dramatic piece.⁶¹ For example, one edition of *El Eco* gave varying reviews of several theaters. The theater, *Unión Central*, met *La Liga*'s full approval, and the organization said that "The films of this theater are all revised for *señoras* of *la Liga*."⁶² However, the *Teatro Santiago* did not fare so well. *La Liga* said that, "we have received several complaints about the gross and immoral manner of the shows that they offer at this theater."⁶³ Moreover, "the adherents of *La Liga* that have any special requests to make on theaters" were encouraged to contact Mrs. Elena Calvo de Bulne to do so.⁶⁴

La Liga also established its own library in which only approved materials were available for members to read.⁶⁵ The group's publications followed the development of its library and suggested certain titles. For instance, after a "new batch of interesting works" arrived at the library *El Eco*'s suggested a book on the French Revolution by G. Lenotre.⁶⁶ The organization hoped that by stigmatizing certain plays, films, and publications as immoral they could prevent the spread of those ideas among their peers. If upper-class women weren't exposed to progressive feminism through media and print culture, they were unlikely to ascribe to Godless feminism. This strategy became particularly important in the case of young, elite, Chilean women. Preventing their daughters from participating in popular culture, and therefore being exposed to progressive, Godless feminism, eventually dominated *La Liga*'s "intra-class" moralizing mission.⁶⁷

Issues of the organization's journal are preoccupied not only with policing the morality of society's *señoras*, but particularly of its *señoritas*. The pages of *El Eco* and *La Cruzada* show the most concern for the young, female members of the upper-class, who were coming of age in a time that most *señoras* regarded as greatly changed and more immoral than the epoch of their

own youth. Young *damas* were now at risk of falling under the sway of liberal politics and atheistic forms of feminism. In its first year of publication, *El Eco* published a reoccurring section entitled “To the Young Girls,” and it approached topics such as the importance of letter writing in a more technologically advanced society and “A Chat about Music,” which discussed appropriate music selections for young *damas*.⁶⁸ In short, these articles were designed to promote the kinds of activities in which *señoras* engaged in their youth, such as letter writing and listening to traditional pieces of music that did not maintain ties to Chile’s popular classes and their culture. The *señoras* of *La Liga* hoped that encouraging their daughters to pursue the traditional activities that they labeled as appropriate would both shield them from the influence of socialism and atheism, and allow the upper-class to maintain their traditional lifestyle which constituted a separate culture from other Chileans. The *señoras*’ overarching goal was to maintain their way of life and social status, and educating their *señoritas* on the proper lifestyle of a society woman and Catholic feminist was vital to this objective. Without this type of instruction, the *señoritas* might invest themselves in the shifting social and gender norms that the increasingly visible working and middle-classes were ushering into Chilean society. The *señoritas* were the women of *La Liga*’s legacy, and they needed the young women’s support to secure long-term results for their campaign to protect the role of Chilean women in society. Young women were responsible for continuing the traditional role of women as ladies of their homes and beacons of Catholic moral authority.

Another reoccurring column, “To the Mothers,” addressed parenting topics from first communions to education and the ways for a proper *señora* to approach such situations with both their male and female children.⁶⁹ Evidence of parenting advice for the *damas* of *La Liga* suggests

that, though there was a preoccupation with the behavior of *señoritas*, their mothers held the ultimate responsibility for their daughters' actions. As one instance of "To the Mothers" says, "The education of the children rests primarily with the mother, on her knees as they pass their first years. The father, busy at his jobs and businesses has little time and less inclination to devote to instructing them."⁷⁰ Furthermore, "Catholic feminism" was based on the supposition that women not only possessed superior moral constitutions, but also that their capacities to persuade others in matters of morality exceeded their male counterparts.⁷¹ Accordingly, *señoras* were accountable for the morality or immorality of their daughters and other family members. After all, in order for women to maintain their place in society, men would have to do the same, and "Catholic feminism" dictated that *señoras* were able to affect the behavior and propriety of their husbands and families best by not challenging the authority of men, and utilizing the powers of moral persuasion that were natural to their position in the home and society.⁷² One article states that

Societies are what their members are. They lament many evils, blaming men of many vices; they fruitlessly deplore many shortcomings. Ah, I'd say it is in a large part the fault of the weaker sex. If we can convince even this one woman, we would practically see how an intelligent, helpful, caring, and selfless old maid is capable of transforming everything around her, to change fathers, to moderate and convert brothers, and to make happy many who hope for it; of her right, a little kindness and tenderness that are hidden and locked in the depths of their soul.⁷³

Chilean women were capable of transforming the morality of the men in their lives, and a failure to affect the moral constitution of men in this way meant that the resulting immoral behavior was the fault of the woman in question. In this way, *La Liga's* instructions to mothers assured that the organization's agenda reached every generation and member of the upper-class Chilean

family, and made clear that “Catholic feminism” dictated that the moral condition of their families was ultimately the responsibility of the *damas*.⁷⁴

In 1916, the women of *La Liga* also began to take responsibility for the morality of working-class women.⁷⁵ *El Eco* declared that the organization had:

Worked to improve theater, founded libraries, lecture series, religious, literary, and social centers, and not contented with concerning itself solely with the upper and more fortunate class of society, then decided to work towards improving the situation of the woman that struggles and suffers for her very life.⁷⁶

This was *La Liga*'s public declaration of their “cross-class” moralizing campaign.⁷⁷ The article went on to say “Forward now! Let us not stop to look back, but you need to encourage us and work better. Let them come to us all women of good will who love Jesus and want his Kingdom.”⁷⁸ However, the organization began its gradual transition into the realm of “cross-class” activities earlier in its existence.⁷⁹ As early as, 1912 *La Liga* planned to open a store for the “protection of women’s labor.”⁸⁰ The goal of the store was to provide women with the opportunity to sell their handicrafts for a fair price without the need to leave their homes and families. *La Liga* initially conceived of the store as a means through which they could help middle-class women and women who were once affluent members of their peer group and had fallen into unfortunate financial circumstances, which required them to work, or as *La Liga* described them, “the people who are in the unfortunate situation of having to earn their bread with their work.”⁸¹ The shop would allow these women to anonymously sell their wares without social stigmatization.⁸² While middle-class women were the intended beneficiaries of the store for the “protection of women’s labor,” the store struggled to attract the interest of middle-class women as vendors as well as upper-class women as patrons, and as the group reminded its

members “the work brings great expense and it is only sustained with generous alms from the same *señoras* who work there with admirable zeal and untiring perseverance.”⁸³ So, by 1915, the store included professional women workers, or women, who were considered part of the working-class.⁸⁴

The inclusion of working-class women as venders in the store for the “protection of women’s labor” was the beginning of *La Liga*’s gradual shift toward incorporating not only middle-class women, but also working-class women into their agenda.⁸⁵ In the same year that working-class women were included in the store for the “protection of women’s labor,” an article called “For the Female Employees” appeared in *La Cruzada*. In the article, the editors of *La Cruzada* pointed out to their readers that at the same time that they were all preparing for their vacations there were young women workers that were close in age to their daughters, who would be developing tuberculosis in unsanitary workplaces while their daughters breathed the fresh-air of the beach. The article said,

All of us, almost without exception, are now preparing to go on vacation; a change of healthy air for us and ours is justly craved and justly won for nine or ten months of social and intellectual work. For two or three months, maybe, we will replenish our strengths in a necessary break, and give food to our lungs with pure air from the country or from the sea. Our sons and our daughters, and that is what matters most to us, enjoy and become robust in those vacations in which you breath freely and exercise, and country walks alternate with games on the beach and baths in the sea. There are young women that work and get tired more than ours, who spend the entire year breathing a closed and dusty atmosphere of a store or of offices, where inevitably they contract anemia or tuberculosis.⁸⁶

The article closed with a note compelling those who would like to contribute financially to helping such girls to contact a specific member of *La Liga*. The *damas*’ concern for the working conditions of working women was intimately linked to a feeling of maternal responsibility.

In the above excerpt, maternal sympathy was elicited through a comparison with their own daughters, but the general concept of working women as girls who needed guidance to become women was pervasive among aristocratic, Catholic thinkers in Chile. *La Liga* was governed by “Catholic feminism,” which supported separate gendered roles and spheres of influence for men and women in Chilean society, and dictated that for Chilean women the proper sphere of influence was the home and their proper role was to be primarily a mother.⁸⁷ Thus, there was a certain amount of contradiction in *La Liga*’s efforts to aid women, who worked outside their home, and explains why the organization was slow to implement their “cross-class” component.⁸⁸ In order for *La Liga* to justify aiding working-class women in a way that would enable them to continue to work outside their homes, the organization, along with many other elite, Catholic social reformers, viewed women working outside their homes as a temporary condition.⁸⁹ Hard times forced some women to seek employment for wages outside of their homes, but with the help of *La Liga*’s charitable efforts, these women could return to their proper place in the home. Of particular interest to *La Liga* were young, poor, and single female workers. The organization presumed that single women who labored outside of their homes did so because they had no patriarchal figure to support them financially; therefore, single women could easily be helped by a marriage to a suitable partner. As a result, one of the group’s major charitable efforts toward the working-class was a dowry, or *caja dotal*, program. The *caja dotal* helped young, working-class women to save for a suitable dowry by encouraging them to be thrifty in their purchases, and supplementing the women’s saved funds through the donations of upper-class *damas* who were honorary members of a particular woman’s *caja dotal*. According

to *La Liga*, a suitable dowry was the foundation for a Catholic marriage that would allow working-class women to exit the workforce.⁹⁰

La Liga's platform and activities were shaped by its identity as a Catholic feminist organization and a member of the International Federation of Feminine Leagues. The same influence effected the group's publications. In particular, *El Eco* and *La Cruzada* provided the organization with a means through which to communicate with their sister leagues, and a way to disseminate information regarding sister leagues and Catholic feminists abroad to its membership. The pages of both *El Eco* and *La Cruzada* are filled with correspondence from *Ligas* in other countries and reports of their activities. In particular, the Chilean *Liga* had a special affiliation with their counterpart in Uruguay. The very first issue of *El Eco* contains a reprinted article from the Uruguayan *Liga*'s publication, also entitled *El Eco*, which the Chilean editors included in hopes to "give our readers an idea of the group that is this League's model."⁹¹ Subsequent editions contained more reprinted articles from the Uruguayan *El Eco* and correspondence from their leadership. While there was a special continental and linguistic relationship between the Chilean and Uruguayan *Ligas*, *El Eco* and *La Cruzada* contained hundreds of references to upper-class Catholic women living within other national boundaries. In particular, the organization published reoccurring columns with titles, such as, "Notes of the Foreign" and "Foreign Female Action" which featured reports of current events and activities in other countries that were relevant to the causes of "Catholic feminism."⁹² Other articles on Catholic feminists abroad stood on their own apart from these columns. For instance, the December 1, 1913 issue of *El Eco* contained an article entitled "League of Christian Women in Belgium."⁹³ The article outlined the Belgian *Liga*'s program for the unionization of female

workers.⁹⁴ Another column, called “Trends,” reported to readers global trends for women in Berlin, London, Madrid, and Milan, and even cited the *Ladies Home Journal* as a source of information on what was fashionable in the United States.⁹⁵ These kinds of articles, which contained references to Catholic women in other countries, indicated that the women of *La Liga* understood that they were a part of a social group that transcended the national boundaries of Chile.

The foundation of *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* as a member organization of the International Federation of Feminine Leagues by Doña Amalia shaped the scope of the group’s resources for organizing their activities and agenda. Moreover, without the Uruguayan example as a guide, the Chilean *Liga* would not have developed in the fashion that it did. *La Liga*’s two initial projects, *El Eco* and its theater censorship board were replicas of their Uruguayan counterparts, and were therefore reliant upon them. *La Liga*’s association with the International Federation of Feminine Leagues and their interest in the activities of aristocratic women outside of Chile was an essential element to organization’s inception and development.

**El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile, Progressive Feminism,
and Social Change, 1935-1941**

El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile, or MEMCh, was created on May 11, 1935 at the University of Chile under the leadership of several of the era's leading progressive feminists, including Marta Vergara, Graciela Mandujano, Aída Parada, and Elena Caffarena.⁹⁶ The group's overarching goal was to unite all of Chile's women's organizations in hopes of achieving advanced political rights for women by working as a whole. However, the historical context of the organization's inception paved the way for an alliance with the Communist Party and the Popular Front coalition in which they participated, and therefore, MEMCh's agenda became more closely associated with leftist politics than the unification of women from various organizations. MEMCh also developed an international outlook as a result of its founding members' experiences abroad and the group's campaign against fascism. The organization's international scope became a strategy for winning support for equal rights for Chilean women from the international and pan-American communities, and represented a trend in the ways that women's organizations in the first half of the twentieth century mobilized at both the national level and as a part of an international community of women.

Chile entered the 1930s and 1940s in much the same way as many other nations. An international era of political polarization between the far right, fascism, and the far left, communism took hold, and Chile's political culture was marked by a continuous turnover of power from one extreme to the other. Yet, most of the era's political leaders understood that in order to achieve enough support to win elections a compromise needed to be reached within a

government's platform and policies, which resulted in governments that can be described as "accommodating."⁹⁷ It also led political parties that would not necessarily have joined forces to band together against their common enemy in coalitions. For example, the Popular Front Coalition with which MEMCh allied itself incorporated the Communist, Socialist, and Radical Parties. The political climate of extremes that was present at this time presented women's groups with the choice of one extreme or the other. Fortunately for the women of MEMCh and other left-leaning women's organizations, leftist coalitions, like the Popular Front, allowed women of a broader spectrum of political beliefs from staunch communist, working-class women to middle-class women who supported the Radical Party to work together toward the common goal of women's social reform.

Just as *La Liga* was a result of the changes taking shape in Chilean society in the early 1900s, *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile* was a product of the shifts and changes taking place in the social and political environment of Chile during the 1930s and 1940s. By MEMCh's formation in 1935, many of the social changes that the upper-class women of *La Liga* had feared could be seen in Chilean society.⁹⁸ In particular, the middle-class gained significant influence in politics. While the working-class also grew in numbers and influence, it was often the case that leadership positions even within working-class organizations and political parties were held by members of the middle-class.⁹⁹ Moreover, the middle-class was often the segment of the Chilean population that was most affected by politics and government, because they relied on the government for employment. The trend of increases in government employment in the early 1900s continued through the first half of the twentieth century, and by 1958 government employment rose 250 percent from 1925.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, Chile's middle-class

found success in courting political parties and presidential candidates by offering their votes in exchange for employment opportunities upon their election to office. Also, the middle-class was placed in the powerful position of influencing whether or not the results of a given election were the desired outcome for either the working-class or the elite. Affluent middle-class Chileans, who had vested business interests tended to identify with the elite political agenda. The other members of the middle-class, such as government employees, often made little more than working-class Chileans in terms of wages, and were considered middle-class due to their superior education.¹⁰¹ Thus, these middle-class Chileans tended to sympathize with the working-class and labor politics.

During the 1930s and 1940s, working-class Chileans also gained the kind of political influence that the elite had feared they would in the earlier decades of the century. Labor unions were a definitive part of Chile's political culture in the 1930s and 1940s. Though their ability to affect elections and legislation ebbed and flowed with the current administration's receptivity to labor unions, the organizations still made their mark on the politics of the era. During the first administration of Carlos Ibáñez the activities of labor unions were suppressed dramatically; however, as a result, they became an institutionalized portion of the government. As a replacement for the labor unions that his government suppressed, Ibáñez created 300 labor organizations that were organized into a national association of labor unions called Confederación Republicana de Acción Cívica, or CRAC. CRAC was allocated 19 seats in the Chilean legislature.¹⁰² So, labor unions were still able to significantly impact politics, despite the constrictions placed on them by Ibáñez. Upon President Arturo Alessandri's return to power in

1931, labor unions were endorsed by the government and the 1931 Labor Code, and union membership rose to 125,000 by 1938.¹⁰³

The political influence of both the middle and working-classes was dependent upon their membership and active participation in political parties. Again, the trends of the early 1900s continued through the rest of the century's first half. Those members of the middle-class, who were not wealthy enough to ascribe to upper-class politics, continued to support the Radical Party and its platform of increased educational opportunities and the secularization of Chilean society.¹⁰⁴ Laboring Chileans typically aligned themselves with the dominant political party within their union. Labor unions were influenced politically by three groups the Socialist Party, which was formed in 1933, the Communist Party, and anarcho-syndicalist groups.¹⁰⁵ The influence of the latter was eliminated during Ibáñez's repression of labor unions, and by the time of MEMCh the Socialist and Communist Parties were the remaining political allies of Chilean labor unions. In 1936, the Socialist, Communist, and Radical Parties joined forces to form a coalition, which was named the Popular Front.¹⁰⁶ The Popular Front attracted voters by maintaining a platform based on social reforms, and as a result, their presidential candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, won the election in 1938.¹⁰⁷

Like *La Liga de Damas Chilenas* in the 1910s and 1920s, *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile* was formed in reaction to Chile's social and political climate in the 1930s and 1940s. The era was marked by the increasing influence of the middle and working-classes in Chilean political life, and MEMCh's membership was primarily comprised of women from these two social classes. Moreover, MEMCh ascribed to its epoch's inclination toward political polarization between the left and right by allying themselves with the

Communist Party and the Popular Front coalition and opposing right-wing political systems, such as fascism.

1938's Popular Front coalition succeeded not only in attracting popular support and winning the presidency with its platform of social reform, but it also won the support of *El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile*. Although MEMCh began organizing in 1935, the Popular Front coalition of 1938 provided the organization's women with a perfect political platform that also fit their own interests in social reform and equality of rights for women.¹⁰⁸ The organization was founded by several of the era's most influential supporters of women's rights, including Marta Vergara, Graciela Mandujano, Aída Parada, and Elena Caffarena. The group organized on the premise that equal rights for women were a fundamental element of democracy. Its members believed that in order for Chile to oppose fascism without hypocrisy the country's women had to achieve equal rights under Chilean law, and suffrage for women was a vital portion of this objective.¹⁰⁹ MEMCh also published a journal, which was entitled, *La Mujer Nueva* (The New Woman). Its target audience was middle and working-class women, and its articles focused on the social changes and reform that were desired by these classes of women.

MEMCh's platform was most influenced by a belief in progressive feminism and the organization's alliance with left-leaning politics, in particular the Communist Party and the Popular Front. Progressive feminism maintained that social change was necessary in order to grant Chilean women equality of social status with men, and social change in order to achieve equity among Chilean social-classes was a goal of the political parties that constituted the Popular Front coalition. There was overlap in the types of social programs that would further the

agenda of both the Popular Front and MEMCh's progressive feminists, and while the Popular Front viewed their social causes as "national" problems and MEMCh's causes as feminists ones, both organizations often sought the same social changes.¹¹⁰ For instance, both groups had a vested interest in lowering the cost of living.¹¹¹ The Popular Front was interested in decreasing the cost of living because its middle and working-class constituents were usually most affected by inflation and an increase in the cost of living. MEMCh believed that decreasing the cost of living would enable women to survive from their earnings, and would decrease starvation among children. The two organizations were also united through a shared, strongly anti-fascist sentiment. MEMCh believed that until Chilean women were given equal rights, Chile could not claim to be better or more democratic than fascist states in Europe. Moreover, as a reaction to the growth of fascism in Europe in the 1930s, the Soviet Union encouraged Communist parties internationally to form broad, leftist political coalitions in hopes of preventing fascism from taking a further hold worldwide. Chile's Popular Front was, in part, a reaction to the Soviet Union's call for leftist coalitions, and joined MEMCh in their opposition to fascism in Chile and abroad.¹¹² Thus, the pairing of the two organizations was seemingly natural due to their shared political interests.

MEMCh used its journal *La Mujer Nueva* to circulate their ideas regarding politics and the status of women, and cultivate new members. The first issue of *La Mujer Nueva* contained an article entitled "The Program of the Movement for the Emancipation of Chilean Women," which described the organization's platform. In it, MEMCh defined their place among other women's organizations by saying:

In actuality, there are numerous women's organizations and parties that have the same aspirations, and yet, develop isolated action. These institutions cannot disappear, because they have their own life and constitute a social reality; but, as their work for the same is scattered, it does not influence opinion. It is pursued to guide joint action of all to form a powerful force and fight well with probabilities of success. We do not claim, therefore, to absorb either the organizations or their individual members, but simply harness and harmonize.¹¹³

The article went on to outline the major changes that the organization planned to fight for as they pertain to three categories: legal, economic, and biological, or physical. In the legal realm, MEMCh fought for "recognition of their political rights," "the expansion of civil rights," particularly separation of property, "the power to change, by mutual agreement, the matrimonial system and liberate women from the burden of proof of the origin of the goods purchased with their personal work," "divorce with the dissolution of bonds," "the removal of barriers to marriage," "the determination of paternity and the equality of legitimate and illegitimate children," "change in the female prison system, especially for women with children," and "the enactment of any law for the social or economic protection of women and children."¹¹⁴

Economically, MEMCh promoted "equality of salaries and wages for men and women," "the betterment of all working conditions and compliance with social legislation, in particular the provisions for motherhood and child labor," "the cost of living," "healthy and cheap housing," and "the betterment of the standard of living of women workers and employees."¹¹⁵ Under the category of physical, the women of MEMCh supported efforts to "emancipate women from forced motherhood, through the dissemination of contraception methods and scientific regulations to fight against illegal abortion."¹¹⁶ Also among the physical rights the group supported was a declaration of their fight against fascism and the negative effects it had on the rights of women.¹¹⁷ All in all, MEMCh's platform was clearly and thoroughly organized and

printed in the first issue of *La Mujer Nueva*, so that there were no questions about the purpose or goals of the organization. MEMCh wanted to unite Chile's various women's groups under one body to promote the social and economic equality of Chilean women and condemn fascism, and *La Mujer Nueva's* pages were filled with references to these activities.

La Mujer Nueva was a medium through which MEMCh disseminated their political beliefs. MEMCh sought to achieve social change through legal means. The organization fought for legal changes to remedy the majority of the social problems outlined in "The Program of the Movement for the Emancipation of Chilean Women."¹¹⁸ In other words, MEMCh looked specifically to the Chilean state for help. It encouraged its members and readership to support social change. Even the language used in *La Mujer Nueva* was active in nature. The verb *luchar*, or to fight, was used frequently to describe the action women should take for social change. Statements such as, "Better salary and fewer children are indispensable requirements for emancipating the woman" were direct and to the point.¹¹⁹ There were tangible solutions to the social inferiority of women in Chilean society. Changes in legislation were the answer.

MEMCh's relationship with the Popular Front coalition provided the organization with a unique opportunity to partner with men, and as a result participate in government through their party affiliation. The women of MEMCh were not only taking part in Chile's political rhetoric, but they were also actively participating in the government by joining forces with a political party that possessed both elected and appointed officials within the government and eventually the presidency in 1938.¹²⁰ In this way, MEMCh was able to influence not only other women, but also the men responsible for writing and implementing laws and government policies. MEMCh took pride in their ability to influence the government through their support of the Popular Front.

As previously mentioned, Chilean women gained the right to vote in municipal elections in 1934; therefore, MEMCh members were able to vote for Popular Front candidates at the local level in the coalition's first elections in 1936.¹²¹ An article in the May 1936 issue of *La Mujer Nueva* was entitled "The electoral win of the Popular Front and the Feminist Vote."¹²² It asserted that:

The influence at the ballot box of the left-wing forces, grouped under the banner of the Popular Front, has suddenly emerged as a danger too great to the right-wing forces so that they do not look for support to enable them to counteract it. And the fulcrum will undoubtedly form the female vote. The memory of the municipal elections, still very fresh and pleasing to this sector, will suggest that the way forward is to force the political vote for women.¹²³

On the same page, another article, "The Degradation of the Women under Fascism," discussed the impact of fascism on marriage for Italian women.¹²⁴ For instance, Italy's minimum age for marriage was reduced to fourteen.¹²⁵ The inclusion of both a declaration of the left's victory over the right as a result of the feminist vote and a discussion of the dangers of an extreme rightist government on the same page was a noteworthy choice for MEMCh to make. It points to the political advantage of the anti-fascism stance of MEMCh and the Popular Front. The groups' anti-fascism rhetoric was based in part on spreading fear of right-wing politics. Although fascism was an extreme version of the political right, the cautionary tales which chronicled the limited rights of women and children in fascist Italy and Germany that filled the pages of *La Mujer Nueva* had the ability to blemish the reputation of right-wing politics in general, and in particular, any political platform that endorsed limitations on civil rights. During the time of MEMCh, the Chilean government shifted from limiting to increasing civil rights numerous times. When Carlos Ibáñez abolished the Communist Party during his first presidency

from 1927 to 1931 his leadership embodied the kind of right-wing censorship of which MEMCh's stories of fascism cautioned their readers.¹²⁶ Therefore, supporters of MEMCh and the Popular Front lived through a time when limitations on civil rights were a reality, and their suspicions of right-wing politics were, perhaps, justified given their experiences.

In any case, *La Mujer Nueva* provided its readers with many examples of the kinds of violence and devastation faced by women in countries dominated by fascism through both text and photographs. Beginning in the April 1936 issue of *La Mujer Nueva*, the magazine included postmortem photographs of women and children whose death was in some way an outcome of fascist rule. The first of these photographs featured a child with a bandaged chest lying on their back with the number 29 pinned to the bandages. The space behind the child's head and left shoulder were stained black from running blood. The caption accompanying the picture said "Mothers of the world: what fascism offers your children."¹²⁷ One year later in the April 1937 issue, the journal's front cover featured a mosaic of postmortem photographs of women and children with the symbolic images of fascism, an axe and a swastika, stamped on top of the mosaic of photographs. The caption read,

Nailed to the cross of the swastika, beheaded by the fascist axe, the corpses of the women and children and, their blood, that penetrates the Spanish land, will soak all their achievements and their bodies that will remain buried there. They will be remembered for centuries, the eerie acts of murderers.¹²⁸

The images and their captions are exemplary of MEMCh's campaign against fascism. The anti-fascist images and captions argued that there was a causal relationship between limitations placed on civil rights when the political right, or fascism, maintained power and the social inferiority of women and children. Given Chile's encounter with civil rights limitations under

the administration of Ibáñez, readers of *La Mujer Nueva* saw the repression of civil liberties as a very real threat to their already limited social condition.

The anti-fascism rhetoric in the pages of *La Mujer Nueva* sought not only to gain support for leftist politics, but also to highlight the hypocrisy present in the Chilean state's approach to social policies and reform. Although civil liberties were restored in 1932 when Ibáñez resigned and Arturo Alessandri returned to the presidency, there remained a gap between the rights afforded to men versus women.¹²⁹ As *La Mujer Nueva's* editor, Marta Vergara, commented in 1937, "Yes, Chile is not a fascist country, but let's not forget that all that happens in the world has a repercussion on us, and that we have the disadvantage of being the inhabitants of a Republic that is not truly democratic."¹³⁰ In other words, the women of Chile were more threatened by the possibility of fascism because the electoral republic in which they lived was not truly democratic in the sense that it did not afford the same rights to all individuals. In particular, women were prevented from voting in national elections or running for office, and did not receive equal pay for equal work. Vergara went on to say that "We also exhibit unmistakable signs of...some manifestations of these totalitarian regimes," and that certain court decisions had "vitally damaged the interests of women."¹³¹

The international scope of MEMCh's agenda was not limited to its accounts of fascism abroad. The women of MEMCh also looked abroad for support in their quest to improve the social condition of Chilean women. An association of states in the Western Hemisphere to promote peace and cooperation in the region, known as the Pan-American Union, had existed since the late nineteenth century; however, the 1930s and 1940s saw an increase in the eagerness among the organization's member states to maintain a dialogue with one another. The rise in

interest of pan-American cooperation was, in part, due to the conflicts surrounding World War II and fear regarding the spread of fascism. In particular, the United States and the presidential administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt promoted pan-American cooperation through the Good Neighbor Policy, which sought to educate the U.S. population about its hemispheric neighbors. The Pan-American Union also held two major conferences during the era in 1936 and 1938.¹³² The era's series of pan-American conferences and atmosphere of pan-Americanism provided the perfect platform for MEMCh to seek transnational support. Moreover, some of the organization's most influential members also maintained relationships with other organizations in favor of granting women equal rights in the international and pan-American context.

For example, Marta Vergara, who was not only *La Mujer Nueva's* editor, but also a co-founder of MEMCh, entered into the realm of feminism through international associations.¹³³ Vergara began her career as a feminist while exiled in Europe. During her time as the female, Chilean delegate to the 1930 Conference for the Codification of International Law, Vergara befriended Doris Stevens, a feminist from the United States. As a result, Stevens introduced her to the Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW), and Vergara was chosen as the Chilean delegate to League of Nations' Commission on Women's Rights. It was during this time that she was able to truly cultivate both her position as a feminist and her belief in anti-fascism. The Commission provided her with the perfect setting to be exposed to some of the era's leading feminists from both the United States and Western Europe and to witness the League of Nation's passive reaction to the rise of fascism.¹³⁴ These international experiences were vital because they conditioned Vergara to believe in the ideologies that governed MEMCh.

Moreover, Vergara was not the only MEMCh co-founder to be shaped by experiences outside of Chile. Graciela Mandujano was also influenced by the activities of feminists internationally. Mandujano lived in the United States for four years from 1916-1920, where she participated in numerous pan-American conferences, and was even employed by *Pan-American Magazine*. She returned to the U.S. in 1922 as a delegate to the Pan-American Women's Conference, and was influenced by Carrie Chapman Catt's belief in women's suffrage as the ultimate step toward equal rights for women.¹³⁵ Aída Parada also formed her feminist notions during her stay in the United States. According to Pernet, "There is no evidence of any feminist inclinations before Parada left for the United States, but once there, she became involved with women's organizations."¹³⁶ She participated in the founding of IACW during her time in the U.S., and continued to be involved with the organization after she returned to Chile.¹³⁷ These women's feminist and political convictions were a direct result of the time they spent abroad, and were the ideological basis for organization of MEMCh.

The founders of MEMCh formed their feminist and political inclinations during the time they spent abroad. Why wouldn't they reach out for international support once they had organized MEMCh? This does not mean that Chilean feminists adopted the feminist agendas of the United States and Western Europe without modification. Most Chilean feminists aimed to use the knowledge they gained abroad and suit it to fit the unique needs of Chilean women. They sought to "define a Chilean feminism that fit their cultural values."¹³⁸ However, the women of MEMCh acknowledged the potential gains of using their associations with international, and in particular pan-American, organizations and conferences to put pressure on the Chilean government to make the social changes and reforms which MEMCh advocated. Thus, *La Mujer*

Nueva encouraged its readers to not only advocate social change and extended rights for women in Chile, but also to participate in the international dialogue of feminism that was occurring at the time. The magazine included information on the activities of other feminist organizations abroad, and reported back to its readers on the happenings at international and pan-American conferences and commission meetings. The founders of MEMCh saw through their experiences abroad and international associations that there was something especially international about the women's movements of their time, and that gains could be made by maintaining a dialogue with other women internationally. They aimed to share these international experiences and knowledge with the members of MEMCh through *La Mujer Nueva*.

In January of 1936, the front page article of *La Mujer Nueva* asked, "What is the Pan-American Conference?"¹³⁹ The article not only explained what the Pan-American Conference was for readers, but also identified the ways the Conference lent itself to MEMCh's causes. The article's author, Maria Aracil, also outlined the reforms for which MEMCh's delegates to the Conference would be lobbying. Aracil wrote:

This is one of the points we have identified as most in need of revision. We ask the Conference to bring to the states which are missing, as is Chile, maternity pay in an amount equal to the full salary and paid by the State. We have also requested a wage agreement for women equal with that of men, based on a minimum wage. They comply with the regulations of daycare facilities. The extension of maternity services to all women that now do not receive this grant, such as domestic employees, hospital employees, teachers, campesinas, maestras, tax employees, etc. etc. And finally, we have asked for the strengthening of trade unions, which would be necessary to erase from the labor code all those provisions which stipulate that the strike is a crime that goes against the security of the State.¹⁴⁰

The above passage exemplifies that MEMCh aimed to solve social problems for Chilean women through state intervention, but they also recognized that Chile was part of a larger, international community, which included other states in which women were disenfranchised.

In another issue of *La Mujer Nueva*, the editors reprinted the full-text of a resolution passed at the Conference of the International Association of Female Workers on October 22, 1936 in London. As part of the resolution the Conference recommended that five particular questions or problems be addressed regarding female workers. First, the Conference suggested that the general condition of women's work be examined. Second, they called for an inspection of the propaganda that favored equal pay for women to determine if it was only promoted by organizations of female workers, or if men's groups were also contributing to the cause. Third, they proposed an assessment of general male support for their cause. Fourth, the Conference wanted to review the results obtained through women's action and organization. Finally, the group proposed that the possibility of the actions recommended by the propaganda of women's groups be assessed.¹⁴¹ The five issues outlined in the article, as well as the entire resolution, address women workers as a whole, rather than only Chilean, female laborers. Again, the editors of MEMCh emphasized that Chilean women were not alone in their fight for increased civil rights, and internationally women were advocating similar social changes within their own states. It is also important to note that the average MEMCh member or reader of *La Mujer Nueva* was not likely to attend international and pan-American conferences; therefore, the articles which chronicled these events were a way for readers without the means to travel to experience the international component of feminism vicariously, and understand that the cause of feminism was larger than the national context of Chile.

Reports of women within other national boundaries, beyond their participation in international and pan-American conferences, were also important to the goal of educating readers regarding the international reach of feminism. Beginning in the November 1937 issue of *La Mujer Nueva*, a section of the magazine entitled “International Page” chronicled the feminist activities of women abroad.¹⁴² Though the articles included on the “International Page” were initially similar to the magazine’s reports on fascism abroad, with time they differed from other articles regarding women outside of Chile in that they tended to be stories of hope and progress in feminist movements, rather than reports of atrocities resulting from fascism rule.¹⁴³ Stories of feminist successes in other countries not only reinforced the idea that social change for women was possible in Chile, but also reiterated that MEMCh could learn from other women’s groups internationally. The headline on the “International Page” in the November 1940 issue of *La Mujer Nueva* read “The American Women Celebrate the Centennial of their Conquest.” The article that followed briefly outlined the course of women’s mobilization in the United States from the beginnings of women’s organizations in the U.S. and the Seneca Falls Convention in the 1840s, and included an image of suffragists picketing outside the White House during President Wilson’s administration, during which women were granted suffrage. The concluding paragraph of the article said:

It is interesting to reflect on this occasion that it is possible that American women are considered worldwide as the holders of more equal rights with men in society, that this privileged position by comparison is due solely to the combative spirit of those which have given many and such a brilliant effort through a century of struggle for freedom.¹⁴⁴

Despite an overestimation of the equality of women in the United States, the author reaches the conclusion that women in the United States achieved their existing status within a century, albeit

through serious political struggles, and that the American example provided hope by demonstrating that it was possible to achieve greater equality and political rights for women, particularly in the case of suffrage. Another article from the international pages of *La Mujer Nueva* noted that the Mexican Department of Labor had recently enacted a minimum wage of 2.50 pesos for both men and women.¹⁴⁵ The same page celebrated reforms made in the Constitution of Ecuador which granted suffrage to all men and women, who could read and write, and were eighteen years old.¹⁴⁶ The global victories celebrated in the international pages of *La Mujer Nueva* fortified MEMCh's belief that equality of rights for Chilean women was possible, and brought the international context of feminism into the lives of the journal's readers.

El Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile was founded on the fundamental principles of progressive feminism, or equality of rights for women, and anti-fascism, and as a result, an alliance with the political left. However, the ideologies that governed the organization were also a result of its founders' experiences with feminism and anti-fascism abroad. The outcome was an organization whose publication was critical of limitations on women's rights and general policies of the political right both in Chile and internationally. In the end, it was both the political climate in Chile and the rest of the world that shaped MEMCh.

Conclusions

As with most organizations, neither *La Liga* nor MEMCh were without flaws. Both groups maintained imperfections and inconsistencies within their governing ideologies and membership. And while their abilities to impact the political landscape were sometimes limited by such flaws, extending the scope of their activities to an international scale provided *La Liga* and MEMCh with new opportunities to advance their causes. Both organizations demonstrated the ways that women's movements transcended national politics by securing international support for their causes. Although *La Liga* and MEMCh were restricted by conflict in the national context, the organizations' international affiliations allowed them to gain further support when they reached a roadblock within Chile. *La Liga* struggled to incorporate women outside of their peer group in their charitable agenda, but found support and sources of information in their sister organizations within the International Federation of Feminine Leagues, who were grappling with the same contradictions present in the framework of "Catholic feminism;" and, MEMCh discovered that their alliance with the Communist Party and the Popular Front coalition created tension between those members who held more allegiance for either feminism or the Communist Party, but were able to form alliances with other women's movements abroad and advocate wholly feminist issues.¹⁴⁷

Within the national context of Chile during the time of *La Liga*, anxieties regarding social change created major divisions, both perceived and actual, between social classes. Although *La Liga* eventually reached out to women of a lower social status than their own, the organization was founded with the notion that its membership would be reserved exclusively for aristocratic,

Catholic women, and that those members would advocate the preservation of Chilean social and gender norms. The other *Ligas* in the International Federation of Feminine Leagues were also founded on these principles, and as a result, they already had something in common with the members of the Chilean *Liga* that other Chilean women did not. The women of the International Federation of Feminine Leagues were united on a class basis that transcended national boundaries, and later they used their international framework to overcome the national class biases on which they were founded to include middle and working-class women in their agenda of moralization.

La Liga was defined by their association with the Catholic Church and their initial reluctance to incorporate women who worked outside of their homes into their agenda. “Catholic feminism” dictated that women were responsible for the morality or immorality among themselves and their family members.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the same ideology that governed *La Liga* supposed that working-class women who found themselves in need of employment outside of their homes were responsible for their situation because they did not prevent the presumed immoral behavior of their husbands which rendered them incapable of providing for a family. As a result, *La Liga*’s efforts to reach out to working-class women were contradictory to their principles. The contradiction between “Catholic feminism” and charity projects that reached across class boundaries explains *La Liga*’s initial reluctance to incorporate “cross-class” moralization into their activities, and also sheds light on the organization’s decision to begin their “cross-class” efforts with middle-class women and slowly incorporate working-class women.¹⁴⁹ When *La Liga* did begin including women outside their peer group into their agenda,

their international sister organizations often provided the justification or example for their actions.

The store for the “protection of women’s labor” was exemplary of the Chilean *Liga*’s use of their international ties to lessen the limiting effects of their association with the Catholic Church and “Catholic feminism.”¹⁵⁰ *La Liga* not only used the Spanish *Liga*’s store as an example for theirs, but they also justified their decision to initially incorporate only middle-class women and upper-class women who had fallen on hard times in the stores activities, and exclude working-class women, by pointing to the success of charity efforts aimed at upper and middle-class women by similar organizations in Spain, France, Argentina, and the United States.¹⁵¹ Although, the other *Ligas* in the International Federation of Feminine leagues were also bound by the framework of “Catholic feminism,” it is clear that the Chilean *Liga* felt comfortable deviating from their original agenda only once their sister organizations had done the same.¹⁵²

MEMCh also used their international relationships to overcome national hurdles. Nationally, the organization paired with the Communist Party and the Popular Front coalition to fight for the common cause of social change and oppose right-wing politics that might inhibit social change. But, MEMCh’s alliance with the left was not always a happy one, and its members were able to use their international connections to put pressure on the Chilean government to make social changes for the benefit of women, even when communist leaders put communist causes before feminist ones.

MEMCh was restricted by their tumultuous relationship with the Communist Party and the Popular Front. The same alliance that allowed the organization to attract women from different social classes and with varying political beliefs from middle-class, professional Radical

Party followers to working-class communist radicals also created friction within the organization and with its allies. While “national” social problems that benefited both MEMCh and the Communist Party united the two organizations, feminist social issues that were not considered “national” were forced to take a backseat to issues that affected both Chilean men and women.¹⁵³ Divisions arose between MEMCh members who held more allegiance to communism and those who identified more closely with feminism. Also, because MEMCh was founded by middle-class, professional women staunch communists believed a true alliance between the two groups was impossible. In short, radical communists considered MEMCh’s agenda too “cross-class,” and feared that it would inhibit a political revolution based on class.¹⁵⁴ So, the alliance that MEMCh relied on to help them promote social advancements for women in Chile was, at times, problematic.

However, the group’s participation in international organizations and conferences provided them with an opportunity to work with other women internationally on wholly feminist issues without the impediments caused by their faithfully communist allies. In particular, Marta Vergara’s association with IACW was crucial to MEMCh’s campaign for women’s rights internationally. IACW, with the participation of MEMCh, lobbied the Pan-American Union to pass an Equal Rights Treaty in which member states pledged equal rights for their female citizens at the 1936 Pan-American Conference. Though the treaty was not passed, IACW succeeded in convincing the Union to suggest that its member states work quickly to enfranchise women.¹⁵⁵ The 1938 Pan-American Conference again presented an opportunity for MEMCh to work with IACW to pressure the Pan-American Union to sign an Equal Rights Treaty, and MEMCh co-founder, Mandujano, secured funding from IACW to travel to the Conference,

despite women's exclusion from the official delegation.¹⁵⁶ Before the Conference, an article entitled "Significance of the 8th Pan-American Conference," appeared in *La Mujer Nueva*.¹⁵⁷ The article outlined "the contribution of MEMCh" to the conference, including Mandujano's plan to travel to Lima under the auspices of IACW, and declared that IACW "will ask for recognition of their rights."¹⁵⁸ The IACW was less successful at the 8th Pan-American Conference than they had been in 1936. Nonetheless, MEMCh's relationship with IACW and the Pan-American Union offered a path to political influence outside of their alliance with the Communist Party, and demonstrated that feminist causes transcended national political structures.

By 1940, when MEMCh's Second Congress required its attendees to take a course in "Global Women's Movements," Chilean women's groups had learned the benefits of working with other women internationally.¹⁵⁹ Regardless of whether their objectives were achieved, *La Liga* and MEMCh were able to work in the national context when it suited their interests and seek international support when cooperation at the national level proved difficult. Also, it must be remembered that both organizations relationships with other women internationally were a two-way street. *La Liga* and MEMCh influenced the groups of women outside of Chile with which they worked, just as those women influenced Chilean organizations, and questions for further study would include an examination of how *La Liga* and MEMCh affected other women's groups internationally. Nonetheless, it is clear from the lessons that the two Chilean organizations learned from their friends abroad that there was an international component to feminist discourse during the first half of the twentieth century. No matter what their national background was, women who were fighting for a particular political cause had something in common with women who were advocating the same agenda, and working together only

increased the odds of successes. In the words of *La Mujer Nueva* regarding International Women's Day, "So, as ever, the unity of all women is essential, urgent, for peace, for the elevation of the standard of living of all people who suffer."¹⁶⁰

¹ "Programa de Cursos Obligatorios," *La Mujer Nueva*, November, 1940, 3.

² Corinne A. Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (2000): 665.

³ *Ibid.*, 679.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 687.

⁵ Ericka Kim Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 1-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ John L. Rector, *The History of Chile* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 114.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰ Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine 1904-1951*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 19-48.

¹¹ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 123.

¹² *Ibid.*, 122.

¹³ James O. Morris, *Élites, Intellectuals, and Consensus: A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile* (New York: W. F. Humphrey Press, Inc., 1966), 78-118.

¹⁴ Paul E. Sigmund, "Chile," in *Latin American Politics and Development*, 5th ed., ed. Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline (New York: Westview Press, 2000), 170.

¹⁵ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 122.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Ibid., 116.

¹⁹ Sigmund, "Chile," in *Latin American Politics and Development*, 170.

²⁰ Morris, *Élites, Intellectuals, and Consensus*, 78-118.

²¹ Ibid., 187.

²² Ibid., 177.

²³ Sigmund, "Chile," in *Latin American Politics and Development*, 170.

²⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 2.

²⁵ Ibid., 1-7.

²⁶ "La Federación Internacional de Ligas femeninas," *El Eco*, November 1, 1912, 1-2.

²⁷ Blanca Subercaseaux de Valdés, *Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux* (Padre Las Casas, Chile: Imprenta y Editorial "San Francisco," 1934), 259,
http://www.memoriachilena.cl/temas/documento_detalle.asp?id=MC0023897

²⁸ "La Federación Internacional de Ligas femeninas," *El Eco*, November 1, 1912, 1-2.

²⁹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

³⁰ Subercaseaux de Valdés, *Amalia Errázuriz de Subercaseaux*, 3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 24.

³³ Ibid., 29.

³⁴ Ibid., 28.

³⁵ Ibid., 431.

³⁶ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 229.

³⁷ "Liga de Damas Católicas del Uruguay," *El Eco*, August 1, 1912, 1.

³⁸ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7; 16.

³⁹ "Un Nuevo Terrismo," *El Eco*, May 1, 1913, 3.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “¿Que Es Feminismo?,” *La Cruzada*, August 1, 1915, 8.; *El Eco*, August 1, 1912, 1.

⁴² Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁴³ “¿Que Es Feminismo?,” *La Cruzada*, August 1, 1915, 8.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 302-308.

⁵¹ “El Sufragio Femenino,” *El Eco*, March 15, 1915, 1.

⁵² Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁵³ “Discursos Pronunciados en la Gran Asamblea con Asistencia de 450 Senoras; Discurso de don Joaquin Walker Martinez,” *El Eco* August 1, 1912, 3.

⁵⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁵⁵ “Nuestra Liga,” *El Eco*, August 1, 1912, 1.

⁵⁶ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1-7.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁹ “Nuestra Liga,” *El Eco*, August 1, 1912, 1.

⁶⁰ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁶¹ Ibid., 69.

⁶² “Teatros,” *El Eco*, November 1, 1912, 4.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 70.

⁶⁶ “Biblioteca de la Liga” *El Eco*, September 1, 1913, 4.

⁶⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁶⁸ “A Las Niñas,” *El Eco*, November 15, 1912, 3.; “A Las Niñas,” *El Eco*, December 1, 1912, 4.

⁶⁹ “A las Madres,” *El Eco*, June 1 1913, 4.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7; 16.

⁷² Ibid., 1-7.

⁷³ “Las Niñas Solteras,” *El Eco*, March 1, 1913, 1.

⁷⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 70.

⁷⁶ “Adelante!” *La Cruzada*, July 1, 1916, 1.

⁷⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁷⁸ “Adelante!” *La Cruzada*, July 1, 1916, 1

⁷⁹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 228.

⁸¹ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁸² Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 228-230.

⁸³ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁸⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 231.

⁸⁵ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 70.

⁶⁶ “Biblioteca de la Liga” *El Eco*, September 1, 1913, 4.

⁶⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁶⁸ “A Las Niñas,” *El Eco*, November 15, 1912, 3.; “A Las Niñas,” *El Eco*, December 1, 1912, 4.

⁶⁹ “A las Madres,” *El Eco*, June 1 1913, 4.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7; 16.

⁷² Ibid., 1-7.

⁷³ “Las Niñas Solteras,” *El Eco*, March 1, 1913, 1.

⁷⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 70.

⁷⁶ “Adelante!” *La Cruzada*, July 1, 1916, 1.

⁷⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁷⁸ “Adelante!” *La Cruzada*, July 1, 1916, 1

⁷⁹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 228.

⁸¹ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁸² Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 228-230.

⁸³ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁸⁴ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 231.

⁸⁵ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4.

⁸⁶ “Por Las Empleadas,” *La Cruzada*, December 15, 1915, 11-12.

⁸⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁹¹ “Liga de damas Católicas del Uruguay,” *El Eco*, August 1, 1912, 1-2.

⁹² “Accion Femenina Extranjera,” *El Eco*, May 1, 1915, 5-6; Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

⁹³ “Liga de Mujeres cristianas de Bélgica,” *El Eco*, December 1, 1913, 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ “Modas,” *El Eco*, December 15, 1913, 6.

⁹⁶ Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 99.

⁹⁷ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 134.

⁹⁸ Pernet, “Chilean Feminists, the International Women’s Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950,” 680.

⁹⁹ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 147.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 139;147.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 144-145.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Pernet, “Chilean Feminists, the International Women’s Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950,” 679.

¹⁰⁷ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 151.

¹⁰⁸ Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," 680.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950*, 101.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Rector, *The History of Chile*, 145.

¹¹³ "Programa del Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de Las Mujeres de Chile," *La Mujer Nueva*, November 8, 1935, 3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ "Mejor salario y menos hijos son los requisitos in dispensable para emancipar a la mujer," *La Mujer Nueva*, March, 1936, 2.

¹²⁰ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 151.

¹²¹ Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," 679.

¹²² "El Triunfo Electoral del Frente Popular y El Voto Femenino," *La Mujer Nueva*, May, 1936, 3.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ "La Degradación de las Mujeres bajo el Fascismo," *La Mujer Nueva*, May, 1936, 3.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Rector, *The History of Chile*, 148; 243.

¹²⁷ "Madres del mundo: lo que ofrece a vuestros hijos el fascism," *La Mujer Nueva*, December, 1936, 6.

¹²⁸ *La Mujer Nueva*, April 1937, 1.

¹²⁹ Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," 679.

¹³⁰ "¿Cual es la situación de la mujer? Extracto del informe de Marta Vergara," *La Mujer Nueva*, November, 1937, 3.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³²

¹³³ Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," 678-680.

¹³⁴ Corinne A. Antezana-Pernet, "Mobilizing Women in the Popular Front Era: Feminism, Class, and Politics in the Movimiento Pro-Emancipacion de La Mujer Chilena (MEMCh), 1935-1950" (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 1996), 79-81.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 96-97.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 98.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Pernet, "Chilean Feminists, the International Women's Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950," 665.

¹³⁹ "Que es la Conferencia Panamericana?," *La Mujer Nueva*, January, 1936, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ "Trabajo de Las Mujeres: Acuerdos de la Conferencia Sindical Internacional de las Obreras," *La Mujer Nueva*, September 1937, 7.

¹⁴² "Pagina Internacional," *La Mujer Nueva*, November 1937, 6.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ "Las mujeres norteamericanas celebran el Centenario de sus conquistas," *La Mujer Nueva*, November, 1940, 5.

¹⁴⁵ "La protección de los salarios femeninos en México," *La Mujer Nueva*, December, 1938, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ “Protección al trabajo de la Mujer,” *El Eco*, January 1, 1915, 4; Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 1-7.

¹⁵¹ Verba, *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile 1910-1917*, 228-230.

¹⁵² Ibid., 1-7.

¹⁵³ Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950*, 101.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹⁵⁵ Pernet, “Chilean Feminists, the International Women’s Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950,” 682-683.

¹⁵⁶ Pernet, “Chilean Feminists, the International Women’s Movement, and Suffrage, 1915-1950,” 683-684.

¹⁵⁷ “Significado de la 8.a Conferencia Panamericana,” *La Mujer Nueva*, December, 1938, 2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ “Programa de Cursos Obligatorios,” *La Mujer Nueva*, November, 1940, 3.

¹⁶⁰ “8 de Marzo” *La Mujer Nueva*, March, 1937, 6.

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