

wash the inaction of the League and its other member-states. Unless prepared for a thorough-going fistic encounter, one would hesitate to try to halt a highwayman, and precisely for this reason has the League refrained from challenging Japan.

Sir John Simon has ably borne the standard of the major powers, though by so doing he has done China a gross injustice and the cause of peace an irreparable injury. His recent speech calculated to remove the Manchurian question from the usual scope of international law and treaties must be regarded as the measured opinion not only of Britain but also of France and other states with interests in the Far East.

With Sir John and his following, China could have no quarrel if they preferred to sacrifice principles for expediency. What Britain elects to do is exclusively her own concern, and so is it true of the other powers. If Japanese goodwill is more valuable than the faith of the whole world in the League, it is their privilege to weigh both, and Nanking must accept their decision stoically.

There is however one point on which we must most strenuously differ with Sir John as the exponent of the League's policy. It may be his privilege to refuse helping China. It may be wise discretion to avoid antagonizing Japan. It may be good politics to salvage the League's prestige. It may even be sound judgment to desist from precipitating a new crisis in a troubled world. But it is not his privilege, not wise discretion, not good politics, and not even sound judgment for him to try to excuse the League's inactivity by painting a picture of the Manchurian conflict totally at variance with the genuine background, by throwing upon China a responsibility which the Lytton report has clearly placed on Japan.

In spite of his eloquence Sir John cannot hoodwink the public. We know as every other people do, that Britain and France cannot act without America, and that they will not act unless America concedes on the question of war debts. Colonel Stimson by his repeated utterances has defined beyond any doubt Uncle Sam's position vis-a-vis the Far East. It is one of adherence to the Nine-Power treaty and the Kellogg pact. It is one of upholding American prestige in this part of the world. It is one of principle over and above politics.

But European statesmen, as amply demonstrated by recent and modern history, revel in politics. Here is America anxious to assume international moral leadership. Here are France and England none too anxious to pay staggering debts. Is there anything more natural than the temptation to strike a bargain with the idealistic creditor by the practical debtors?

Mr. Hoover's administration, as long as it held hope of another term, inspired the hope of an extension of the moratorium if not an outright cancellation. The official attitude of England and particularly France was broadcast as in favor of the League covenant on the eve of the American presidential election. With Mr. Hoover's defeat has followed a series of events, including the blant utterances of certain congressmen, which have all but shattered British and French hopes for release.

Now that the main attraction of the proposed bargain has vanished, the necessity of maintaining a false "front" toward the Sino-Japanese controversy has also vanished. The round-about face of England and France has been swift and specific, but it should not have been surprising to those at all acquainted with their usual political manoeuvres.

Good politics, however, need not be entirely devoid of the rudiments of ethics. Sir John might have upheld the cause of justice without sacrificing a single British dollar or a single British life. He might have confirmed Japan's predetermined plan to seize Manchuria without materially endangering British interests in the Orient. He might have renewed the original demand to Japan to withdraw her troops from Chinese soil. He might have even counseled China to exercise forbearance till the League is physically able to redress her wrong. All this sort of profession, to be sure, is of no material benefit, but it is capable of cleaning one nation's soul and appeasing another's grievances.

But the British lawyer-statesman has chosen to defend the League's inactivity rather than confess its inability. In a single stroke he has not only intensified its inherent weakness but has also scattered its shreds of moral prestige. By blindly defending the League he has merely defamed it.

Feminist Movement In China

By SHAO-WEI CHANG (張少微)

ALTHOUGH feminism did not become significant until the outbreak of the May 4th incident in 1919, the part played by Chinese women in dethroning the Manchus really dates the beginning of the movement. In connection with Chinese Revolution it is often stated, for instance, that regiments of Chinese women got measured for men's uniforms and went up to fight at Nanking and Hankow. It is stated that turbulent crowds of women in enthusiastic meetings flung their jewelry on the platform for the war chest of the revolutionary cause. Also it is stated that in the revolutionary armies there were women bomb throwers, women spies, women members of the 'Dare to Die' corps, and women members of the Red Cross. These together with a dozen other picturesque and spirited activities played by women contributed a new and spontaneous energy to Chinese life during 1911 and 1912.

When the Revolution broke out in October 1911, Dr.

Mary Chang, who was at that time attached to the Chinese hospital in Shanghai, offered her service to the Government Red Cross. She called a meeting in Shanghai and in one day some one hundred women, nurses, medical students and others, answered the call of national emergency. A group of some forty nurses were ready the next day. Uniformed, after a fashion, and equipped with surgical instruments, bandages, medical stores and such other necessities as could be hastily gathered, they started for the front. They were scarcely fed but found plenty of work. The casualties ran high, and at times into hundreds every day. Dr. Chang alone performed over one hundred amputations in the three days around the battle of Kilometer Ten. Several of her nurses were wounded; and they were all badly scared. But none of them deserted. They stuck to their work through the desperate days of their cause, through defeat, through humiliation, and through the burning of the city of

Hankow by the Northerners, which almost amounted to a massacre. They showed the world as notably as any of their soldier-comrades the true quality of Chinese fighting courage.

A contemporary of Dr. Mary Chang was Miss Sophia Chang, taking her name from a brave Russian girl of whom she had read in her student days in Japan. She was a political-revolutionist. She was one of the original members of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Nationalist Party, the Tung Meng Hwei, and was the principal, and for much of the time, the only member on the secret committee that managed the conspiratorial part of the Revolution.

Miss Chang raised 100,000 dollars from the women of Shanghai in the days when ready money was so badly needed at the beginning of the Revolution. She organized meetings at which hundreds of women poured their jewels on the platform for the Republican cause. Out of the enthusiasm of the Revolution she founded a school for girls and women in the Honkew district of Shanghai. Connected with the school was an organization entitled the Chinese Women's Co-operative Association, of which a monthly was issued.

In collaboration with others Miss Tang Sheh-ying, now the editor of the Women's Voice Monthly, Nanking, established a Chinese Suffragette Society in Peking, now Peiping, and she became its first president. This Society was founded on an intense interest aroused among the women revolutionists around Miss Tang in the English Militant Suffrage Movement. Its constitution included ten points to work for: The education of women, the abolition of foot-binding, the prohibition of concubinages and its result in making marriage a polygamous institution, the forbidding of child marriages, reform in the conditions of prostitutes, social service to women in industry, the encouragement of modesty in dress, better terms of marriage for the sexes, leading toward marriages for love, the establishment of political rights, and the elevation of the position of women in the family and the home. For propaganda purposes Miss Tang started two interesting papers, one written in the language of the educated classes, and the other in the simpler language of the people.

At the same time Miss C. R. Soong, Dr. Sun's charming secretary and later his wife, started the fashion of working in men's offices. And with the introduction of the Western machine culture to China, Chinese women began to find work in the factories. Up to 1916 the cotton mills in Shanghai alone employed 25,000 women and young girls. In 1931 the number was increased to 80,000. They worked twelve hours day and night, with a sixteen-hour day on Saturdays. Their wage used to be from twelve to fifteen cents gold a day. But since 1926, they all became unionized and formed a united front in their fight for women's rights.

The unionization of Chinese women workers strengthened the feminist movement in China. Most of the union leaders have received training in the women's movement, labor movement, modern language and natural science in a special school established by the Kuomintang of China. Beginning with the Fourth All-China Labour Congress the women workers participated in all labour activities in China and the world. These unions demanded the following:

1. Eight-hour working day;
2. Better wages;
3. Schools in the factories;

4. Day nurseries in factories;
5. Medical care;
6. Vacation with pay before and after childbirth; and
7. Abolition of all shameful punishments in the factories.

In 1927, besides the labour organizations into which women entered with men, there were in the Nationalist territory three other organizations fighting especially for women's rights. These were the Women's Section of the Kuomintang of China, under the leadership of Mrs. Liao Chung-kai, the widow of the famous martyr, the women propagandists with the army, under Teng Yen Ta's department; and the women's unions, local and provincial.

The main purpose of the Women's Section of the Kuomintang, which was abolished in February 1928, was to draw women into active participation in the Revolution, and to obtain from the Nationalist government the rights of women, especially the marriage and divorce laws.

During the period of Northern Punitive Expedition the work of the uniformed women propagandists was to travel behind the army to organize the women in each newly gained place, but not to take part in fighting. They were attached to the Political Department of the Army, which organized the first provincial civil government in the new territory. For the purpose of organization they went into the homes and markets, wherever women were to be found, and talked with them. When they had talked enough, they organized a local women's union and left it to handle affairs in that district. Then they moved to another district.

In 1927 in Hankow alone there were seven district women's union with a membership of more than three thousand. In each union there were six departments: Administration, Social, Recreation, Propaganda, Organization, and Treasury. All of these worked in co-operation, and special campaigns, such as the anti-footbinding campaign, were inter-departmental affairs.

The work of the women's unions was to protect women in all kinds of difficulties; and for prostitutes, maid-servants, and the like the unions tried to secure freedom.

Beside these, there was also a Women's Training School, established by Mrs. Sun Yat-sen for the training of propagandists. It also helped settle questions regarding slave girls, divorce, marriages, etc.

From its very beginning the Kuomintang of China was a consistent advocate of the rights of women in China. Following Article 12 of its Domestic Program outlined in the Manifesto of First National Congress of the Kuomintang, eleven proposals relating to women's movement were adopted in the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang held in 1926. The most important of which was the ninth one. In the legal aspect, it provided that "Girls shall have the right of property inheritance; laws of sex equality shall be promulgated with promptness; the law of marriage shall be drawn upon the principle of absolute freedom of marriage and divorce; . . ." Regarding women's political and other rights, it recognized that "The status quo of women's education shall be actually raised up; all executive offices shall admit the services of women; all professional institutions shall be open for women." These provisions, we may note in passing, have already been put into practice by the Nationalist Government at Nanking.

No government in China has ever done so much for women as the Nationalist Government. The Party's aim is to accord

to women complete equality with men. At the present time, there are women members both in the highest governing body of the Nationalist Party—the Central Executive Committee—and in the highest governing body of the Nationalist Government—the Council. According to the statistical analysis of the National Government's personnel, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Legislative Yuan in the spring of 1929, 206 women have found work in the Party and governmental organs at the Capital.

Besides the above, a few specific cases may be mentioned. Miss Soumey Tchen who is at present a celebrated lawyer of Shanghai took an active part in overthrowing the Manchus in the early days of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Miss Ting Zok-zing was the first Chinese woman to be the Secretary of the Chinese National Y.W.C.A. Mrs. Herman C. E. Liu stands out as one who has rendered service to many organizations, especially that organization which seeks to improve the conditions of the beggars. In September 1931 Mrs. Agnes Wu, China's foremost newspaper woman, was appointed the assistant managing editor of the Kuo Min News Agency, the official press association of the Chinese National Government at Nanking, the service of which is distributed to all newspapers in China and to hundreds of newspapers abroad, as well as to correspondents and special writers.

Furthermore, from the legislative aspect the Nationalist Government has put into effect many a law in answer to the demands of women. The Factory Law was promulgated on December 30, 1929. Besides the general regulations protecting male and female workers alike, the following articles are devoted to promote economic well-being of women in the rank and file of China's labour. Article 7 provides that women shall not be employed to handle explosive, combustible, or poisonous substances; in places exposed to dust or noxious fumes; to clean, oil, inspect, or repair machines in motion or hazardous parts of power-transmission apparatus, or to repair or adjust belts or ropes or to undertake other dangerous employment; to put up high-voltage wires; to handle minerals in liquid form or mineral refuse; to perform other dangerous or improper work. In Article 24 female workers are guaranteed to be paid at the same rate of wages as the men when they perform the same kind of work with equal efficiency. While the maternity insurance law has not yet been enforced in China, its basic principle is embodied in Article 37, which provides that "Female workers shall be given leave with full wages before and after childbirth, such leave amounting to eight weeks." Wife is entitled to pensions of husband's will in Article 46. But the most important of all is Article 13 which prohibits women to be employed in factories between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. In case should the National Government take a drastic measure in enforcing the said Article without allowing sufficient time to the factories for adjustments it would throw out of work at least 80,000 in Shanghai alone who are at present engaged in night-work in the mills and factories. Therefore on August 1, 1931, the National Government Council formally approved, at its 60th weekly meeting held on July 31, the recommendation of the Ministry of Industry to grant two years' grace as a period of preparation for the application of Article 13 of the new Factory Law. The resolution also entrusted the Ministry of Industry with the re-

sponsibility of directing and supervising the various factories throughout the country in making the necessary adjustments for the enforcement of Article 13 upon the expiration of the two-year period of grace.

In December 1930 the Laws of Family Relations and Succession were promulgated by the Government. The greater part of the Law of Family Relations deals with the securing of equal status for women. While a man used to have as many wives as he liked, concubines now do not enjoy legal status any more under the new law. The issues of concubines are not regarded as legitimate. Furthermore, the duty of a wife to obey her husband, provided in the old legal code, is not recognized by the new Laws. Besides the recognition of the principle of monogamy, the Law of Family Relations also entitles women to other equal rights. Whereas under the old law, a married woman was restricted in her disposing capacity, that is, she could not dispose of her property without her husband's consent; under the new laws, women enjoy full and unrestricted disposing capacity. While under the old law, it was much easier for a husband to obtain a divorce; according to the new Law, the grounds of divorce are the same in the case of husbands and wives. Perhaps most important of all is the following rule enforcing restrictions on marriage. In order to ensure that the issues of marriage are sound in mind and body, certain impediments to marriage are imposed by the new Law. These include: (1) legal age; (2) certain specified kinds of affinity between the parties; and (3) mental or other incurable diseases. Again, the duty of kindred to supply maintenance to each other is defined in such a way that while the maintenance of relatives who are really unable to support themselves is assured, economic independence of members of the family is also encouraged. Finally, according to the new Law, the old system of family organization is retained.

The principle that unmarried daughters have the same right of property inheritance as sons, which was laid down some time ago by the Supreme Court, is incorporated in the new Law of Succession. The right of property inheritance, which under the old law, was confined to the male issues of the deceased, is, according to the new Law, enjoyed by the female as well as male issues; the surviving spouse, parents, sisters, brothers and grandparents being also entitled to inheritance in case the deceased dies without issue. Another feature of the new Law is that an heir is not liable for the whole of the debts of the deceased and may, if he so chooses, limit his liability to the value of the estate inherited. Also the new Law, while regarding the right of disposing property by will, provides for a certain portion of the estate, known as the 'compulsory portion', of which statutory heirs cannot be deprived by testamentary disposition.

In a word, while there is no doubt that the Chinese women are already emancipated, the new laws give the emancipation a legal basis and validity. Henceforth the Chinese women can have recourse to legal protection in their struggle for civil equality with men.

During 1931 the Chinese woman's movement took form in many a nation-wide activity. First, women participated in the National People's Congress held in Nanking. Through delegates who were present eleven proposals were suggested and gained attention at the Congress, though very little success

was legally harvested out of them thereafter. However the fact remains worth noticing that women actually secured seats in the Congress, which fact, however, was due to the Chinese women's persistent and effective struggle before the Congress was in session. The eleven proposals are:

1. Revision of the Law of Family Relations;
2. Abolition of prostitution;
3. An increase in the number of the rural girls' high schools and normal schools;
4. Establishment of Day Nursery for workers' children in every factory by respective provincial and municipal governments with the Government order;
5. Emancipation of maid-servants and maid-daughters-in-law (童養媳) for the sake of humanitarianism;
6. Prohibition of foot-binding of all girls;
7. Revision of the Criminal Code;
8. Demand to charge those who keep concubines with bigamy and those who are concubines with hindrance to true familyhood;
9. Popularization of the rural women's education for the benefit of Political Tutelage;
10. Expansion of girls' high schools in every province; and
11. Demand to establish a National Women's Vocational Directorate at the capital.

Fourthly, since Japan's occupation of the Northeast many Women's Anti-Japanese National Salvation Societies were established in Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Wuchang, Szechwana, Chekiang, Anhwei, Shantung, and other places. The Nanking Women's Anti-Japanese National Salvation Society not only conducted women's parade, public speeches, and participations in other organizations, but its organ, The Women's Voices Monthly, also issued a special anti-Japanese number exposing Japanese inhumanity and ambition of a world conquest. At the same time the Women's Salvation Society in co-operation with other women's organizations established a Women's Anti-Japanese National Salvation Volunteers Corps. It contained five lines of work: Survey, propaganda, military affairs, nursing, and public weal. The aim of this organization was twofold: to train the members in military tactics on the one hand and to reveal to the people the imperialistic tactics of Japan on the other. But the most vigorous anti-Japanese national salvation movement was found in Shanghai. Besides all the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Societies organized in each school, there were the Shanghai Municipal Women's Volunteers Corps and the Shanghai Municipal Women's National Salvation Federation. Their aim was to boycott Japan and to plead for a peaceful unification of China. Besides, other women's organizations such as China Women's Association, Women's Suffragette Society of China, W. C. T. U., National Young Women's Christian Association, sent cables to all the women's organizations throughout the world calling their attention to the Japanese aggression. Through them a great amount of sympathy was gained from women in foreign lands.

Finally, the Chinese women have done a great share in relief work for the flood refugees in central China. Among the organizations instituted for the same purpose, the most active and important were: The Shanghai Women's Flood Relief Society, the North China Women's Flood Relief Association, and the Nanking Women's Flood Relief Committee. The

organizers were all wives of the prominent government and military leaders. However, that which lasted the longest was the Nanking Women's Flood Relief Committee, in which two lines of most genuine work have been done for the poverty-stricken and homeless refugees: giving away cotton clothings and establishing refugees' Maternity Relief Clinics to safeguard the lives of mothers and their babies.

In this year, 1932, what the Chinese feminist movement is struggling for is fivefold. First, it is planned to establish a central organ of women's movement at Nanking. This organ will comprise, among others, the following departments:

- a. Department of General Affairs;
- b. Department of Propaganda;
- c. Department of Social Survey;
- d. Department of Organization.

Its basic aim will be to direct and associate with the various district organizations of women's movements throughout China, to make working projects from time to time for the various district women's movement organizations, and to centralize and unify all women's organizations in China in order that the prevailing disadvantages due to over-decentralization and the lack of unified action may be reduced to a minimum and a better harvest may be obtained.

Secondly, it attempts to reorganize the various district women's organizations, in which (1) the experienced, cultured, and socially recognized women will be asked to share responsible position, and (2) all women, no matter what party they belong, who are in favour of the same cause, will be elected to membership; and (3) the official addresses of all district women's organizations will be ascertained in order that unified activities may be made possible.

Thirdly, it aims to create a Women's Social Club in each district with the hope that through its informal meetings members may have opportunities to exchange opinions and eventually to arrive at mutual understanding which is so essential to their cooperative endeavors.

Fourthly, it plans to form in each women's organization a Consumers' Cooperative Society, in which the following activities will be included:

- a. Selling articles of daily use, but all must be native products;
- b. Selling books and periodicals which are able to stimulate and enrich the members' national patriotism;
- c. Selling educational toys for children; and
- d. Selling food and other provisions which are conducive to health.

This by the way will help women in a direct way to solve partially the problem of their livelihood.

Lastly, it resolves to increase the volumes of women's publications in order that their case may be put before a larger public.

Although there are still many obstacles to be overcome, the untiring efforts and forward outlook of the new Chinese women are signs which point to an optimistic future of the feminist movement in China.