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SUFFRAGISTS WITH SUITCASES:
WOMEN ADVOCACY TRAVELERS OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

MEGAN LANE NEARY

Under the Direction of Ian C. Fletcher

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I explore the global circulation and cross-cultural encounters of women advocacy travelers in the early twentieth century. I focus on Carrie Chapman Catt, Margaret Hodge, Mildred McFaden, and Madeleine Z. Doty, who journeyed around the world in order to advocate for women's rights and peace. Catt traveled on behalf of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) to South Africa, the Middle East, and Asia in 1911-12, Hodge promoted women's suffrage around the British dominions, and McFaden and other members of the American Woman's Republic brought a resolution linking peace and women's suffrage to the IWSA congress in Budapest in 1913. Doty made several journeys from the U.S. to Germany and Russia, as a dissident antiwar journalist during the First World War. Using their travel writings, I explore these women travelers, their encounters with women from other countries and cultures, and their ideas about internationalism and inclusion in the worldwide movement for women's rights.

INDEX WORDS: Women's Suffrage, Pacifism, Internationalism, Women Travelers, Carrie Chapman Catt, Madeleine Z. Doty, Mildred McFaden, American Woman's Republic.

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MEGAN LANE NEARY

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Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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2016

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DEDICATION

To the women of my family, who inspired me to travel as far and wide as I could.

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The most amazing thing in this great International Women's Congress **is the massing and moving of the hitherto isolated and stationary sex.**

Charlotte Perkins Gilman

In this thesis I will explore the global circulation and cross-cultural encounters of women advocacy travelers in the early twentieth century. I am defining a woman advocacy traveler as a woman who traveled the world in order to advocate for the rights and beliefs of women and women's organizations. I am interested in the influence of women advocacy travelers on the growth of the women's suffrage and peace movements, as well as learning what inspired these travelers and what impact travel had on their lives. In highlighting the scope of transnational cooperation represented by advocacy travelers who belonged to the suffrage and peace movements, I will nevertheless question the limits of inclusivity of these movements. To answer this question, I will examine the personal, professional, and public lives of several women who undertook imperial and international journeys. Each woman's travels, encounters, and writings reflected her personality, interests and her sense of autonomy and curiosity about the world. These women were protagonists in a very real sense, which is what drew me to them. Far from being "single issue" advocates, they had a myriad of interests that they melded together into a worldview. Then, amazingly, they found countless other women all over the world who held the same belief: that these issues were interconnected.

1.1 Scholarship

My thesis intersects with three bodies of feminist and historical scholarship. Research on travel engages issues of mobility, identity, and cross-cultural encounters. For some years now, scholars working in the fields of literary, cultural, and gender studies have explored women and travel. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women travelled across all kinds of boundaries as immigrants, tourists, missionaries, reformers, pilgrims, exiles, journalists, and writers. The journalist Kate Field (1838-1896) and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union missionary Jessie Ackermann are two well-known examples of women travelers in the 1880s and 1890s. Articles and books that cover these two women provide context for my topic, as they use a biographical lens through which to explore themes like women and the press, imperialism, and women's advocacy travel. For example, Kate Field's experiences of travel in the midst of political upheaval in Italy mirror those of my traveler Madeleine Zabriskie Doty (1877-1963).¹ Doty was present in Russia at the beginning of the country's revolution in 1917. Both women's stories were featured in big popular newspapers, allowing for a gendered perspective on political and cultural events.² In articles and a biography on Field, the historian Gary Scharnhorst has taken this once unknown woman and brought her interesting life and outlook as a traveling woman and professional journalist to the forefront of the study of women's, gender, and political history in the nineteenth century. I would like to explore similar issues with the women advocacy travelers I focus on in this thesis.

¹ Gary Scharnhorst, "Kate Field and the New York Tribune," *American Periodicals* 14, no. 2 (2004): 159–78.

² Gary Scharnhorst, *Kate Field: The Many Lives of a Nineteenth-Century American Journalist* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

There is also a significant amount of literature on women's travel writing itself, and a sub-area within this topic focuses on the relationship between gender, travel, and imperialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that lends itself to my work. In *Discourses of Difference*, historian Sara Mills breaks from other historians like Peter Hulme and Dennis Porter, who focused on male travel writing, to study the way women travel writers negotiated the "different textual constraints" they faced within their travel writing. These constraints were both due to their gender as well as the complicated questions they faced regarding their citizenship within the empire of Britain.³

Mills argues that "because of their oppressive socialization and marginal position," women travel writers struggled to meld together the discourses of imperialism and femininity.⁴ Although she does innovative work by bringing to the forefront the hundreds of women travel writers that had been overlooked by other historians, Mills's travellers were not ardent social activists like the woman advocacy travelers I am focusing on. They were more concerned with trying to negotiate and fit into an imperial framework than trying to change and question that framework and women's position within it. In fact, Mills makes a point to note that most of the women whose writing she analyzes cannot even be called proto-feminists, although she argues

³ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991). For work on heterogeneity and male perspectives in imperial travel writing, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1989); Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and its problems,' in *The Politics of Theory: Proceedings of the Essex Sociology of Literature Conference, July 1982*, ed. Frances Barker (Colchester, UK: University of Essex, 1982), 179-93.

⁴ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 3.

that despite this there is still a theoretical challenge within these texts, as well as a wealth of knowledge that can be gained by analyzing them critically.⁵ Despite the differences between our women of study, Mills's observations about gender, empire, and travel are an important addition to the scholarship that informs this thesis.

The history of women's suffrage began to be written almost as soon as the movement emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century. The movement's first historians were the leaders, publicists, and organizers themselves. Second- and third-wave feminism has stimulated many academic historians to write on the subject of suffragism, especially in the United States and Britain, and the resulting literature is vast. Two bodies of scholarship of particular relevance to my thesis are small-scale suffrage biographies and microhistories on the suffrage movement, and large-scale comparative and transnational treatments of suffragism, internationalism, imperialism, and race.

Small-scale biographies and microhistories are two approaches suffrage historians have taken to navigate the vast world of suffrage history and make it more manageable to understand the era of woman suffrage activism in a more intimate way. One example of this is Jill Liddington's *Vanishing for the Vote*. This book, based on the early release of the 1911 census records in England, sheds light on the actual size and scope of the British census resistance movement. By concentrating on this one night, this microhistory allows for an intensely focused perspective on the larger historical topic of the women's suffrage movement. It is in this tradition that I would like to focus on the specific journeys of three women advocates in the 1910s in order to provide a sharper focus on a broad topic, the movement and connections of women in the early twentieth century.

⁵ Ibid., 5-6.

A few works of individual and collective biography have also influenced my focus on women advocacy travelers. Sally Mcmillen's *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* is a group portrait of four women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone Blackwell, and Susan B. Anthony, whose interpersonal relationships and political advocacy led the way to the 1848 Seneca Falls convention and the beginning of a world-wide women's rights movement.⁶ Mcmillen outlines the lives of these four women as individuals, as well as fixing her historical eye on the interplay of personalities, friendships, support, and rivalry that coincided, fueled, and sometimes derailed the activism of these four women. She portrays them not just as mothers of the women's rights movement, but as individuals with immense differences and one important commonality: their unwavering belief in the equal rights of women. Like the individual women I am focusing on, these women had different backgrounds, beliefs, and approaches to their personal lives, and yet they came together and built relationships that served as the foundation for an ultimately successful movement.

Within the last twenty-five years there have been a few outstanding works that focus on the international and imperial dimensions of the women's suffrage movement. For example, Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan have edited a collection of essays in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* that includes studies of suffrage and women in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and South America as well as the U.S. and Europe. Nolan and Daley argue that a comparative approach to suffrage movements in several nations provides a new angle of vision in suffrage historiography. The historians featured in this work compare suffrage

⁶ Sally McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

movements in these various nations in order to challenge established “wisdoms,” however they do not compare the movements across nations, which I aim to address.⁷ For example, popular history tends to focus on the militant aspect of the suffrage movement in Britain, yet the movements in New Zealand and Australia succeeded earlier and without the use of militant methods. One of the women I will look at in my first chapter is Margaret Hodge, who was active in the Australian movement before moving on to the British dominions (self-governing, white, settler colonies) of South Africa and Canada. This challenging and questioning of the militancy of different suffrage movements leads me to more questions as I look into Hodge’s international journeys and activism in her *British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union*. Perceptions of suffragist’s level of militarism were an important part of the reporting on women, like Margaret Hodge’s, speaking careers. Depending on where they were speaking or who they were addressing their militarism was either played up or downplayed, used as a reason to publicize them, or used by their opponents to argue against hearing them out.

Leila Rupp’s work explores the creation of the international women’s movement. In *Worlds of Women*, Rupp focuses on the International Council of Women (ICW), the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She looks at connections between women, forms of inclusion and exclusion among them, and issues and relationships that united women, despite their differences, across national and colonial boundaries. I am particularly interested in her emphasis on the importance of international conferences as well as interpersonal relationships as factors in the

⁷ Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds., *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).

growing internationalism of the women's suffrage movement.⁸ The lives and advocacy of Catt, McFaden, and Doty underscore the importance of conferences, international travel, and transnational relationships in the building of the suffrage and peace movements.

1.2 Sources and Methods

This thesis is based on research in several kinds of primary sources. My main source is pro-suffrage newspapers. *Jus Suffragii* was the voice of the IWSA and printed reports from Carrie Chapman Catt while she traveled to Africa and Asia. *Votes for Women* and the *Suffragette* were militant British suffrage weeklies that published the travel accounts of Margaret Hodge in the U.S. and the British dominions. The *Woman's Journal* and the *Woman's Column* were American suffrage weeklies. Some of these titles are available in microform, online with Google News, and digitized in the Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs.

The congresses of the suffrage and peace movements generated proceedings in which advocacy travelers spoke about their experiences. Some of these are available now in digitized form on Hathi Trust digital library. Additionally, several women wrote book-length accounts of their travels, either when they occurred or later in the form of memoirs and autobiographies. I will make particular use of Mildred Susan Garrett McFaden's *Women Ambassadors Abroad* (1914) and Madeline Z. Doty's *Short Rations: Experiences of an American Woman in Germany* (1917) and *Behind the Battle Lines: Around the World in 1918* (1918). I will also draw on Doty's

⁸ Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Rights Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

autobiography, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty* (2001).

To reach my conclusions and answer the questions I have posed I will undertake close readings of my sources, especially the newspaper articles that were read by the American reading public. Print media in the Victorian and Edwardian period was an extremely effective way of circulating ideas and of influencing culture, and it is through these channels that my women hoped to influence the political culture around them, as well as around the world.⁹ I will also be contextualizing the memoirs and autobiographical accounts with these newspaper articles in order to gain a well-rounded perspective of the experiences and lives of my woman advocacy travelers. By reading “along the grain” of these articles and memoirs, I will show the author's’ purposes and intentions in addressing the reading public. By reading “against the grain,” I will illuminate conscious and unconscious biases in the rhetoric of these texts. In *Feminist Media History*, Maria Dicenzo, Lucy Delap, and Leila Ryan argue for the importance of social movement theory and an approach that stresses the interrelationship between feminist media and its social contexts. In my thesis the interplay of authors, media, and context, is the fulcrum that supports my argument.

1.3 Argument and Significance

These three bodies of scholarship combined with the discovery of these little known, and one completely unknown, primary sources inform my thesis on the experiences and ideas of

⁹ Maria Dicenzo with Lucy Delap and Leila Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

women advocacy travelers among suffragists and pacifists. My woman advocacy travelers left their homes and journeyed to other countries, many times on the complete other side of the world, in order to foster a feminist internationalism. For example, Carrie Chapman Catt and Aletta Jacobs undertook the most extensive suffrage-inspired world tour ever conceived in 1911. Catt (1859-1947) was an American suffragist who had become leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association as well as the president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance by the time of her journey in 1911. Jacobs (1854-1929) was a leading Dutch suffragist and pacifist. Catt and Jacobs traveled to South Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma (now Myanmar), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Java, the Philippines, China, and Japan in the pursuit in expanding both their personal experiences and the IWSA's international scope.¹⁰

Margaret Hodge (1858-1938) also traveled extensively in the name of suffrage. British-born, she sojourned in Australia for many years, toured through the United States and South Africa, and later spent time working in the women's suffrage movement in Canada. She became an important publicist for the progress of women's suffrage in the British dominions. In addition to these more high-profile world travelers, there were also less well-known activists who traveled the world to attend international conferences held by organizations like the IWSA. In 1913 a delegation made up of twenty American women, including Belva Ann Lockwood (1830-1917), Mildred McFaden (1851-19??), and Minnie Neal (1869-19??), made its way across the Atlantic to attend the Seventh Congress of the IWSA in Budapest, Hungary. These conferences were opportunities for women advocacy travelers to network with each other and bond over their

¹⁰ Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: Feminist Press, 1987).

mutual aspirations, as well as share their individual perspectives and goals. Through writings like McFaden's memoir of the journey, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, we can probe the motives and experiences of these women, as well as the impact they had on the internationalism of these women's movements.

The outbreak of the First World War introduced even more opportunities for women journalists to travel in Europe and even go *Behind the Battle Lines* like Madeleine Z. Doty (1877-1963). Doty was a lawyer in Greenwich Village, the famous bohemian neighborhood in the New York City borough of Manhattan, as well as a world peace and human rights advocate. She became an editor of a controversial bi-weekly periodical called *Four Lights* while also working as a correspondent for *Good Housekeeping* and the *New-York Tribune*. These newspapers sent Doty to report on the war in Europe and Russia and its impact on the condition of the people in the belligerent countries.¹¹ She combined her interests in women's rights and world peace to deliver a unique perspective on the war to the reading public in the United States.

Each of the women I will be highlighting achieved different levels of historical notoriety and historiographical significance. Carrie Chapman Catt, and to a lesser extent Margaret Hodge and Belva Lockwood, were famous women who have been studied by many historians and scholars. Catt has been the subject of many biographies, and mentions of her international journey dot almost every suffrage history. However an in depth exploration of her international suffrage journalism and the significance of the publicity of her international journey is missing

¹¹ Madeleine Z. Doty and Alice Duffy Rinehart, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001).

from the historiography. If anything, her journey has become a blip in her long and prolific suffrage career, a blip that I believe deserves much more significant consideration.

Many of the women I feature are less visible in suffrage, peace, or women's histories, sometimes banished to a footnote like Minnie Neal. Often Madeleine Z. Doty's writing is used as a primary source, yet analysis of her as a person and her writing as a whole is less abundant. The historians who have highlighted Doty, like Leila Rupp, have focused on her work after 1918 as secretary for the WILPF. I analyze the impact of her earlier travels and journalistic career and track the development of her ideas that led her to live in Geneva as part of a community of internationally-minded women. Other women, such as Mildred McFaden and her nineteen companions, have been essentially forgotten and overlooked by historians. What these women had in common was their desire to further the rights of women and their use of travel to expand their advocacy. Many of these women sought to share their travel experiences and political ideals with the public through reportage in suffrage and mainstream newspapers like *Catt*, *Hodge*, and *Doty* or in memoirs like *McFaden and Doty*. However, each woman's intended audience varied by, for example, nationality and race. Comparison of these sources suggests some limitations in the degree of cultural and racial inclusivity in the suffrage and peace movements, especially in the writing of *Catt* and *McFaden*. Nevertheless, their attempts to expand the movement and frame it in imperial and international terms through travel and journalism deserve scrutiny as they reveal evidence for the global scope of the women's rights and peace movements in the 1910s, a pivotal decade of empire, war, and revolution.

In this thesis I answer three questions: How did the journeys of women advocacy travelers reflect and challenge the relative lack of inclusivity of diverse racial and ethnic groups in the global woman suffrage movement, especially considering the hierarchical notions of racial

and cultural difference so influential in the movement? How did travel to and encounters at international suffrage conferences affect the suffragists who made the journey to them? Finally, how did women's advocacy travel and journalism change as the world went from a state of empire and peace to war and revolution in 1914? At the heart of these questions is one central question: How can we use women's journalism and other writings to explore the significance and impact of women's international and imperial advocacy travel in the women's suffrage and peace movements, which is still so often conceived in national rather than global terms?

While I recognize that Anglo-American women advocacy travelers carried notions of racial and civilizational superiority in their cultural suitcases, I will argue that they both discarded and added ideas and ideals to their suitcases as they moved between social movements, societies, and cultures. At any rate, they are a fascinating group of women whose motivation and determination to overcome many obstacles in the way of travel by women tell us something significant about female autonomy and agency in a moment of empire and globalization before and during the First World War.

I suggest that my thesis is significant in several ways. It adds to the scholarship on women and travel, the imperial and international activity of suffragists (especially women who did not gain the visibility of famous and sometimes notorious leaders), and the overlap between the suffrage and peace movements. Moreover, my thesis calls attention to the value of continued research on the women's suffrage movement in the rich and far from exhausted era of the early twentieth century.

1.4 Plan of Thesis

This thesis is organized into an introduction, three main chapters, and followed by a conclusion. In Chapter Two I will trace the travels of Carrie Chapman Catt and Margaret Hodge around the world and examine their published and unpublished writings on these travels. I will seek to answer these questions: To what extent did journeys to “the East” reinforce or undermine their notions of civilizational difference and binary thinking about the “backward” condition of “Eastern” women versus the “modern” nature of “Western” women? How did experiences in the British dominions and the U.S. differ from those in the dependent colonies and protectorates of the British Empire? I will probe the limits as well as the advances of the “imperial” and “global” imagination of the suffrage journalism of advocacy travelers.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the periodical print culture of the international suffrage movement, highlighting *Jus Suffragii*, *Votes for Women*, and the *Woman’s Journal*, sketch biographies of each woman, and then offer a close reading of their travel writings, contextualized in ideas about race, culture, and empire prevalent among British and American feminists in the early twentieth century. For example, we can see evidence of what has been called “feminist Orientalism” in Catt’s writings as well as some signs of a more inclusive “global feminism.”¹² I will compare Catt’s speeches on internationalism before and after her world tour to show the impact of this journey. I will conclude with some comparisons between Catt’s and Hodge’s outlooks on and approaches to their definition of international feminism.

¹² Charlotte Weber, “Unveiling Scheherazade: Feminist Orientalism in the International Alliance of Women, 1911-1950,” *Feminist Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 126. See also Lucy Delap, “Uneven Orientalisms: Burmese Women and the Feminist Imagination,” *Gender & History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 390.

Chapter Three will center on the convening of the 1913 IWSA conference in Budapest and the travels of Mildred Susan Garrett McFaden, Belva Ann Lockwood, and eighteen other women of the American Woman's Republic (AWR) delegation. I will outline the creation, development and expansion of the AWR in the United States. This outline will fit within a larger discussion of the state of the U.S. suffrage and peace movements in 1913. I will also provide a biographical sketch of McFaden and her fellow ambassadors. I will draw heavily on her book she published in 1914 chronicling her journey from Missouri to Budapest to attend the IWSA conference. I will illuminate and explore the language of American feminism and exceptionalism in McFaden's writing, at a time of intense optimism about the potential of worldwide cooperation within the peace movement. I will conclude with an interpretation of McFaden's "feminist Americanism" and how it fits into a globalizing suffrage and peace movement. The core question I hope to answer is: Is the "feminist Americanism" and "pacifist Americanism" of McFaden and her compatriots different from the "Anglo-Saxon internationalism" and "feminist Orientalism" we have encountered in Chapter Two, or a new development of it?

In Chapter Four I will explore the life, travels, and developing activism of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty. She was a lawyer, pacifist, women's rights activist, journalist, author, and world traveler. At the age of 38, in 1915, she went with Jane Addams and other peace advocates to the International Congress of Women at The Hague. The same year she returned to the U.S. and became one of many editors for a radical pacifist and feminist publication called *Four Lights*. She simultaneously wrote for the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *Good Housekeeping Magazine*. It was through the patronage of these periodicals that she was able to travel Europe during wartime, serving as a hospital assistant in France, traveling behind the battle lines in Germany, and witnessing the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. These were

remarkable exploits for a woman of the early twentieth century. The *Washington Times* described her as a woman “who probably has the largest international calling acquaintance of any woman in the world” who “knows Europe probably better than any other woman.”¹³

I will use contemporary etiquette books and newspaper articles, as well as Doty’s own writings and secondary sources to compare two competing visions of early twentieth-century women to give us a comprehensive picture of a woman traveler. On the one hand, etiquette books and popular newspapers advised traveling women to be inconspicuous and accompanied by a man if possible. On the other hand, there is Madeleine Z. Doty, a lone woman traveler dodging spies and secretly sneaking her journalistic notes out of Germany sewed into her clothing. I will answer the questions: In what ways did Doty’s journeys show how conveyances, such as train cars and steamships, “gendered spaces”? How did the press depict Doty and her travels, and in what way did those depictions contradict the traditional, acceptable vision of a woman travelling, especially alone? Finally I will describe how Doty’s journeys between 1915 and 1918 changed the course of her life and profoundly affected her activism and internationalism.

In Chapter Five, the conclusion of my thesis, I will summarize my findings, offer some comparisons between the experiences and outlooks of the various women advocacy travelers highlighted in my thesis, and consider the evidence they furnish for an answer to the question: what were the limits of inclusivity of the suffrage and peace movements and what role did travel have in reinforcing or undermining these limits?

¹³ Madeleine Z. Doty, “The Grandmother of the Revolution,” *Washington Times*, July 20, 1918, n.p.

2 CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, MARGARET HODGE, AND WOMEN'S ADVOCACY TRAVEL BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The simultaneous rise of public-spirited women travelers and organized women's rights activism marks an intriguing convergence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter explores the interplay between what I call women advocacy travelers and the framing of women's rights in international and imperial terms in suffrage periodicals. Following in the footsteps of itinerant female preachers and female journalists who traveled the world before them, the women advocacy travelers I highlight in this chapter undertook missions to spread their dream of universal comradeship. Their journeys took them to countries and colonies where women were disenfranchised or suffrage activism was fragile in order to observe and aid the fight for global woman suffrage.

Like Margaret Fuller decades earlier, women's suffragists abroad often produced "politically engaged travel writing."¹⁴ Their travel accounts and memoirs appeared in American and British suffrage periodicals as well as in *Jus Suffragii*, the organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA). This suffrage journalism documents the experiences of suffrage travelers, illuminates the purposes and impact of advocacy travel, and reveals some underlying assumptions or shifts in the travelers' outlooks as they encountered gender and cultural differences in colonial and foreign countries.

Thus we can trace the turn-of-the-twentieth-century sequel to the development of what the historian Leslie Eckel calls a "transnational imagination" and what I see as an international

¹⁴ Magdalena Nerio, "A Transcendentalist Abroad: Margaret Fuller's European Correspondence," *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism* 33, no. 2 (2011): 102–16.

imagination.¹⁵ I will probe the limits as well as the advances of the “imperial” and “global” imagination of the suffrage journalism that advocacy travelers employed in order to answer a few critical questions. Did these women travelers challenge the racial hierarchies that divided women in colonial and settler societies as well as at home? To what extent did journeys to “the East” reinforce or undermine their notions of civilizational difference and binary thinking about the “backward” vs. “modern” condition and the nature of “Eastern” and “Western” women? How did women travelers understand and represent women who were different in terms of race and religion, and yet enjoyed a measure of power and agency in societies believed to be strictly patriarchal and traditional? And finally, what impact did Carrie Chapman Catt’s and Margaret Hodge’s experiences have on their own ideas of feminism?¹⁶

To answer these questions I will turn to a comparative reading of the suffrage journalism of Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947) and Margaret Hodge (1858-1938). Carrie Chapman Catt was an American suffragist who became the face of suffrage feminism across the world as the president of the International Women Suffrage Alliance. Throughout her long career she traveled extensively around the United States and undertook a well-publicized journey around the world in the name of women’s suffrage in 1911-12. Margaret Hodge also traveled significant distances

¹⁵ Eckel, Leslie E. “Margaret Fuller’s Conversational Journalism,” *Arizona Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2007): 27–50.

¹⁶ Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women’s Movement, 1830-1860* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

in the name of suffrage. British-born, she sojourned in Australia for many years, made tours of the United States, Japan, and South Africa, and later spent time in Canada. She became an important publicist for the progress of women's suffrage in the British dominions. Catt and Hodge lent their voices to the international cause of women by contributing accounts of their travels to suffrage and mainstream newspapers. Both saw a global future for women's suffrage and citizenship. Yet their travel advocacy reveals that each had a distinct outlook on women and the world.

2.1 Carrie Chapman Catt and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance's Global Turn

By the time she helped form the IWSA in 1904, Carrie Chapman Catt had already had an exceptionally productive and successful political career. She became president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1900. She was regarded as a talented public speaker and a woman who possessed “inventive imagination for practical solutions.”¹⁷ Catt was no stranger to traveling in the name of suffrage. Charged with the re-organization of NAWSA in 1895, Catt journeyed around the United States assessing and aiding suffrage efforts in any way she could. When she took the helm of the U.S. suffrage movement, Catt completed her transition from what her biographer Jacqueline Van Voris calls a “nativist” to an “internationalist” stance.¹⁸ Embracing her role as the new “vigorous leadership” the women's movement needed, Catt set out to secure worldwide equal suffrage.¹⁹

¹⁷ Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: Feminist Press, 1987), 4.

¹⁸ Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 53.

Historian Bonnie Anderson has shown how transatlantic networks among women activists created the early international women's rights movements. Increasingly frequent travel cemented friendships and collaborations among women social and political reformers in many countries in the later nineteenth century.²⁰ This led to the establishment of the International Council of Women (ICW) in 1888 and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904. In the years that followed, travel facilitated not only the organizational expansion of the ICW, the IWSA, and other women's groups but also the diffusion and expansion of feminist ideals and ideas.²¹ Carrie Chapman Catt was on the leading edge of this global circulation of people and ideas in the early twentieth century. She had been particularly inspired by the international cooperation exhibited during the World's Conference of Representative Women at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.²² Almost twenty years later she collaborated with the Dutch suffragist Aletta Jacobs (1854-1929) on the most extensive global journey on behalf of woman suffrage ever undertaken.²³

¹⁹ Patricia Ward D'Itri, *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948* (Bowling Green, KY: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999), 90.

²⁰ Anderson, *Joyous Greetings*, 10, 62.

²¹ Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

²² Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 31.

²³ Of course, women have long traveled the world. American women reformers like Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton made memorable voyages to Britain and formed significant personal relationships with anti-slavery and suffrage activists in the 1840s.

Sidonie Smith argues “one register of ‘progress’ in the West and one register of the success of first-wave feminism was precisely the increasing mobility of women.”²⁴ Women advocacy travelers were both an instrument and a result of this mobilizing “progress.” We might add that mobility was not simply physical but also intellectual and political, as women communicated as well as traveled on behalf of women’s suffrage. As the internationally-minded section of the suffrage movement grew, suffrage periodicals began to convey a global outlook in their reportage and rhetoric. Pro-suffrage newspapers and magazines were an important part of national and international efforts to win the vote. Their primary task was to create a “demand” for suffrage news and views and to disseminate them as far and wide as possible.²⁵ In the years leading up to Catt’s world tour, this global outlook became more pervasive in the content and messaging of suffrage periodicals, from the *Woman’s Journal* in the United States to *Votes for Women* in Britain and of course *Jus Suffragii*, with its international readership. *Jus Suffragii* was the organ of the IWSA and therefore covered news that was explicitly international. *Votes for Women* was run by many in the militant British suffrage movement and was considered representative of militant tactics. The *Woman’s Journal* was a mainstream suffrage newspaper and the organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Despite the diverse nature of these three periodicals, all had sections devoted to international news and were utilized by Hodge and Catt to share their stories of international travel.

²⁴ Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women’s Travel Writing* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), xi.

²⁵ Catherine Marshall, “Women’s Suffrage and the Press,” *Jus Suffragii*, December 15, 1911, 34–35.

While the *Woman's Journal* and *Votes for Women* only had small sections laid out for international suffrage news, *Jus Suffragii* was dedicated to covering suffrage news of the world cover to cover. By 1911, *Jus Suffragii* reported readership in twenty-seven countries.²⁶ Most of its readers were located in Europe and North America, however, and suffragists wanted to expand their influence and message much further. As suffrage journals kept track of campaigns for the vote in countries like France, Hungary, and South Africa, Catt was conceiving a plan to broaden the international reach of this growing movement.

Suffrage newspapers published speeches and advertised events centered on the imperial and international scope of women's suffrage. An announcement in *Jus Suffragii* invited women to the 1911 IWSA Stockholm conference, quoting Catt to the effect that "the mission of our alliance is to demonstrate that the cause we represent belongs to no country and no nation or race."²⁷ Her language is intriguing. Catt's own private opinions were probably much less inclusive. She did not see women in "the East" or women of color in the U.S. as similar or equal to her. Rather, they were different; they were Others. Nevertheless, she gave speeches and wrote essays that were predicated on a global sisterhood. Her public views and those put forward in the pages of the IWSA's organ were consistent. In a globalizing world, one way to overcome stubborn resistance to women's enfranchisement in Europe and the U.S. was to find new sources of support for it in Asian, Latin American, and colonial countries. There was no overt sense of Western superiority in her published exhortations on the behalf of the IWSA.

²⁶ "Announcements," *Jus Suffragii*, February 15, 1911, 41.

²⁷ Carrie Chapman Catt, "Call to the Sixth Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance," *Jus Suffragii*, February 15, 1911, 41.

Suffragists' efforts to show international solidarity required action as well as rhetoric and spread from suffrage journals to suffrage activism. Parades were an important way to demonstrate organized power and public support in Britain and the U.S. suffrage campaigns. In the early twentieth century International floats began to appear in suffrage parades. They created a visually stirring representation of the "width of the women's movement."²⁸ The international float in the Great Demonstration of 18 June 1910 in London was meant to "impress the thinking mind the most" and to represent the "great countries of the world," although not as many were represented as internationally minded suffragists would have liked.²⁹ Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, who helped found and edit *Votes for Women*, concluded her description of this parade with a suggestion that the next parade be even bigger and that "sisters of every nation" come and join in their efforts.³⁰

As president of the IWSA, Catt was uniquely positioned to promote the international goals of her organization through her own travels. Although she presided over a successful congress of the IWSA in Stockholm in 1911, Catt was not satisfied with its still limited global reach. She often included in her speeches the notion that suffrage was "a common demand of our united womanhood."³¹ In pursuing this "united womanhood," she decided to pack up her suitcase and see the situation and prospects of women, suffrage, and citizenship around the world for

²⁸ Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, "International Parade," *Jus Suffragii*, July 15, 1910, 83-84.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁰ E. Pethick Lawrence, "International Parade," 84.

³¹ Catt, "Call to the Sixth Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance," 41.

herself. After visiting Britain and Sweden in the spring of 1911, Catt began her global journey with her friend and fellow suffragist Aletta Jacobs.

The destinations of this trip included South Africa, the Sudan, Egypt, Palestine, India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma (now Myanmar), the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, China, and Japan.³² Catt chose countries with a wide range of gender relations, religions, languages, and political histories. South Africa was a self-governing British settler colony, while India, Ceylon, and Burma were dependencies of the British Empire. Jacobs's ability to speak Dutch was a clear advantage in the Dutch East Indies. In every country they sought out women who were potential allies. If they did not find an established suffrage organization, which was often the case, they at least found prominent women who were willing to speak with them about their goals for women. Catt's writings from abroad convey a sense of optimism that woman suffrage would succeed eventually, even in countries with the most "long-subjected women." She returned home in 1912 happy that she and all the women of the "Western world" had "cheered and encouraged" these foreign women and made them "feel the world campaign for equality of rights includes them."³³

2.2 Catt on Race and Gender in South Africa and South Asia

I will use close readings of Catt's published accounts in *Jus Suffragii* to analyze her ideas about women in the colonial and Asian worlds. My focus on Catt's language in her writings about South Africa, Burma, and Ceylon complicates our understanding of Catt's racial, cultural,

³² Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 84-105.

³³ Carrie Chapman Catt, "Egypt," *Jus Suffragii*, May 15, 1912, 84-85.

and cosmopolitan assumptions. The South Africa Catt and Jacobs approached on the first leg of their journey was a newly united British dominion, a self-governing colony composed of the two original British colonies of Cape Coast and Natal and the two former Afrikaner republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It was populated by a minority of white settler-citizens and a majority of disenfranchised African and Asian colonial subjects.³⁴ Catt read over a dozen books about South Africa on her voyage so that she could be as well prepared as possible for what she was to encounter there.³⁵

There was a growing women's suffrage movement in South Africa. Historian Laura Mayhall argues that the South African War of 1899-1902) deeply influenced the debate over the enfranchisement of women throughout the empire. The intertwined questions of citizenship, voting rights, gender, and race in South Africa were debated in both the pro-suffrage and mainstream press.³⁶ The activists and supporters she met at meetings where she spoke impressed Catt. She knew, however, that the movement had a long way to go to reach its goals. She recognized that her "views have broadened and sweetened by contact with the problems of South Africa" and that her journey had "strengthened [her] confidence in the inevitability of our cause

³⁴ Laura E. Nym Mayhall, "The South African War and the Origins of Suffrage Militancy in Britain, 1899-1902," in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation, and Race*, ed. Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, and Philippa Levine (London: Routledge, 2000), 8-13.

³⁵ Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 85.

³⁶ Mayhall, "The South African War and the Origins of Suffrage Militancy in Britain, 1899-1902," 8-13.

in all civilized lands.”³⁷ The “problems” Catt alludes to reflected ongoing tensions over citizenship and colonialism. In this context, suffrage and its implications went beyond a national political question.

Catt refers to South Africa as civilized, although later she postulates that “in this land, so unlike all others, the mysterious processes of evolution are working out a great destiny for its people, and that valuable contributions to the world civilization will follow in time.”³⁸ Here she is nodding to a racial and civilizational hierarchy in the women’s suffrage movement, in which Anglo-Saxon states like Australia, the U.S., and Britain were seen as advanced and their women as demonstrably fit for citizenship. A dominion like South Africa was lower on the hierarchy. While its settler population was importing white Western ideas and institutions, the large indigenous population was excluded from them. The countries and colonies of “the East,” with different religions and civilizations, were also lower on the hierarchy

This belief in the advanced nature and feminist potential of “civilized lands” did not prepare Catt for what she found in Burma. In 1911, the country was a province of British India. Catt added Burma to her trip itinerary in order to discover if it was truly “a land for women” as she had heard.³⁹ She was curious as to how the women of Burma had retained the benefits of a matriarchal past and “escaped the cramping, unhappy restrictions” that she observed holding the “women of Asia in cruel bondage for many centuries.”⁴⁰ Her opening description of the Pagoda in Rangoon is a beautiful, colorful picture of gender harmony and religious peace. By way of

³⁷ Carrie Chapman Catt, “South Africa,” *Jus Suffragii*, December 15, 1911, 35.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Carrie Chapman Catt, “Burmah,” *Jus Suffragii*, July 15, 1912, 96.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

comparison, she described “the Holy Land” of the Middle East in terms of “dirt,” “dust,” and “tattooed women,” that made an unpleasant and disappointing impression on her.⁴¹ The contrast with her positive first impression of Burma, with flowery fragrances filling the air, babies holding roses, and a big altar “piled high with bright flowers,” is striking.⁴²

Long before Catt’s visit to Burma, there existed a framework in which Westerners, both men and women, wrote about Burmese women and Burmese culture. In “Uneven Orientalisms,” the historian Lucy Delap describes how colonial administrators, travellers, and missionaries created a “persistent commentary on Burmese gender equality” that swung “between assertions of conditions of equality and tyranny, disgust and respect.”⁴³ She argues that despite some portrayals of Burmese women as the equals of men, they were still usually seen as “ignorant, eroticized, and physically ‘other’” and were often “posed alongside the failings of Burmese men, who were widely portrayed as damaged by women’s freedom.”⁴⁴

Using Edward Said’s *Orientalism* and his argument about Western uses of the supposed alterity of “the East” to ground the identity of “the West,” Delap explores feminist representations of Burma. According to her, “European women used orientalist tropes and melodramas in their attempts to improve and expand their sphere of influence, based at times on their commitment to imperialism and its racial hierarchies, or at other times on their strategic

⁴¹ Carrie Chapman Catt, “The Holy Land,” *Jus Suffragii*, January 15, 1912, 50.

⁴² Catt, “Burmah,” 96.

⁴³ Lucy Delap, “Uneven Orientalisms: Burmese Women and the Feminist Imagination,” *Gender & History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 389.

⁴⁴ Delap, “Uneven Orientalisms,” 389.

deployment of narratives likely to advance their cause.”⁴⁵ However, Burma’s matriarchal past and “Eastern” status challenged feminists to re-consider any feminist orientalism they may have harbored. Delap uses feminist orientalism to mean Western feminists’ belief that their ideas and accomplishments were more advanced, and therefore more worthy, than those of women in “the East.” Catt is a paradigmatic example of the contradictory response of Western feminists when they encountered Burmese women. She wrote two lengthy, detailed articles on the women of Burma for *Jus Suffragii*, both of which convey a mix of feminist criticism and admiration.

Sharing some of the same language of missionaries and writers about Burma, Catt intentionally engages in the discussion of the West/East dichotomy that those before her had agonized over. She notes that one writer claims that the Burmese are “a thousand years behind the times” and she continues to compare “sleepy . . . primitive and backward” Burma to the West. Yet she also questions these beliefs in the same breath, unable to ignore the social and political equality of the Burmese and the advantages Burmese women have over European women. She is quick to suggest, however, that the “children of the sun” languishing outdoors in the heat and cannot possibly be as innovative or progressive as those in the West. And yet this vision of the East directly contradicts what she observes of the people and their way of life.

Catt indicates no discomfort with placing these conflicting views side by side in her account of Burma and “the East” more generally. The historian Kevin Amidon has analyzed the development of Catt’s evolutionary politics as it pertains to African Americans and race in the U.S.” He argues that Catt’s personal brand of “evolutionism” allowed for the possibility that “different races of people, as well as different groups of women, could participate together in

⁴⁵ Ibid.,406.

narratives of progress.”⁴⁶ Although she believed that women of “the East” needed to be saved and that Eastern cultures did not highly regard “virtue” or education, she also held an optimistic view of the future of suffrage and the progress of women that found confirmation in the evidence of gender equality in Burmese culture and society. The temporal element of change allowed her conflicting views to coexist.

This contradictory vision of Burma as both behind and ahead of the times in relation to the West shows itself in Catt’s writing. There is, however, one significant divergence between what Delap calls feminist orientalism and Catt’s opinions. Catt actively combats the view that women in Burma have emasculated men. It is clear from Catt’s account of Ceylon that she is not afraid to call certain populations of Asian men effeminate. She claims that “it is difficult to differentiate between the sexes” in Ceylon because of men’s effeminacy. She even admits she approached what she thought was a group of “graceful, pretty girls” only to find they were actually men with mustaches.⁴⁷ By contrast, Catt writes about gender, femininity, and masculinity in Burma in a way that makes it unmistakable she is arguing that the freedom and power of women in economic and religious life does not entail women losing their womanliness or men their manliness.

Too often suffragists had to combat the belief that if women gained the vote the nation would be “unsexed” or that biblical as well as constitutional injunctions required women’s subordination. Thus Catt walks a fine line in her account of Burma, describing neither the women as mannish nor the men as effeminate even as she recognizes that Burmese women enjoy

⁴⁶ Kevin Scott Amidon, “Carrie Chapman Catt and the Evolutionary Politics of Sex and Race, 1885-1940,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, no. 2 (2007): 305.

⁴⁷ Carrie Chapman Catt, “Ceylon,” *Jus Suffragii*, March 15, 1912, 67-68.

a higher status than European women. Men dominated church as well as state, and reform-minded women struggled for a greater voice in religious as well as public affairs in the U.S. and Europe. Although Christian evangelism was a component of the imperial “civilizing” missions pursued by Westerners abroad, Catt’s own Christian faith did not bias her against other religions when they appeared to benefit women. As far as she had seen on her tour, Catt declared, all the major religions of the world were “conducted by men and for men.”⁴⁸ In Burma, however, Catt was surprised and impressed by the participation of women in all aspects of the religion, from adorning temples to becoming monks.

Catt’s beautiful vision of religion, family, and even nature in Burma is reinforced by what brings about this overall sense of harmony: the legal equality of men and women. Instead of a society up-ended by women’s equal rights, she paints a picture of a world where the women can be both “gentle mannered” and in charge of religious matters. She describes the Burmese economy in which women are just as active in “retail businesses of all kinds,” with a female “merchant” running a silk shop still described as “dainty” and “so good a thing to look at that the gay silks were dull and uninteresting by comparison.”⁴⁹

Catt maintains it is the “natural and simple” pattern of their lives, the lack of “complicated home machinery to become askew because the woman is housekeeper and merchant,” that allows for this equality. With progressive modern civilization often praised for its human complexity, discussing the “simple” life of the Burmese is intriguing. In writing later about Ceylon, she uses the word “simplistic” to describe the culture. This seems patronizing, not the envying sense of easiness in the evaluation of Burma. Unlike Catt’s extensive and cheerful

⁴⁸ Catt, “Burmah,” 96.

⁴⁹ Catt, “Burmah,” 96.

writings on her Burmese experience, her account of her adventures in Ceylon is observational, unemotional, and uneventful. Like her introduction to the Middle East, Catt begins her article on Ceylon with an anecdote about a disappointing tourist experience, when “Adam’s Peak,” which was supposed to look like a footprint, failed miserably to appear so. She continues with a very clinical and superficial description of Ceylon, nothing like the flowery, colorful picture of Burma. Like Burma, Ceylon was under British rule. It was also tropical, and possessed an ancient and interesting history. Why does Catt treat the two countries so differently in her writing? The major difference is that, at least in Catt’s eyes, women are more or less equal in Burma, but they are subordinated to men in Ceylon. In Burma the simplicity of life lends itself to equality, and in Ceylon it produces an apolitical people who have no “growing pains” and no desire to “struggle.”⁵⁰

Catt finishes her Burma articles with a warning for the readers of *Jus Suffragii*. While Burma may seem like an idyllic place with men and women equal even in matters of religion, there is work to be done there and in many other countries. She stresses that the men are considered *more* holy than the women and that women are still responsible for serving the meals in the household. This warning is a culmination of Catt’s mixed feelings about her experiences in Burma. She wants to leave her readers better informed about the status of Eastern women. This may be another way that Burmese women are “othered” by Catt. While she expresses positive feelings towards Burma and the Burmese, she does not suggest either that Eastern and Western civilizations are equivalent or that Eastern and Western women aspire to the same ideals.

⁵⁰ Catt, “Ceylon,” 67-68.

2.3 Margaret Hodge and the Suffrage Cause in the British Dominions

Like Catt, Margaret Hodge was a tireless proponent of women's suffrage as well as a forerunner of border-crossing advocacy travel. Nevertheless, her experiences and approaches differed significantly from Catt's. Unlike Catt, who was a major suffrage leader with an increasingly global outlook and mission, Hodge came from the middling ranks of suffragists and devoted her travel to the suffrage cause around the British empire, specifically the dominions, or self-governing white settler colonies, of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada, and of course the United Kingdom.

Hodge was born in Britain but moved to Australia in 1897 to work among the poor and promote education for women. She participated actively in the successful women's suffrage movement in Australia, and made many journeys to the U.S., Britain, South Africa, and Canada in 1912 and 1913 to publicize this success and the benefits of white women's enfranchisement in the states and the commonwealth of Australia.⁵¹ Her advocacy travel suggests a certain white feminist settler outlook that links the dominions and the U.S. and distinguishes it from suffragism in the "mother country" of Britain. In turn, this raises the question of indigenous women and women of color in suffragist thinking about the boundaries of citizenship.

Everywhere in Hodge's writing is the contradictory nature of the citizenship status of women in Britain and the dominions. She traveled back and forth across the empire, sharing stories of how women of the commonwealth of Australia had gained the vote in a relatively peaceful manner, while women of the "motherland" were still voteless. It was not a matter of rivalry. Hodge often noted that British women had a "whole hearted admiration for the members

⁵¹ Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 117-18.

of their own sex across the sea, who have won for themselves political recognition.”⁵² Central to Hodge’s advocacy was the question of citizenship, not just women’s voting rights but what enfranchised women had done and would do with this power. She used examples of women’s accepted and exemplary citizenship in Australia and New Zealand to argue for the citizenship of women in the Britain, the United States, and the Dominions. She also admitted that the “admiration” of British women actually made her feel “abashed” when she realized the “victory, so highly prized [in Britain], cost most women comparatively little effort.”⁵³

In the years before the First World War, white women in Australia and white and Maori women in New Zealand were enfranchised. As we have seen, white women in South Africa had formed a suffrage movement. Women in Canada as well as Britain and Ireland were also demanding the vote. By 1912, Hodge began to envision an empire-wide alliance of women’s suffragists and women citizens in the dominions. It was her observations while traveling as well as her connections with suffragist women all over the world that caused Hodge to help form the Woman Suffrage Union – British Dominions Overseas in 1913.⁵⁴ As this Woman Suffrage Union – British Dominions Overseas grew and developed they changed their name to the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union (BDWSU). The historian Angela Woollacott argues that the BDWSU’s aspiration to bond together the women of white settler colonies “reflected broader imperial dynamics of the new century,” and that the leaders of the BDWSU, like Hodge, played into these imperial dynamics by setting up Australian and New Zealander women as “exemplars

⁵² Margaret Hodge, “Miss Margaret Hodge Writes From London,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 29, 1909, 3.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, 117-19.

of the ‘new world.’”⁵⁵ Hodge added to an international imagination by forging ties between women in Australia, South Africa, and Canada that went beyond their presence in the Empire and bonded them together based on the similarities of their nations and their position within the international women’s movement.

In 1912 Hodge, like Catt just a year before her, journeyed to South Africa, a shared experience that serves as an interesting point of comparison for the two women’s ideas about women’s suffrage, self-government, citizenship, and race. As a woman who had participated in the Australian movement, Hodge had a much more nuanced interest in the South African movement than did Catt. It was as an “enfranchised woman of Australia” that she had the cause of South Africa “very much at heart.”⁵⁶ She acknowledges the “certain obvious resemblances” between South Africa and “the great island continent, resemblances which make [her] very hopeful.”⁵⁷ Here she posits the difference between the dominions and Britain, the basis for her understanding why Australia had enfranchised women before Britain and why South Africa would do so as well. She argues that it is an “absence of deep-rooted prejudice, the special stumbling block of progress in the older countries of the world, and the consciousness of the civilizing and humanizing influence of women in social life” that “make for the probable success of the cause in South Africa.” The prejudice to which she refers was against white women, not colonial subjects. Indeed, the fact that both Australia and South Africa were settler colonies based on white supremacy does not enter into her discussion. Yet in retrospect it is easy to see

⁵⁵ Ibid., 118.

⁵⁶ Margaret Hodge, “Votes for Women in South Africa,” *Votes for Women*, November 22, 1912, 142.

⁵⁷ Hodge, “Votes for Women in South Africa,” 142.

that race was a key factor in the politics of women's suffrage in the dominions, as it was in the Western territories and states and later the Southern states of the U.S.

According to Hodge, British male settlers brought their sex prejudice against women to the colonies. She further notes that "it is extraordinary how easily the majority of women in the world have been lulled into a false security, and are living in a fools paradise where whatever is, is right." She believes, however, that indigenous state of South Africa, the state that was without "deep-rooted prejudice," will win out. Suffragists "only need missionaries to make fervent converts." With the advocacy of women from Australia showing the positive results of women voting, Hodge is confident that the women of South Africa can overcome the "stumbling block of progress" and achieve suffrage in the newest British dominion. The argument she developed to encourage South African suffragists, coupled with illustrations from Australia of what women were able to do with their votes, served her well as she continued on her "empire tour" in 1914.

2.4 Catt, Hodge, and the Limits of Inclusion

Despite her lofty inclusionary goals in her IWSA speeches, Catt was guilty of grouping all women in Asia and the colonial world together in her all-encompassing statements about "the East" and the help she believed Eastern women needed. Nonetheless, her ethnographic observations in the many countries she visited showed that each was different and had its own advantages as well as problems. There is no doubt that her world-wide journey changed Catt drastically. Following her return she continued to express support for women everywhere, became an advocate for world peace, and pushed for a truly global movement as an increasing number of states enfranchised women and an increasing number of women gained full citizenship after the First World War.

It is a mistake to see Catt as simply a feminist orientalist and to interpret her pleas for international cooperation as simply a rhetorical move to get more members or more readers. There are grounds for believing that her appeals to women in the West and the East reflected her sincere hopes for a future in which women would take their place as men's equals around the world. The debates over Catt's use of racist arguments for suffrage and the extent of her own personal racism still rage throughout the historiography.⁵⁸ The evidence from a close reading of her account of her visit to Burma complicates our understanding of Catt's beliefs and desires. Analysis of the reactions in the press to Catt's journey and the actions taken afterward by the IWSA sheds light on the beginnings of women's internationalism, cross-cultural understanding, and inclusive movement-building before the First World War. For example, in response to Catt's writing in *Jus Suffragii* about the desire of Indian women to come to a future IWSA conference, a reader felt "moved" to encourage a "woman of the orient" in her suffrage goals by financially sponsoring an "Indian Delegate" to attend the Budapest conference in 1913.⁵⁹ This story, which showcased not only international suffrage cooperation but also Western women's generosity to Eastern women, made the front page.

Reflecting on her experiences in Java, Catt asked a question of broad significance: "When [European] influence has done its perfect work, will these women be losers or gainers?"⁶⁰ Although she encountered women who were "held in the most pitiful tutelage, and denied every

⁵⁸ Amidon, "Carrie Chapman Catt and the Evolutionary Politics of Sex and Race, 1885-1940," 305-328.

⁵⁹ Editors, "Indian Delegates to Come to Budapest in 1913," *Jus Suffragii*, September 15, 1912, 1.

⁶⁰ Carrie Chapman Catt, "Java," *Jus Suffragii*, September 15, 1912, 8.

vestige of personal liberty” she had also found Asian countries and cultures in which women were voting, economically independent, and happy. Catt’s experiences must have caused her to re-think some of the feminist orientalist ideas she and other Western women held, and yet there were still racist attitudes and assumptions towards colonized people of other races that she could not or would not shake from her writing. Hodge also grappled with this question of European influences on other parts of the world. Of course, her focus was the new world of British dominions established by their white and “civilized” populations. She clearly believed that the dominions could belong to the British Empire without perpetuating “old world” sex prejudices against women. South Africa could become like Australia, at least with regard to white women’s citizenship. But there remained the question of the “perfect work” of European influences on the subaltern populations in these societies. What Hodge’s answer to Catt’s question would be remains unclear. If anything Hodge would likely argue that it is Australia and New Zealand who should take up the role of “perfect work” in the dominions since they had advanced the most in the realm of women’s equal rights.

2.5 Conclusion

After Western countries like the United States and Britain enacted equal voting rights for women in 1920 and 1928 respectively, international suffragists took up the question of how much other societies in other parts of the world actually needed Western help. They renewed the investigation of the situations of women in other cultures, starting with a 1924 IWSA report on women in the British West African colony of Gold Coast. The historian Leila Rupp argues that leaders eventually concluded that the international movement had limitations and that a truly

international movement required the participation of women from all countries. The overhaul of the movement came more than a decade after Catt's and Hodge's journeys. If the First World War had not interrupted what we can call the internationalization of the IWSA and other initiatives, such as a planned world trip by the renowned British suffrage couple Emmeline and Frederick Pethick Lawrence, one wonders whether a more effective approach to inclusion in the global suffrage movement might have come sooner.

As she journeyed around the world in the name of woman suffrage, Carrie Chapman Catt was exposed to different cultures, races, and religions that she could have never truly understood if she had stayed in the United States her whole life. In her address to the IWSA's Stockholm congress in 1911, she spoke of including all women in the suffrage movement. Yet, until she went to Africa and Asia and saw the strivings as well as sufferings of women for herself, it would have been much harder to avoid "othering" women of "the East" and elsewhere. In her writings we see the contradictory evidence of both feminist orientalism and an emergent global feminism that questioned racial and civilizational hierarchies among women. Crucially, we can track this emergence before, not after, the First World War.

For example, in the call for the seventh congress of the IWSA in Budapest in 1913, Catt and other leaders highlighted the fact that "especially invited Delegates" were expected from the many countries Catt had journeyed to.⁶¹ In this declaration differences among women became a beacon of diversity. The IWSA was proud to publicize that "for the first time in the woman movement, it is expected that Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Mohammedan, Jewish and Christian women will sit together in a Congress uniting their voices in a common plea for the liberation of

⁶¹ Catt, "Call to the Seventh Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance," *Jus Suffragii*, January 15, 1913, 41-42.

their sex.” The Budapest congress was to be a shining example of “the chain of organizations that now encircle the earth” formed by Catt’s journey. Women advocacy travelers like Catt had been changed by their journeys; they in turn were changing the international suffrage movement.

Given her apparent blindspot on indigenous people and people of color in the dominions, Hodge focused on questions of citizenship rather than on race. Her calling card was the notion that she represented Australia, a land where the enfranchisement of women had seemingly led only to positive developments, both for the women themselves and for the country as a whole. It was important that the public perceived her as a law-abiding suffragist. The press often specified that she was not a suffragette, or militant suffragist. For example, when announcing her talk on Australia in its issue of 30 March 1914, the *New York Tribune* described Hodge as a suffragist “of non-militant type.”⁶² Since the story she told centered on the relative ease and positive effect of enfranchising Australian women, she sometimes stood in stark contrast to other women she shared the platform with. During her “empire tour” while spending time in Canada, the press highlighted the fact that the Australian suffrage movement and Hodge in particular did not “endorse British militant methods.” Hodge explained the difference between the movements in Britain and the dominions by resorting to the old world/new world binary: “the militancy had its birth in the spirit of oppressed motherhood in the old land [England] where the masculine public opinion was decades behind that of the overseas dominions with respect to the true private and public status of women.”⁶³ Hodge and the leadership of the BDWSU did eventually begin to incorporate questions of inclusion of people of color in their organization as time went on. In 1914 the BDWSU began considering incorporating Indian women into their organization, but put

⁶² “Suffragist Will Lecture,” *New York Tribune*, March 30, 1914, 9.

⁶³ “Women’s Vote Have Changed Australia,” *Toronto Sunday World*, April 18, 1914, 15.

off their requests for membership for years because they had restricted membership to only include self-governing dominions. In 1917 it was Hodge who pushed for Indian membership in the BDWSU, and in 1918 their organization finally had an “Indian Section” with Hodge taking the helm as its “honorary secretary.”⁶⁴

The writings of Carrie Chapman Catt and Margaret Hodge reflect the twentieth-century view of western women travelers as “exemplars of the new freedom and prowess of women.”⁶⁵ Both Catt and Hodge used their privileged position as Western women to undertake journeys to expand the international women’s suffrage movement, and they also set an example for other women activists to emulate. They used their published writing in suffrage journals to share their journeys and set this example. In the next chapter I will follow twenty women ambassadors from all over the United States on their journey to the 1913 IWSA congress. These women subscribed to the same vision of an expansive and truly international women’s movement, yet their American feminism presented some of the same hindrances to true inclusiveness that Catt and Hodge displayed. However, these women were clearly inspired by the words of leaders like Catt and Hodge to journey far away and connect with the women of the world in the pursuit of women’s rights and world peace.

⁶⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, 122-23.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Moving Lives*, xi.

**3 “A NEW AND BEAUTIFUL LINK”: MILDRED MCFADEN, THE AMERICAN
WOMAN’S REPUBLIC, AND THE INTERNATIONAL MISSION OF PEACE OF
1913**

Peace, world-peace, with all its blessed charms—

Is woman’s plea today: Lay down your arms!

Mildred Susan Garret McFaden

In 1913, a delegation of twenty women made its way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) in Budapest, Hungary. These women, from varied backgrounds and different parts of the U.S., came together as self-styled ambassadors of the American Woman’s Republic (AWR) to “bring a message of peace and good will” to the meeting of the IWSA. They constitute a fascinating variation on the phenomenon of women advocacy travelers in the early twentieth century. This chapter explores the experience of these women and the little-known organization they represented, the American Woman’s Republic. Few documents about the AWR appear to have survived. Nonetheless, my primary sources include a detailed first-hand account of the journey. Entitled *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, this 280-page book was written by the prominent St. Louis women’s rights and world peace advocate Mildred Susan Garret McFaden.

Although the historian Harriet Hyman Alonso has argued that the Woman’s Peace Party in 1915 was the first political organization in the United States to formally link peace and women’s rights, there were undoubtedly earlier groups that took a pro-peace and pro-suffrage position, just as campaigns for temperance and against prostitution were often combined with the

cause of women's enfranchisement.⁶⁶ The American Woman's Republic is a good example of women's combined advocacy for peace and citizenship before the First World War. The AWR was a relatively short-lived organization; it was founded in 1911 and disbanded in 1920. In its heyday, however, it enlisted a long list of prominent women's rights and peace activists as members. The AWR pursued a surprisingly cosmopolitan and international vision through the work of its women advocacy travelers in 1913. I argue that the "high mission with which [they] had been trusted and honored" by the Woman's Republic drove these women to do their best to overcome any personal prejudices they may have had in order to go "forth as sowers of the seeds of peace and good will toward all the world."⁶⁷

The AWR's view of the nature and prospects of world peace was influenced by specifically American feminist, nationalist, and pacifist notions. Modeling their organization as an all women version of the U.S. government, the AWR clearly believed that the U.S. was exceptional and that they as American women were meant to succeed "in [their] highest mission" and perform "the greatest service in the history of the human race."⁶⁸ They believed the resolution they went to present to the IWSA was they key to peace on a global scale. Their patriotism was idealistic and optimistic, enabling them to envision women around the world cooperating to achieve universal goals like world peace. They believed "no higher purpose or mission could be conceived by woman today as she enters into her new and greater activities of

⁶⁶ Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace As a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

⁶⁷ Mildred Susan Garrett McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad* (St. Louis, MO: Mangan Printing Company, 1914), 18, 26.

⁶⁸ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 54.

life—a full partner in the political world with man—than to relegate war to the past.”⁶⁹ At the conclusion of its international mission of peace, the AWR delegation felt a sense of accomplishment, believing “a new and beautiful link had been forged in the chain of brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity.”⁷⁰

In this chapter I will use McFaden’s account to reconstruct the AWR delegation and its journey to Budapest and to understand its goals and aspirations. Budapest was the capital of Hungary, a main component of the empire of Austria-Hungary under the Dual Monarchy of the Habsburg dynasty. The war in the Balkans, which began in 1912, took place on Austria-Hungary’s doorstep and involved tensions affecting its empire as well. As is well-known, the precipitant of the First World War two years later was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo, Bosnia, a former Ottoman territory in the Balkans annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. Thus I am interested in the AWR’s twinning of peace and women’s rights against this backdrop. One can see in this example of women’s travel advocacy an early form of citizen, or people-to-people, diplomacy that was to become so important in the First World War and, indeed, ever since.

3.1 The Genesis of the American Woman’s Republic

The American Woman’s Republic emerged from an earlier women’s organization, the American Woman’s League (AWL). The AWL owed its existence to the Missouri publisher Edward Gardner Lewis. He lost cheap mailing privileges for two of his publications, the

⁶⁹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 54.

⁷⁰ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 110.

Woman's Magazine and the *Woman's Farm Journal*, in 1907.⁷¹ Lewis took on the Post Office, and the resulting legal fight became a national story. One reporter called it “the greatest business romance America has ever known.”⁷² Lewis eventually won back the right to mail his magazines at the lower second-class postal rate. He created the American Woman's League as a sales force to rebuild his subscription base. The AWL grew quickly, but then ran into financial difficulties and foundered. However, many of the AWL's members recognized in each other a mutual desire for equal rights for women, prompting them to create a new organization called the American Woman's Republic in 1912.

The historian Elizabeth Clemens argues that “social capital” is a fitting metaphor that accurately encompasses the “generative power of social ties” and their capacity to produce social and political change.⁷³ The members of the American Woman's League were able to “harness [their] informal networks and non-institutional capacities to collective action in the pursuit of

⁷¹ The American Woman's League and the American Woman's Republic Document Collection, University City Public Library, University City, MO, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://history.ucpl.lib.mo.us/awlawrc.asp>. A resource provided by the University City Public Library, this online archive of digitized original documents also includes a brief account of the American Woman's League and the American Woman's Republic. It does not mention the AWR delegation to the IWSA congress in Budapest.

⁷² Sidney Morse, *The Siege of University City: The Dreyfus Case of America* (University City, MO: University City Publishing Company, 1912), vii.

⁷³ Elisabeth S. Clemens, “Securing Political Returns to Social Capital: Women's Associations in the United States, 1880s-1920s,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (1999): 613.

social change.”⁷⁴ Brought together by a man trying to expand his publishing business, these women were able to re-focus their “social capital” on the campaign for women’s rights. At its founding, the American Woman’s Republic described the American Woman’s League as a “mother, who has now given birth to a new child.”⁷⁵

The child was more successful and ambitious than the parent. Mabel Lewis, the wife of Edward Gardner Lewis, was elected the AWR’s president and the AWR’s first convention was held in University City, near St. Louis, in July 1912. It attracted hundreds of women, who adopted a constitution and issued a Declaration of Equal Rights. Modeled on the U.S. republic, this women’s republic was a school for citizenship. The AWR had about 2,000 members around the country by 1913.⁷⁶ At this point, the AWR decided to enter the international arena by sending a delegation to the IWSA’s congress in Budapest. This bold move was not quite as extraordinary as it may seem, given certain well-known precedents. American missionaries, both men and women, had been going abroad for decades. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was a worldwide organization by the early twentieth century. The National Council of Women was a leading force in the International Council of Women, and NAWSA was not only a

⁷⁴ Ibid, 614.

⁷⁵ “The American Woman’s Republic Convention Committee Reports, 1912,” The American Woman’s League and the American Woman’s Republic Document Collection, University City Public Library, University City, MO, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://history.ucpl.lib.mo.us/awlawrc.asp>.

⁷⁶ The American Woman’s League and the American Woman’s Republic Document Collection, University City Public Library, University City, MO, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://history.ucpl.lib.mo.us/awlawrc.asp>.

affiliated society of the IWSA but its president, Carrie Chapman Catt, had become the IWSA's president.

The AWR was buoyed by the rising tide of the Progressive Era. Joining clubs, societies, and unions, women were mobilizing for labor rights, racial justice, social reform, and temperance as well as for women's suffrage. Moreover, the AWR emerged at a globalizing moment in the history of the women's and other social movements. They acknowledge in their resolution that they journeyed to "this great international congress of women just as they had "aroused the attention of the world."⁷⁷ The press brought the news of the world to American homes, not just the male-dominated domains of business and government. The U.S. had gained a colonial empire and become a great power in the aftermath of the Spanish American War of 1898. The worldwide peace, suffrage, and socialist movements linked American activists to their counterparts in many other countries. As we have seen, the Dutch suffragist Aletta Jacobs's traveling companion was not another European, but Carrie Chapman Catt. Not waiting until her presidential address at the IWSA's 1913 Budapest congress, Catt was quick to share her experiences and ideas with American audiences once she returned home to the U.S.

For the AWR members joining the delegation, the chance to attend the IWSA congress and other meetings and tour Europe must have been an exciting prospect. Congresses had been a part of the international peace movement since its beginning in 1843. For example, in August 1913, just two months after the IWSA congress in Budapest, the Universal Peace Congress was

⁷⁷ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 53.

held in The Hague. That same month the new Peace Palace was opened in The Hague.⁷⁸ For women involved in the peace and suffrage movements, the ideal of international friendship and cooperation woven into their advocacy was materialized in these gatherings.

3.2 The Journey of the American Woman's Republic Delegation

In early 1913, sections of the American Woman's Republic across the country voted to send an Embassy to "carry its greetings and a message of goodwill to the [IWSA] Conference."⁷⁹ From a list of 200 candidates, they chose nineteen women to join their president Mabel G. Lewis. These twenty women, each from a different state, became ambassadors to Budapest to "offer for adoption by that assembly of splendid women a resolution embodying a plea for world-wide peace."⁸⁰ For an account of this delegation and its journey to Budapest and back, we have the very full memoir of a member, Mildred McFaden. Published in 1914, *Women Ambassadors Abroad* includes a foreword by Lewis, who sorrowfully acknowledges the outbreak of the world war but still recommends the book for its educational and historical value.⁸¹ Given the apparent paucity of sources about the AWR delegation, we remain fortunate to have McFaden's account. This memoir is a narrative account, organized in twenty-one

⁷⁸ Sandi E. Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 30-100. Sandi E. Cooper, "European Peace Advocates and the Great War: Prevention, Protest, Resignation, and Resistance," *Peace & Change* 40, no. 2 (2015): 216–25.

⁷⁹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 10.

⁸⁰ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 17.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

chapters that detail each geographic leg of their journey, interspersed with photographs of most of the ambassadors. Inside the pages are a combination of travel details, descriptions of tourist attractions and meetings, tidbits of local lore she felt deserved to be preserved, and most of all her observations and feelings about everything she saw and how they related to her mission and world-view.

A women's rights advocate from St. Louis, McFaden was the clear choice to tell the story of this international journey. Born in 1860, she was a writer and a poet. Although she mentions in the Author's note in her memoir that she had led a life fueled by ambition and dreams, constantly broadening her horizons as "dream after dream" came true, there is little known about McFaden's life. Her volume of poetry, *Blossoms by the Wayside*, had appeared in 1904.⁸² The development of steamship technology and the growing numbers of women traveling abroad since the late nineteenth century meant that the journey of the AWR delegation was neither novel nor dangerous. McFaden happily acknowledges that it was "one of the joys and privileges of our twentieth century civilization that women today may travel across the continent as luxuriously housed and as securely protected as in the seclusion of their own homes."⁸³ Her writing reflects the themes and style of any Victorian travel writer as she and the other ambassadors sight-see in cities like Berlin before they reach Budapest, yet her descriptions and reflections also convey a distinctly American view. In keeping with the spirit of the delegation, McFaden's style is upbeat. There is no hint of negativity, unless it is directed towards war and those who perpetuate violence and abuse power. Even the tossing and turning of their ship on the ocean waves is presented as exciting instead of something to induce sea-sickness. Through McFaden we can see

⁸² McFaden *Blossoms by the Wayside* (Kansas City, MO.: Hudson-Kimberly, 1904).

⁸³ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 20.

American women's rights advocates envisioning a more inclusive international alliance. We also can see them simply encountering women from other countries and experiencing cultural and gender differences. Thus McFaden reports her observations of the behavior of men and women on a steamer in Germany, her response to visits to prisons and war memorials, and even the thrill of touring the women's building at an exposition in Amsterdam that displayed pictures of the AWR company. McFaden describes what she saw and experienced as a "feast that is making our whole lives richer, deeper, broader."⁸⁴

Before turning to the journey we must consider the composition of the AWR delegation. While a prosopography or collective biography of the AWR delegation is beyond the scope of this thesis, an overview of the twenty women ambassadors and highlights of a few of the famous delegates is in order. The *New York Tribune* published a fairly comprehensive list of the delegates: Dr. Clara C. Austin, Mrs. Ida Bernart, Rev. Edith Booker, Mrs. William Grant Brown, Mrs. Edith L. Davis, Mrs. Ida L. Frint, Mrs. Zana Goodin, Mrs. M.E. Jenkins, Mrs. Mabel G. Lewis, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Mrs. Mildred S. McFaden, Mrs. Robert E. Morris, Mrs. Minnie E. Neal, Mrs. Edith D. Peck, Mrs. Katherine H. Peck, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Ridley, Mrs. Cornella S. Robinson, Mrs. Alice B. Schneider, Mrs. Annie Scott, and Dr. Emma W. Thompson.⁸⁵ Interestingly, McFaden's memoir also mentions Mrs. Claudia Hazen White and Mrs. Mattie O. Pepler taking part in the journey, but their names are missing from the *Tribune*'s list. By the same token, McFaden does not mention of Annie Scott, Mrs. Robert E. Morris, or Cornella S. Robinson. Thus the exact composition of the delegation remains something of a mystery.

⁸⁴ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 67.

⁸⁵ "Women as Doves of Peace: 20 Sup Together Before Sailing on Mission to End War," *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1913, 6.

McFaden draws a picture of a group made up of two distinct age cohorts. The old guard of veterans like Dr. Belva Ann Bennet Lockwood and Dr. Clara Austin was understood to be the experienced leaders, seasoned travelers, and most recognizable names.⁸⁶ Lockwood undertook this journey at the age of 86! She was the AWR's representative from Washington, D.C. and served as the face of their delegation in the press, most likely because of her fame. She had at least sixty years of activism behind her before she joined the AWR delegation. She was the first woman to run for president, and she did so twice as part of the Equal Rights Party in the late nineteenth century. Lockwood was a member of countless national and international women's rights, suffrage, and peace organizations.⁸⁷ By contrast, McFaden and her close friends, like Dr. Zana Goodin, were the younger guard, in their fifties and relatively new to the life of journeying in the name of women's advocacy.

All of the members had extensive experience in civic clubs, social service, and public advocacy before becoming members of the AWR. Most of these women were members of at least five clubs or societies, and many were active in well over ten. For example, Lockwood was a member of at least fifteen organizations, including the AWR, the NAWSA, and the Women's Press Association. Similarly, Mrs. William Grant Brown was a "widely known club woman" of "nationwide prominence"⁸⁸ and was president of both the Woman's Republican Club of New

⁸⁶ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 250.

⁸⁷ Jill Norgren, *Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

⁸⁸ William Grant Brown, "My Own Fault that I Lost the Wife I Still Love," *Washington Times*, November 10, 1918, n.p.

York City and the New York City Federation of Woman's Clubs.⁸⁹ It is not surprising that each ambassador possessed such a distinguished record. The AWR's nationwide vote to fill the delegation's nineteen open spots favored prominent women. Nevertheless, becoming a delegate was a privilege and, of course, an opportunity to travel around Europe in the good cause of women's rights and world peace. The *Ottumwa Tri-Weekly Courier* bragged that one local woman, Dr. Emma Wing-Thompson, had the honor of being, "out of two hundred candidates in the contest ... ranked third."⁹⁰ In the foreword to her memoir McFaden acknowledges that although she had accomplished much in her life, "an impelling force has ever urged me on to ceaseless endeavor."⁹¹ This trip to Europe as a representative of the AWR made her imagine "ambition is again tapping at my window and opportunity stands knocking at my door; and I, like a veritable vagabond, respond to the one and follow the other."⁹²

McFaden does not delve into the private lives of the delegates, choosing instead to focus on their public and political roles. She calls attention to each woman's particular interests and unique contribution to the group. Some women even split from the delegation at points in the journey to visit other meetings elsewhere in Europe. For example, McFaden characterizes all of the ambassadors as interested in civics and social service, but points out that Mrs. William Grant Brown, Mrs. Mattie O. Pepler, and Dr. Emma Wing-Thompson were "especially so."⁹³ From our vantage point, however, some of the ambassadors are intriguing at the personal or intimate

⁸⁹ "Women Delegates," *Chicago Day Book*, August 6, 1912, n.p.

⁹⁰ "Newton Woman is Given an Honor," *Ottumwa Tri-Weekly Courier*, May 22, 1913, 8.

⁹¹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, n.p.

⁹² *Ibid.*,

⁹³ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 182.

level. Minnie Neal and Marian A. Freeman formed a visible pair. McFaden often mentions Freeman as Neal's "friend and companion."⁹⁴ Together they ran a photography business, Magnolia Studios, and they were listed in the census as "partners" who lived in the same house in Florida. Neal was the better known of the two in Florida, where she was the president of the Florida branch of the WCTU. McFaden's constant linking of the two women suggests that the close relationship between Neal and Freeman was easily accepted and unquestioned. McFaden leaves the impression that the delegation, however diverse in interests and attachments, got along and traveled well together in an American spirit of internationalism.

McFaden and the ambassadors set forth on their journey with a full itinerary that balanced both activism and tourism. The "Western contingent" of the AWR peace ambassadors began their journey on May 24, 1913 by train to meet the rest of their party in New York City.⁹⁵ On May 28, 1913 the twenty women set off on the Hamburg-American liner Pretoria.⁹⁶ Their destinations included Hamburg, Berlin, Budapest, Vienna, Venice, Milan, Lucerne, Switzerland, Cologne, Amsterdam, The Hague, Ghent, Brussels, Paris, Versailles, London, and then home again. Although every detail of this journey is truly fascinating, especially to those who love to travel, I will focus on a few key interactions, including the detailed account of the AWR's time in Budapest. Although my focus in this thesis is primarily the combined suffrage and peace goals of the AWR, it is interesting to note that although the delegation did visit The Hague and the

⁹⁴ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 202.

⁹⁵ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 17.

⁹⁶ "Crowd Delays Sailing of Pretoria for Hour Saying its Goodbye: Din of Great Throng on Vessel Drowns Departure Warnings," *Evening World*, May 28, 1913, 8.

newly built Peace Palace, they arrived there one month before the Peace Congress held there in August 1913.

McFaden's account is clearly a more personal account of the IWSA congress than the official proceedings. It provides an insight into the myriad of opportunities and events this conference had to offer the women who participated in it. McFaden describes boat rides on the Danube, receptions, and banquets, as well as occasions for McFaden to see and maybe even speak with almost every prominent international women's rights activist, including American women whose names she knew, like Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, but was not personally acquainted with. One afternoon they attended a "lovely reception in honor of the ambassadors, also including Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, the well known writer" hosted by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Greenberger. The focus on her reminiscence of this event was less on her interactions and more on the skill of the Hungarian caterers in the "art of dainty confections."⁹⁷

McFaden saw her group and their journey together as famous, memorable, and historic. The greetings they received from prominent activists and writers as well as from a few random admirers, was evidence that they, and the purpose of their journey, were "well in the public eye" in Europe.⁹⁸ Indeed, they made something of a spectacle of themselves. Wherever and whenever they were at dinner, for example, they displayed the AWR's vivid colors, purple and white, for all to see. The prominent Jewish Hungarian women's rights and peace advocate Rosika Schwimmer even collected most of their pictures, noting both their names and their membership

⁹⁷ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 50.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 67.

in this delegation.⁹⁹ The sheer number of delegates created an impression. McFaden noted, “much interest was centered about our delegation. It seemed to many such a wonderful thing that so large a number of representative women should come from a country so far away.”¹⁰⁰ Hinting at her belief in the exceptionalism of American feminism, she notes that “there is magic in the words ‘United States,’ and all who could understand our language at all were interested in the Woman’s Republic, and have great faith in American women.”¹⁰¹

3.3 At the Congress: The Global Visions of the American Woman’s Republic and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance

The main purpose of the American Woman’s Republic delegation was to attend the IWSA congress in Budapest and present a resolution to the women’s suffragists of many countries assembled there. It appears that although they submitted their resolution to the IWSA, it was never read out loud or adopted by their congress. However, McFaden notes that their message and resolution were given to the Associated Press of Europe through Mrs. Andrea Hofer

⁹⁹ These photographs can be found in the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection at the New York Public Library. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/schwimmer-lloyd-collection-1852-1980-bulk-1890-1960#/?tab=navigation&roots=5ee84810-c5dc-012f-7ae8-58d385a7bc34/5f35a1b0-c5dc-012f-e5f1-58d385a7bc34/5f9fa1a0-c5dc-012f-2ce9-58d385a7bc34/5fe9c8a0-c5dc-012f-2986-58d385a7bc34/4:68df55e0-c5dc-012f-4f67-58d385a7bc34>

¹⁰⁰ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 50.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Proudfoot, “long associated with Baroness Von Suttner.”¹⁰² McFaden includes a copy of their message, the official resolution, and a sonnet (written by McFaden) that were among the materials given to the Associated Press of Europe in her memoir. Their Resolution was titled *Peace Message of the Ambassadors of the Woman’s Republic* and was signed by all of the ambassadors. The message was concluded with a succinct resolution that asked the IWSA to agree, “the sense of its members is opposed to war as against the interest of humanity,” and to recommend that “all difficulties hereafter between nations shall be settled by reference to The Hague Court or by arbitration.”¹⁰³

Their message emphasized that their mission against war and the increase of armaments was “woman’s cause,” and that if the IWSA joined in their fight for world peace it would advance both causes equally. It echoed the inclusive language of the IWSA’s invitations to the Budapest congress, as the AWR extended their “hearty invitation regardless of nationality, religion, political affiliation.”¹⁰⁴ Additionally it took up the language of women’s inherent duty to promote world peace, since the “burdens, the horrors, the sacrifices of war fall most heavily upon them, for they furnish the real sinews of war in their own flesh and blood!”¹⁰⁵

McFaden includes a sonnet she wrote with the AWR resolution titled *Lay Down Your Arms: Woman’s Plea for Peace*:¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 51.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ The title *Lay Down Your Arms* was clearly inspired by the book *Lay Down Your Arms* written by Nobel Peace Prize Winner Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) in 1889. See Bertha von

Lay down your arms: the time, long-promised, nears—
 In vision seen by prophet-seers of old—
 The end of was in all the earth foretold—
 When men shall beat to pruning-hooks their spears,
 And swords to plowshares, knowing hence no fears;
 ...
 Then let our armies and our navies learn
 The arts of peace, and make the deserts bloom;
 In reaper's song forget the cannon's boom,
 And battle-ships to trading-ships will turn.
 Peace, world-wide peace, with all its blessed charms—
 Is woman's plea today: Lay down your arms!¹⁰⁷

This sonnet reflects the same sentiments and utilizes the same language as the AWR resolution. At this time in the women's rights and peace movements, many were still using perceived differences between women and men as the grounds for enfranchising women and welcoming their influence on policy. Women's special characteristics as mothers and caregivers were cited as reasons why they should participate in politics, protest against war, and protect and improve the world. McFaden and the American Woman's Republic upheld these arguments for

Suttner, *Lay Down Your Arms: The Autobiography of Martha von Tilling* (London: Longmans, Green, 1892); Women in World History, "Bertha von Suttner: The Nobel Peace Prize," accessed January 1, 2016. <http://www.womeninworldhistory.com/contemporary-02.html>

¹⁰⁷ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 57.

women's moral superiority and subsequent eligibility for full citizenship. One line of the poem encompasses the message she repeats on almost every page of her memoir "each agonizing cry, That rises from the trench in death struck-woe, Strikes womankind with even fiercer blow."¹⁰⁸ McFaden argues that as much as men suffer in war, the women who stay at home suffer even more.

In the final passage of the poem, the imagery turns from that of the battlefield to that of the home front, the supposed domain of women. Their sharp, destructive weapons are turned to curved, more constructive tools at the behest of women's pleas. McFaden's message is clear: turn to construction and caring love, turn away from destruction and fear-inducing violence.

Although the ideas and sentiments of the AWR resolution probably were not controversial among many IWSA delegates, it does not appear evident in the official transcript that the congress formally discussed it. There is some evidence that the presence of the AWR delegation prompted a certain amount of concern and debate about the role of fraternal delegates. However there is no evidence of this concern in McFaden's memoir. She expresses her joy at their cordial welcome as they were "greeted by a reception committee." She also notes their registration fees were paid in advance by E.G. Lewis and that they received "badges, programs, tablets etc." and "nicely trimmed lead pencils bearing the legend 'Votes for Women'" that awaited them in individual envelopes. She mentions "it is gratifying to record that we secure representation to which we were entitled as fraternal delegates, choosing by ballot Mrs. William Grant Brown ... to present our peace message and resolution."¹⁰⁹ In addition to McFaden's perception of the AWR's reception, the newspapers at home were reporting the success of their

¹⁰⁸ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 56.

¹⁰⁹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 44.

mission as well. The *Washington Herald* reported that as “attorney general” of the AWR, it was Belva Lockwood who “delivered [an] address” on the subject of peace and submitted the resolution to the congress.¹¹⁰ They even printed the full version of the message and the resolution. The next month they reported that the “peace message,” “carried by Americans,” was “well received” and “adopted by the International suffrage congress.”¹¹¹ These conflicting accounts of the reception of the delegation shed an interesting light on the IWSA and the problem of women’s internationalism in a globalizing age.

In 1913, as evident in *Report of Seventh Congress*, the IWSA was grappling with several interrelated challenges as the suffrage movement grew, more women in the U.S. and Europe were enfranchised, and women in Asia and the colonial world became visibly active around women’s rights, social reform, and anticolonialism. How should the IWSA deal with countries where women’s suffragists were not united in a single organization that could serve as the national auxiliary of the international alliance? How should it regard party politics, both before and after women’s suffragists became women citizens? How should it build alliances with women in Egypt, Turkey, India, China, Japan, and elsewhere, whose groups were scattered and whose agendas were broader than suffrage?

It is hard to tell exactly what happened when the AWR delegation arrived in Budapest and sought credentials to attend the congress. What follows is based on a reading of the IWSA’s

¹¹⁰ “Peace Plea By Belva Lockwood: Delivers Address on Subject at Suffrage Congress at Budapest,” *Washington Herald*, July 7, 1913, 3.

¹¹¹ “Peace Message Well Received: Adopted by the International Suffrage Congress at Budapest, Carried by Americans,” *Washington Herald*, August 17, 1913, 3.

Report of Seventh Congress. Further research in other sources will undoubtedly clarify our understanding. What we know is that the IWSA eventually recognized Mrs. Wm. Grant Brown as the AWR “fraternal delegate” and Mrs. Mildred S. McFaden as the “alternate” delegate.¹¹² This only came about after the NAWSA delegation, representing the alliance’s U.S. auxiliary, had discussed the matter and made the recommendation to the congress that one member of the AWR be so recognized.¹¹³ The question of fraternal delegates became a minor subject of debate, such as what body could approve a person for the status of fraternal delegate, and the Executive Board took it up, only to put off further consideration to another day.¹¹⁴ Significantly, Carrie Chapman Catt stressed that “the Alliance desires the presence of fraternal delegates and their co-operation, and it wishes them to feel the warmth and sincerity of its welcome.”¹¹⁵ Concerned about reciprocity in the women’s movement, she wanted a policy that would not jeopardize the opportunity of IWSA representatives to attend the meetings of other groups. The Executive Board named only three fraternal delegates to speak to the congress, none of whom came from the ranks of the American Woman’s Republic.¹¹⁶ The *Report of Seventh Congress* does record that the AWR sent a communication to the congress.¹¹⁷

¹¹² International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary, June 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1913* (Manchester: Percy Brothers, 1913), 28.

¹¹³ International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress*, 35.

¹¹⁴ International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress*, 29-31, 67.

¹¹⁵ Carrie Chapman Catt, “Fraternal Delegates,” *Jus Suffragii*, July 15, 1913, 4-5. See also International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress*, 35.

¹¹⁶ International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress*, 48-49, 57-58.

¹¹⁷ International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress*, 69.

McFaden's account of the congress does not allude to any drama as to the status of fraternal delegates. She attributed what she saw as their "cordial welcome" to the "strong bond of good will" that was "uniting all the lands under the common interest of woman's advancement."¹¹⁸ This echoes the inclusive public statements Catt made about the 1913 IWSA congress. McFaden's observations often circled back to reflect her American roots. She noted that in the Convention Hall where the flags of "well-nigh every civilized country" were hung "Old Glory [was] holding the position of honor over the center of the rostrum."¹¹⁹ She was proud that the president of the IWSA, Carrie Chapman Catt, was "an American and big enough for her office," and continued to list the other notable American women, like Jane Addams and May Wright Sewall, whose presence made her proud to be an American feminist.¹²⁰

Although the war in the Balkans pointed to the danger of a larger conflict in "the West," the AWR delegation's peace message and resolution diverged from the IWSA's focus on women in "the East." As we have seen, Carrie Chapman Catt and the IWSA had become aware of the worldwide "awakening" of women, especially in Asia, and were anxious to make contact with their leaders and organizations. The women Catt and Jacobs met on their world tour in 1911-12 opened up the possibility that some would attend the IWSA's congress in 1913. There were high hopes that at least some women from the Muslim world or East Asia would be able to travel to Budapest and take part in what would then be a truly global encounter and exchange. In the end, the congress received communications from individuals and groups but no women from western

¹¹⁸ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 44.

¹¹⁹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 45.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

or eastern Asia attended the congress. In their absence, the gift of a silk banner from Chinese women became the focus of attention.

It was perhaps ironic that McFaden and her fellow AWR ambassadors, who had reached the congress, witnessed the IWSA's intense interest in the missing women of Asia. Through her eyes we can see some of the obstacles to a more inclusive women's movement. As much as Catt promoted international cooperation, regardless of race, color, religion, or nation, there were still practical and political roadblocks in the way. Muslim women had particular concerns and needs traveling in Europe, while Chinese women were passing through a revolution in their country and probably lacked the resources to undertake an even longer and more expensive journey to Europe. McFaden describes the ceremony when the Chinese banner was unfurled "amid great applause" in the Convention Hall where the flags from all the participating countries were on display. Her account points to both the lofty expectations and the real limitations of the movement. On the flag were the words, written in Chinese, "Let us hold together we are working for the same ideals." She observes that "to the uninitiated the inscription looked very much like an oriental laundry mark," but also admits that it is a "very beautiful sentiment" that "shows that the great upward impulse in the breath of woman is making itself felt even in that far-off land of bandaged feet and bondaged souls."¹²¹ In light of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the marginalization of Chinese people in the U.S. in Chinatowns and in occupations like laundry work, and the large-scale American missionary effort in China, including the campaign against foot-binding, her choice of words is quite interesting. Moreover, she echoes previous statements by Catt, who had made reference to the "bondage" of Asian women. Clearly, despite her somewhat ambivalent language, McFaden did express solidarity with Chinese women. One

¹²¹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 44-45.

wonders what impact the presence of women from China would have had on her and her fellow AWR delegates. Recalling her subsequent visit to the Peace Palace in The Hague, McFaden comments that every country had had the opportunity to contribute to it, “Hungary, Turkey, Romania, Brazil, San Salvador, Russia, China—all countries in fact—are represented by some fitting offering to the noble peace edifice.”¹²² Again, in the absence of actual encounters and exchanges with women from countries of the East and the South, one wonders how they figured in the AWR’s international mission of peace in 1913.

3.4 Conclusion

The historian Harriet Alonso argues that there were “no organizations that linked peace and nonviolence with women’s concerns before 1914.”¹²³ However, as we have seen, the travel advocacy of the American Woman’s Republic delegation combined passionate support for women’s rights and world peace. Their extended journey to promote peace at the IWSA congress shows a real desire to win over other women to these twin causes. McFaden’s American feminism overlaps in significant ways with the international feminisms of Carrie Chapman Catt and Margaret Hodge that I explored in the first chapter. However, McFaden lets a degree of American exceptionalism slip into her account. For example, she puts forth a very American defense of capitalism in her comparison of American and European railways. She brags that the food and other amenities are much better on trains in America than Europe. This is, to her, “a convincing argument against governmental control of such utilities, for competition is eliminated, and without competition there is not that incentive toward improvement, elegance

¹²² McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 196.

¹²³ Alonso, *Peace As a Women's Issue*, 20.

and luxuriousness.”¹²⁴ However, the overall purpose of her book is to perpetuate universal cooperation and peace. She exclaims “it is indeed gratifying to realize that the desire for peace is becoming not only international, but universal; and who so eminently fitted to plead for it as women! Upon them fall most heavily the burdens and ravages of war!”¹²⁵ She follows this message up with an assertion that surely the women of Europe are looking to the women of America for “help and inspiration.”¹²⁶ In this one statement she encompasses her hope for the growing internationalism, her belief in women’s responsibility to foster peace, and her American feminist exceptionalism.

A little more than one year after the IWSA met in Budapest the First World War broke out in the summer of 1914. Women’s suffragists and pacifists met again, this time in The Hague, less than a year later in the spring of 1915. The International Congress of Women urgently discussed the war and how women could help end it. Building on the work of women already begun in various countries, it created the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. At the next postwar congress in 1919, this organization became the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).¹²⁷ Rupp has shown how connections between transnational women’s organizations whose membership was based mostly in the “neo-

¹²⁴ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 42.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Leila J. Rupp, “Challenging Imperialism in International Women’s Organizations, 1888-1945,” *NWSA Journal* 8, no. 1 (1996): 8–27.

Europes” led to the creation of the IWSA and WILPF.¹²⁸ Rupp argues that WILPF “led the way in fostering a transcendent internationalism.”¹²⁹ Members of this organization were more likely to argue against merely national activism and instead to encourage the strengthening of an international women’s community.¹³⁰ Throughout McFaden’s memoir there is ample evidence that the AWR would have completely supported this goal. The AWR resolution argued “it is left ... for women to form a world-wide government of their own that the governments of men shall be made to respect and abide by the dictum of women.”¹³¹ Not only had they formed an organization meant to be an all women parallel to that of the republic of the U.S., but they now wanted the women of the world to join them in “forming one great international republic of women whose votes, influence, and power shall make war forever impossible.”¹³²

In the next chapter we will follow the story of a woman who traveled to the congress in The Hague in 1915 and returned to Europe two more times before the war came to an end. A woman journalist traveling alone, Madeline Zabriskie Doty faced much more hardship in these wartime circumstances. As perhaps the times demanded, Doty was more radical than Mildred McFaden. Armed with only her journalistic credentials and \$500 for starving German children in her pocket, Doty went to places like Germany and Russia to find stories of war, unrest, and

¹²⁸ Rupp, “Challenging Imperialism in International Women’s Organizations, 1888-1945,” 8.

¹²⁹ Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 118.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad*, 54.

¹³² Ibid.

revolution unlike those sent home by male war correspondents. She did this by combining her perspectives as a woman, a women's rights activist, and a peace advocate. The impact of her experiences affected the rest of her life, which she devoted to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and other initiatives to promote peace and understanding.

3.5 APPENDIX

PEACE MESSAGE OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE WOMAN'S REPUBLIC

To the International Suffrage Congress at Budapest, Hungary, June 16th, 1913.

Madame President and Ladies: We are twenty Ambassadors of the American Woman's Republic, elected by popular vote of that body, headquarters at University City, St. Louis, United States of America—and representing every state in the Union—who have come bearing you a message of peace in your great struggle for political equality.

We wish to accentuate our interest in, and to advance your cause—which is woman's cause—by inviting you to co-operate with the Woman's Republic in a world-wide crusade against war and in the increase of armaments. We extend you this hearty invitation regardless of nationality, religion, political affiliation, or clubs to which you may belong.

We believe that war settles nothing, except the question of who is the stronger, leaving the difficulties which brought on the war be settled later by intervention, arbitration and concession.

War is a relic of barbarism of the past that should no longer be entered into by any Christian or civilized nation.

Women, in the past, have not been consulted by any nation with reference to declaration of war by their country with other nations—yet they have always been the principal sufferers, The burden, the horrors, the sacrifices of war fall most heavily upon them, for they furnish the real sinews of war in their own flesh and blood! It is for the purpose of changing these conditions, and doing away with war, that we have come to this Hungarian capital, which wise ruler has refrained from plunging his country in war—to this great international congress of

women which has aroused the attention of the world—to ask your co-operation in extending our organization to every civilized nation of the earth, thereby forming one great international republic of women whose votes, influence and power shall make war forever impossible.

It seems today that the abolition of war, and the reduction of armament—the steady increase of powers and bankrupting the smaller nations—must come through the influence and power of the educated, cultivated and emancipated women of the world—such women as compose this great international congress.

War is decimating, degenerating and impoverishing the nations of the earth. We are groaning under the burden of wars past, present and the dread of wars to come, the burden of which fall directly on the women, and which has been turned, on this continent, the armed peace!

No higher purpose or mission could be conceived by woman today as she enters into her new and greater activities of life—a full partner in the political world with man—than to relegate war to the past, along with other barbarisms.

This, one of the great objects, accomplished, the Woman's Republic of the world will have achieved its highest mission and performed the greatest service in the history of the human race!

Governments deal with governments alone. It is left, therefore, for women to form a world-wide government of their own, that the governments of men shall be made to respect and abide by the dictum of women that war shall cease. Only by such methods does it seem that war will ever be abolished. The peace missions of men have failed. We have undertaken this as the supreme task and principal purpose of the Woman's Republic for

“The greatest battle that ever was fought
 We will tell you where and where;
 In the books of battle you’ll find it not,
 ‘Twas fought by the mothers of men.”

We therefore beg leave of this International Congress of Women to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, by this international body, that the sense of its members is opposed to war as against the interest of humanity, and that the increase of military and naval armaments is a useless expenditure opposed to the public good, and that we, as a body, recommend that all difficulties hereafter between nations shall be settled by reference to The Hague Court or by arbitration.

Signed by all of the Ambassadors.

LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS.

Woman’s Plea for Peace

By Mildred S. McFaden,

I.

Lay down your arms; refuse to longer wear
 The cursed mark of Cain upon your brow;
 O, realize that men are brothers now,
 That Love, not Hate, the victor’s palm shall bear.
 No longer strive to conquer to ensnare—
 By brutal force bid weaker people bow
 The neck of galling yoke; instead, allow
 All equal right in Life’s great good to share.
 O, pride, and pomp, and power, and lace of gold,
 O, panoply of war, O, shot and shell,
 No language do you speak save that of Hell!

None else could voice the cruel story told.
 Forsake the evil: humankind it harms,
 Lay down your arms, in peace, lay down your arms!

II.

Lay down your arms: the soul of war is dead—
 That sense of chivalry, that daring bold
 Which led crusade and pilgrimage of old—
 When valiant knights on field of honor bled
 And romance o'er their deeds its glamour shed.
 But modern warfare speaks in figures cold,
 In strength or armaments, in terms of gold,
 And writes its ghastly tale in carnage red!
 Let nations all agree to arbitrate,
 And stop the precious toll of human life—
 The flower of our youth—prevent the strife;
 Before a gun is fired, capitulate:
 Since peace through arbitration must be wrought,
 O, make it first instead of last resort.

III.

Lay down your arms; each agonizing cry,
 That rises from the trench in death-struck woe,
 Strikes womankind with even fiercer blow—
 And mothers broken-hearted, question why,
 If war is right, and men like dogs must die,
 Why through the shadow of death's valley go,
 In pain and travail only they can know,
 To bear and nurture sons for slaughter—why?
 But woman's hour has struck: her soul demands
 That war shall cease: and who hath better right,
 To blot from earth the crime, the curse, the blight,
 To wash accusing stain from human hands!
 The goal she sees is free from war's alarms,
 The Brotherhood of Man: lay down your arms!

IV.

Lay down your arms: the time, long-promised, nears—
 In vision seen by prophet-seers of old—
 The end of war in all the earth foretold—
 When men shall beat to pruning-hooks their spears,
 And swords to plowshares, knowing hence no fears;
 When wolf and lamb together in one fold
 Shall fee—for none shall hurt or kill—behold,

“A little child shall lead them.” Love appears!
Then let our armies and our navies learn
 The arts of peace, and make the deserts bloom,
And battle-ships to trading-ships will turn.
 Peace, world-wide peace, with all its blessed charms—
 Is woman’s plea today: Lay down your arms!

Source: Mildred Susan Garrett McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad* (St. Louis, MO: Mangan Printing Company, 1914), 52-56.

4 ONE WOMAN'S "BRAVE SPIRIT": THE WARTIME JOURNEYS AND JOURNALISM OF MADELEINE Z. DOTY

Thus equipped I stepped forth into life. With eagerness and pride I set out to remake the
world ... I was the master of my soul.

Madeleine Zabriskie Doty

There was a culture of anxiety surrounding the increased mobility and movement of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The proper etiquette for traveling women, as well as questions about their safety, were topics that dotted every kind of newspaper and even many etiquette books for ladies.¹³³ In 1909, the *Evening Times*, a newspaper in Grand Forks, North Dakota, published an article on etiquette for women traveling alone with helpful hints such as: "a woman traveling alone should be as unobtrusive as possible." It also recommended "the confiding and helpless woman should never travel anywhere alone. Self reliance is one of the first requisites of a good traveler."¹³⁴

Despite this anxiety, the women advocacy travelers I cover in this thesis flouted the restrictions of Victorian etiquette — none more than Madeleine Zabriskie Doty (1877-1963). She

¹³³ Many popular etiquette books addressed the behavior expected of ladies whilst traveling. For example, see Florence Hartley, *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness: A Complete Handbook for the use of the Lady in Polite Society* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers; New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1872).

¹³⁴ "Etiquette - Hints For the Woman Traveling Alone," *Evening Times*, August 24, 1909, n.p.

traveled alone, she traveled far and wide, and she traveled during a time of war. However she may have been scared, her father was right to tell her that this “was far too big a thing to miss.”¹³⁵ Emmeline Pethick Lawrence described Doty in her autobiography as a woman “always keen for adventure.”¹³⁶ Her journeys placed her in the right place at the right time to report on the most newsworthy things happening in a world at war. There is not much historical work on Doty’s life before she became the secretary of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). *Women Heroes of WWI* briefly points out the importance of Doty’s wartime journalism and acknowledges the influence of women’s journalism in shaping perceptions of the war.¹³⁷ In this chapter, I want to deepen our knowledge of Doty by closely reading her stories and her autobiography. I will trace the development of her feminist and pacifist consciousness, showing how international travel expanded her horizons. I will also show how her gender complicated her journeys, looking into the way conveyances, like train cars and steamships, were gendered spaces. Finally, I will show how Doty’s journeys between 1915 and 1918 not only changed the course of her life as a journalist and activist but also profoundly affected her vision of an inclusive worldwide women’s rights movement.

Doty was an American lawyer, pacifist, women’s rights activist, journalist, author, and

¹³⁵ Madeleine Z. Doty and Alice Duffy Rinehart, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 164.

¹³⁶ Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1976), 315.

¹³⁷ Kathryn J. Attwood, *Women Heroes of World War I: 16 Remarkable Resisters, Soldiers, Spies, and Medics* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2014), 196-205.

world traveler. She traveled abroad three times during the world war. The first time she went as a member of a delegation led by Jane Addams to The Hague in 1915. Her second journey was undertaken as a war correspondent from the U.S., a neutral country at the time, in Germany in 1916. Her reporting from home-front Germany was fairly remarkable. The third time she ventured abroad, Doty was an established, prolific journalist reporting for *Good Housekeeping Magazine* on a true trip “around the world,” going to Japan, China, Siberia, and the revolutionary heartlands of Russia in 1917.¹³⁸

The historian Patricia Netzley argues that “prior to the mid-twentieth century, women were discouraged from traveling at all ... and even then they were typically chaperoned by male relatives.”¹³⁹ Traveling female journalists like Doty did not usually have the luxury of a companion, much less a maid or chaperone. An American male friend of Doty’s even commented on this during her journey to Germany, which she duly noted in an article published in the *New York Tribune*. He “almost order[ed]’ her home and he declared that ‘America forgets ... that Europe is at war and Germany is no place for a woman.’”¹⁴⁰ However, her status as a woman journalist also created singular experiences for her as well, giving her a unique perspective compared to her male counterparts. This perspective, as well as her intrepid spirit and inspired writing, makes Madeline Zabriskie Doty a fascinating subject of study.

¹³⁸ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 165.

¹³⁹ Patricia D. Netzley, *The Encyclopedia of Women’s Travel and Exploration* (Westport, CT: Oryx Press, 2001), x.

¹⁴⁰ Madeleine Z. Doty, “Suffering in Germany Deep, Says Miss Doty,” *New-York Tribune*, November 12, 1916, 14.

4.1 The Life of Madeleine Z. Doty

To understand the development of Doty's feminist consciousness, we turn to her autobiography and her early journalistic work. Doty received a well-rounded education from Sophia Smith College and then earned a law degree from New York University in 1902. For five years she practiced law in Greenwich Village in New York City, every year getting more and more involved in advocating for those who could not always advocate for themselves, like prisoners, women, and children.¹⁴¹ Through her passionate work she fell in with a "radical contingent of young, educated, working female reformers" and became part of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), one of the forerunners of the WILPF.¹⁴² This led to her first international journey with Jane Addams and forty-three other American women to attend the pro-peace International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915. On this journey, she represented the Women's Lawyers Association and worked as a reporter for *Century Magazine* and a special correspondent for the New York *Evening Post*.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ In 1916 Doty published her first book *Society's Misfits*, a collection of her published articles that describe her time moonlighting as a prisoner in order to fully understand the needs of the prisoners and discover the key to prison reform. See Madeline Z. Doty, *Society's Misfits* (New York: The Century Co., 1916).

¹⁴² Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), 108-112.

¹⁴³ Madeleine Z. Doty and Alice Duffy Rinehart, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 133.

In *Hints to Lady Travelers* (1889), Victorian travel writer Lillian Campbell Davidson declared that “none is more excellent in itself and its results, than the power which has become the right of every woman who has the means to achieve it—of becoming her own unescorted and independent person, a lady traveller.”¹⁴⁴ It was through Doty’s membership of different women’s associations and her position as an educated, professional woman that she was able to secure jobs as a journalist and obtain opportunities to travel abroad independently. After her first journey overseas, Doty continued to develop both pacifist and feminist opinions. In her autobiography, written in her later years in life and edited and published after her death by Alice Duffy Reinhart, she described herself as a “suffragette, a woman lawyer, and a wild young radical.”¹⁴⁵ With this in mind, Doty set out across the sea again to Germany in July 1916 as a war correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and the *Chicago Tribune*. On her return she published numerous articles and then combined them into a successful book entitled *Short Rations*.¹⁴⁶ They detailed her journey as a representative not only of the United States but also of women journalists. In her writing Doty paints a picture of herself as a rebellious and dogged investigative reporter, unwilling to be fooled by any German-organized “official press tour.” She felt that her journey to Germany to get the real story was her own personal battle, though she did “not feel at all brave.

¹⁴⁴ Jane Robinson, ed., *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travelers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 17.

¹⁴⁵ Doty and Rinehart, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 86.

¹⁴⁶ Madeleine Z. Doty, *Short Rations: Experiences of an American Woman in Germany* (New York: A.L. Burt, 1917).

It is like going to battle. I'm shivering, homesick, and terribly excited."¹⁴⁷ Before her journey she had been inundated with tales of accosted travelers and tortured prisoners. It did not help quell her fear that on the boat from Britain to the Continent she encountered an English officer who, because of some vague cables she had received calling her a "brave spirit," suspected she was a spy.¹⁴⁸ When she arrived in Germany, she walked the streets and talked to a myriad of civilians of different socio-economic statuses. She particularly noted the children and mothers standing in ration lines, close to starving. On a subsequent official press tour, which Doty describes as a one of the "magnificent feat in German propaganda," she kept all of these stark images in her mind as the German government paraded her and her fellow journalists through the streets.¹⁴⁹ Their hosts stuffed them with food at banquets and did everything they could to display Germany's continued strength and resources. She said that it was "no wonder reporters who make official tours of and never see anything else of Germany report the land flowing with plenty."¹⁵⁰

Doty's journey was harrowing as well as eye-opening. Based on what she had observed on the home front, she came to the conclusion that Germany, although still doing well militarily, would lose the war because the suffering of the civilian population would make its internal situation untenable. She noted that, although the people of Germany could live on the food

¹⁴⁷ Madeleine Z. Doty, "Suffering in Germany Deep, Says Miss Doty," *New-York Tribune*, November 12, 1916, 14.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Madeleine Z. Doty, "German Prisons Full, But Clamor for Peace Cannot be Quelled," *New York Tribune*, December 10, 1916, 1.

¹⁵⁰ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 149.

scraps the government gave them, “patriotism and tempers suffer.”¹⁵¹ Dotted throughout her articles and books was a clear message: Germany was not unstoppable, and the war might end with a whimper and not a bang.¹⁵² The *New York Tribune* ran ten of Doty’s articles on the front page every Sunday from November 12, 1916 through January 14, 1917. The resulting publicity brought Doty’s name before the public and made an unmistakable impact on American readers’ perceptions of the war.

On her return to the U.S. in 1917, Doty became an editor with her friend Crystal Eastman of *Four Lights*, the radical paper of the New York Woman’s Peace Party.¹⁵³ In a letter of January 13, 1917, to Dr. Maria Montessori, Fannie May Witherspoon, a Christian socialist and another co-editor of *Four Lights*, described the purpose of the paper as “striking what seems to us a much needed note of internationalism in these days of universal warfare and national strife ... the contributors will be chiefly women, and the issues of feminism and peace will naturally go hand in hand.”¹⁵⁴ Reporting war news from a feminist and pacifist lens, it published articles featuring a “gender-based critique of American society and democracy.”¹⁵⁵ For contributors to *Four*

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 139.

¹⁵² T.S. Elliot, All Poetry, “The Hollow Men,” accessed January 3, 2016, <http://allpoetry.com/The-Hollow-Men>.

¹⁵³ Crystal Eastman was a social work activist, member of the Woman’s Peace Party, and much more. For more on Eastman, see Blanche Wiesen Cook, ed., *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

¹⁵⁴ Quoted in Frances H. Early, *A World Without War: How U.S. Feminists Resisted World War I* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 18.

¹⁵⁵ Endres and Lueck, *Women’s Periodicals in the United States*, 110.

Lights, women's rights, antiwar, and civil liberties activism were meant to coincide. An article in the *New York Tribune* recognized *Four Lights*, noting that the paper was opposed to anything to do with the war, but "its special appeal is to women, who are told that the war will rob them of their 'rights.'"¹⁵⁶ Its biting critique of militarism, sexism, and racism is perhaps why the U.S. government shut down the paper just a year after it began publishing. Though Doty wrote her war reports and her *Four Lights* articles from the same personal perspective and with the same pacifist and feminist goals, she was able to be more pointed and radical in *Four Lights*. However, her feminist and pacifist goals were still present and prominent throughout her wartime journals.

Despite her many friends and outlets for her activism in the U.S., Doty was not content to stay at home for long. In her autobiography she notes, "there is a great fascination about warring Europe. Across the seas a world drama is being enacted. One cannot stay away."¹⁵⁷ After spending just a few months at home, Doty again left the United States as a correspondent for *Good Housekeeping Magazine* in September 1917. By this time the U.S. had entered the war. This trip was far more extensive, taking her around the world to Canada, Japan, Korea, China, Russia from Siberia to Europe, Sweden, Norway, France, and Britain, and then back to New York. Like Catt and Jacob's journey in 1911, Doty used her tour as opportunity to make a report on the status of women, politics, and culture around the world and send it home to a receptive national audience. She made some particularly interesting observations about what she saw as the contrast between the cultures of Japan and China. She liked Japan's cleanliness and orderliness, but she saw the country as extremely old-fashioned, as if the Japanese were "still

¹⁵⁶ "Women Pacifists Urge Opposition to All War Plans," *New-York Tribune*, August 13, 1917.

¹⁵⁷ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 165.

back in the eighteenth century.”¹⁵⁸ The acceptance of “western innovations,” like electric lighting, did not fit in with this quaint vision, however, which she felt spoiled the “delicacy and charm” of Japan.¹⁵⁹ By contrast, she noted that China was noticeably more dirty and chaotic than Japan. However, she argued China was more “modern” because the Chinese had planted the “seeds of democracy.”¹⁶⁰ Like Catt back in 1911-12, Doty was more likely to connect with people she saw as actively struggling for their rights, such as the women of China. Notwithstanding the positive qualities of Japanese culture, she identified with Chinese women because they were “fighting towards freedom and looking to the future” in spite the fact that she reported “half the women still had bound feet.”¹⁶¹

She views both Japan and China as still behind the times in terms of women’s rights. In Japan she says “the women were voiceless. They could not attend political meetings ... the marriage customs were often degrading ... The women were still living in the middle ages.”¹⁶² It is the conditions of women where she sees the biggest difference between the modernity of China and Japan. Although she observed that women were still “inferior to men” in China, they were rebellious enough to push against this subordination.¹⁶³ Again her sentiments are reminiscent of Catt’s views, who saw any country in which women had at least started the process of gaining more rights as more progressive, and any country in which women made no

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 166.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 168.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., 166.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 168.

attempt at political and social change as backwards.

When she returned from this journey to the U.S. in 1918, Doty published *Behind the Battle Lines*. This book was a compilation of her articles and notes from her journey around the world, focusing especially on her time in Russia. She describes the book as “a bird’s eye view of a mixed up world, with a glimpse of the new spiritual order which arises out of the muddle.”¹⁶⁴ After her foray to “the East,” Doty set off across Siberia on a train, arriving in European Russia just a few days after Lenin’s revolutionaries had taken power in Petrograd. She stayed in the country for over two months, observing the chaos of an ongoing revolution and the formation of a “working class government.”¹⁶⁵ She even met Lenin and Trotsky as well as heard them speak at a meeting of the Congress of Soviets at the Smolny Institute. As a complete outsider, Doty’s observations are invaluable. She thought hard over the problems and challenges of the Russian revolution, believing that “changes had come too quickly. The pendulum had swung too far to the left. It could not remain there.”¹⁶⁶ As part of a radical group of feminists and peace advocates, Doty could appreciate the Bolsheviks’ belief in progress. Yet she postulated that the new government in Russia was so radical it had swung the pendulum “clean out of the twentieth century.”¹⁶⁷ Again we see her pacifist and feminist roots in her solution, for she believed what Russia needed was “not more force, but ... understanding, sympathy, and love.”¹⁶⁸

Doty could not leave Russia without seeking out women activists. She dedicated an

¹⁶⁴ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 165.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

entire chapter to “The Women of Russia.” Her assignment from *Good Housekeeping* had been to observe how the woman’s movement in Russia fared during the revolution. However, she found this difficult because there was no separate, autonomous women’s rights movement. Any activism had been swallowed up by the revolution, led mostly by men. The All Russian League for Women’s Enfranchisement, 40,000 women strong, had formed and marched to Tauride Palace, but after the women obtained the vote in March 1917 their movement all but disappeared. Doty interviewed two prominent Russian women, Alexandra Kollantai, the only woman Bolshevik in Lenin’s cabinet, and Maria Spiridonova, a member of the peasant-based Social Revolutionary Party. Doty did not make as much mention of everyday women as she had in Germany. Perhaps this is because she believed the majority of Russian women, largely peasants and workers, had chosen to become genderless “comrades.”¹⁶⁹

4.2 Gendered Journeys

One of the most significant aspects of Doty’s journeys was the gendered experience of independent travel. In 1913, the *Chicago Day Book* carried a short story that played on the anxiety accompanying the growing phenomenon of the solo woman traveler. It featured a “gallant old man” who is trying to address a woman traveling alone on a train about the differences he perceives between women in the past and contemporary women. However, as he tries to direct the conversation to his thoughts, he is continuously and hilariously interrupted by the woman with her own (and the reader gleans *more important*) questions and observations about their journey. Eventually the man “retired into his corner looking as if something had rubbed against his placidity of mind”; that “something” of course was the lack of fear and

¹⁶⁹ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 189.

deference of this modern traveling woman.¹⁷⁰

In Doty's travel writing the precariousness and oddity of her status as a single foreign woman, especially in dangerous war-torn countries, is always to the fore in the narrative. A British man she met on her way out of Germany found her, "a woman who had been seen through Germany," to be a "curiosity."¹⁷¹ The fact that she was a woman who saw things from a distinct perspective and said so added another level of significance to her solo journeys. The editor of the *New York Tribune* told her "we want the truth; we think you'll tell it."¹⁷² Doty's gendered journeys presented many challenges, allowed for interesting perspectives, and provided her singular opportunities. Her journeys and journalism illuminate the gap between the conventions of etiquette and the realities of life, from the gendered nature of public spaces associated with travel to Doty's own growing sense of feminist and pacifist internationalism.

The historian Patricia Netzley argues that challenges for modern woman travelers like Doty included "safety and health concerns, equipment needs, and cultural differences that subject them to sexual harassment."¹⁷³ Harassment was certainly a concern of Doty's. She confided "daily I grow more nervous. Fear possesses me. It is said that every woman who enters Germany is subjected to a sickening and disgusting personal search, and the tales of hunger and imprisonment, the fate of all foreigners in Germany, are appalling. Can I carry my task

¹⁷⁰ "Saw a Difference," *Chicago Day Book*, May 14, 1913, n.p.

¹⁷¹ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 158.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁷³ Netzley, *The Encyclopedia of Women's Travel and Exploration*, 43.

through?”¹⁷⁴ Not only was she a foreigner, but she was also a foreign woman, a fact that was unlikely to go unnoticed as she traveled between countries and across battle lines. Nor was her fear of being “stripped and searched” completely unwarranted.¹⁷⁵ Each time she crossed the borders, especially when she was leaving Germany, they searched through everything she owned and usually detained her for hours, sometimes a few days. Luckily, she had the forethought to copy her journalist notes down on napkins and sew them into her coat, a trick she learned from her time researching prisons from within their walls.

Doty encountered a similar blurring in the lines of decency and propriety when she took a train across Russia in 1918. Despite the turbulent political conditions that made travel so daunting, Doty managed to get a compartment to herself for her train journey from eastern Siberia into European Russia. Late at night she was abruptly awoken when a “Cossack soldier” was shown into her safe haven.¹⁷⁶ Despite her protests “on the basis of decorum,” the soldier remained, leering all the while. She was sure “he saw [her] discomfort and enjoyed it.”¹⁷⁷ She noted her fellow passengers “thought her finicky” and that they believed her objections were due to “mere fussiness.”¹⁷⁸ Despite the dramatic and alarming events of the night, she used her former experiences and her intrepid spirit to overcome her fears and continue her journey. She realized “life had got down to the elementals. There was no room for conventions, and I had

¹⁷⁴ Madeleine Z. Doty, “Suffering in Germany Deep, Says Miss Doty.” *New-York Tribune*, November 12, 1916, 14.

¹⁷⁵ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 137.

¹⁷⁶ Madeleine Z. Doty, “Real Life in Russia Now,” *Washington Times*, June 12, 1918, 8.

¹⁷⁷ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 171.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

better stay at home if I was so particular. I swallowed hard and tried to adjust myself to new standards.”¹⁷⁹

As much as Doty’s status as a woman traveler alone put her in danger, it was also what made her journeys worthwhile. She brought a unique perspective on the war and the world to her writing, a quality the newspapers were quick to capitalize on. In 1917 the *Harrisburg Telegraph* thought it of “particular interest” that a “lone American woman” who had been in Germany twice since the war broke out, “went adventuring through the beleaguered country in the interests of peace, and though beset by spies, saw and learned many things a man might have missed.”¹⁸⁰ Doty’s gender made her writing even more interesting and marketable to a wide American audience.

Whether the press was right that she noticed things a man would have missed, she certainly did make a point to call attention to differences as well as parallels in the experiences of men and women in the countries she visited. For example, she compares the fates of men and women in Germany during the war. Although the men are “desperate,” she argues “nor is life any better for the women.”¹⁸¹ She goes on to detail how women are thrust into in new jobs, like train starters and sewer cleaners, but still have to go home to empty pantries and hungry children. It is clear from her observations that not only the men at the front but also the families behind them are suffering. Looking to the future, she postulated that these conditions are breeding a “new race” with “active minds that begin to question Germany autocracy and militarism,” and

¹⁷⁹ Madeleine Z. Doty, “Real Life in Russia Now,” *Washington Times*, June 12, 1918, 8.

¹⁸⁰ “War Diary Revelations,” *Harrisburg Telegraph*, April 5, 1917, 17.

¹⁸¹ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 143.

this changed population includes the women.¹⁸²

In Munich, Doty encountered the leaders of the German branch of what she calls the Women's International Peace Party (probably the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace), whom she had met at The Hague the year before. Here we see how Doty's initial journey to The Hague congress in 1915 gave her entry to a network on which she could draw during her travels and for her journalism. She describes an inspiring and remarkable incident that occurred at one of the peace meetings she attended in Germany. One man stood up and told the women to produce a surplus of babies so their movement could have more people when it came time for a revolution. She details how "one of these courageous women, Lida Heymann, rose, anger blazing in her eyes, and urged women to 'never again bring children into the world unless men promise they will not be used as cannon fodder.'"¹⁸³ Heymann's statement sums up the powerless feeling of voteless women, who were unable to take part in decisions about war and peace, yet were forced to surrender their loved ones to military service and the risk of death or injury in conflicts they could not stop from home. The next day Heymann was banned by military order from speaking in public, meeting with more than five people at a time, or sending and receiving mail unread by the authorities. For her part, Doty was determined not only to report the unrest in Germany and to lift the spirits of those at home that something might change the outcome of the war besides just more death, but also to specifically show the participation women in that struggle.

As a woman Doty faced danger, but also some rare opportunities to enjoy things a man would have not been able to experience. She believed she was able to get away with far more

¹⁸² Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 143

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 153.

because she was a woman, a fact that the Germans later openly regretted. It was reported across the U.S. in 1917 that an advanced copy of *Short Rations* had reached Germany and was “very bitterly received.”¹⁸⁴ The *Cologne Gazette* branded Doty with the moniker “snooping Madeleine,” and bitterly condemned the picture she had painted of Germany’s food shortage struggles.¹⁸⁵ They were quoted as concluding that “evidently [they] should always supervise American women who travel amongst us.”¹⁸⁶

During the official press tour conducted by the German authorities, Doty was at first ignored and given a little leeway by her handlers. Once they noticed her penchant for wandering off and asking a lot of questions, her minders were advised to “never let her out of your sight.”¹⁸⁷ Despite this, Doty was determined to evade them and go out to find the story she knew was there. Many times she and her friends snuck out of their hotel rooms and took circuitous routes to confound their pursuers. On occasion when she was under surveillance Doty used her femininity to evade suspicion. She simply kept her conversation to “clothes, weddings, and babies,” appropriately feminine and unthreatening topics that lulled her observers into a false sense of security. She supposed “they had come to the conclusion that I must be harmless.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ “War Diary Revelations,” *Harrisburg Telegraph*, April 5, 1917, 17.

¹⁸⁵ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 163.

¹⁸⁶ “War Diary Revelations,” *Harrisburg Telegraph*, April 5, 1917, 17.

¹⁸⁷ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 149.

¹⁸⁸ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 157.

4.3 Conclusion

Doty's journeys put everything in perspective for her. As an outsider from a neutral country, she viewed with fear the spread of nationalism and militarism in France and Britain as she left war-torn Europe for a second time. After the U.S. entered the war in 1917, she again grew fearful as she saw American nationalism foster hatred of Germans. Having seen the unglamorous side of war, the side with starvation when the drums, the songs, and the victory posters are all but forgotten and the only thing people contemplated was whether they would have enough food to survive, she could not support entering this world war.

There is no doubt that Doty's travel changed the trajectory of her life. She transformed from a specialized lawyer, to an investigative feminist and pacifist journalist, to a person who lived out the rest of her life in the pursuit of world peace. She became the third international secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Geneva from 1925 to 1927.¹⁸⁹ She used her great writing and editing skills to publish the women's first international publication for peace, *Pax International*, from 1925 to 1931. She even created a program for international education, beginning Junior Year in Geneva for American Students in 1938, a program that Smith College continues to this day. Despite her oftentimes-rocky personal life, Doty never stopped pursuing her goal of a peaceful and better world.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Woman's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997): 94-227.

¹⁹⁰ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 249.

5 CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have explored some of the ways international travel by women peace and suffrage advocates in the early twentieth century broadened their perspectives and persuaded them to promote a more inclusive women's rights movement. In an age of empire, this movement not surprisingly fell short of the ideals of internationalism and inclusion. Nevertheless, growing communities and networks of women were drawn to a global sisterhood made real by encounters with women from other countries and cultures. I undertook this research because I believe in the transformative power of travel on those who undertake the journey. My close readings, contextualizations, and comparisons of the writings of four women advocacy travelers bring out the impact of travel on these individual women as well as on the international women's movement as a whole.

The historian Sidonie Smith argues that in the "early twentieth century increasing numbers of Western women participated in the cultural logic of the individualizing journey."¹⁹¹ The journeys of Carrie Chapman Catt, Margaret Hodge, Mildred McFaden, and Madeleine Doty were "individualizing" in that each woman gained a greater sense of autonomy and self-reliance. I go further, arguing that these journeys also brought about a sense of international community and strengthened the inclusivity of the women's movement by reinforcing interpersonal bonds and increasing "social capital."¹⁹² Whether they were attending international conferences, visiting feminists in other countries and learning about their organizations and campaigns, or

¹⁹¹ Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), xi.

¹⁹² Clemens, "Securing Political Returns to Social Capital," 613.

going behind the battles lines during the First World War, each of the women advocacy travelers I have studied benefited politically as well as personally from the experience of travel. For example, Hodge's empire tour provides a good illustration. Settler women were enfranchised in Australia and settler and indigenous women were enfranchised in New Zealand. Sharing insights from the successful effort in Australia with women's suffragists in Canada and South Africa suggested to her the potential power of linking these activists together to push for women's citizenship across the four British dominions.

Women's travel writing, especially in suffrage periodicals, was crucial for inspiring and promoting women's internationalism. By telling the story of their journeys and stressing the importance of an expansive women's movement, Catt and Hodge helped shape an inclusive future for the international women's movement. Comparing the writings of Catt and Hodge reveals how differently two internationally-minded suffragists in the twentieth century could use travel to further their working knowledge of the composition of the worldwide women's movement. Catt visited a number of countries and observed the cultural diversity and political status of women. Her encounters with women in Ceylon and Burma led her to question conventional western ideas about Asian cultures, reconsider her own beliefs about the subordinate position of "Eastern women," and begin to develop a more inclusive, global vision of the IWSA. Although Catt was not a universalist in the sense of overcoming her own prejudices and imagining women without hierarchies, her rhetoric on behalf of sisterhood as well as her example of world travel must have influenced the thinking of suffrage and peace advocates who followed her.

My research underlines the fact that travel to international congresses was an opportunity for women who had only participated in local and national suffrage activism to broaden their

horizons by engaging with suffragists of other countries and enriching their ideas about what suffrage and citizenship meant. Essentially, travel opened these women's minds and made them feel they were a part of something much bigger. With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the language of the American Woman's Republic's peace message and resolution and McFaden's account of the AWR delegation's journey to Budapest. The language echoes that of Catt and Hodge. It is contradictory, conveying both a desire for global sisterhood as well as a feeling of Western superiority. McFaden begs, "oh, women of every nation, every clime, and every tongue, rise in the strength of United Womanhood and demand that war shall cease!"¹⁹³ On the one hand, it is evident in the rhetoric that McFaden and the AWR harbored a belief in the exceptionalism of American feminism. On the other hand, they were clearly inspired by an internationalist vision when they asked the women of the world to join them in forming their own, women-only government. They argue that governments will only treat with governments. If women form their own government, men whose own peace endeavors have failed will finally have to listen to them.

Doty was the youngest of the four women advocacy travelers I have discussed and she held the least exclusionary view of other women. She also held the most open view of internationalism and therefore opposed the "growing nationalism in America."¹⁹⁴ Her life's journey, from college to Greenwich Village to Geneva, revolved around the needs and rights of

¹⁹³ Mildred Susan Garrett McFaden, *Women Ambassadors Abroad* (St. Louis, MO: Mangan Printing, 1914), 123.

¹⁹⁴ Madeleine Z. Doty and Alice Duffy Rinehart, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 245.

women. The British feminist Emmeline Pethick Lawrence credits Doty for the “idea of associating the women of the then neutral country of America with the endeavor to bring reconciliation and peace back to a war riven world.”¹⁹⁵ In 1915, she attended the historic International Congress of Women in The Hague, which brought together women’s suffragists in the cause of peace. A decade later she began working in the Geneva headquarters of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, founded at the end of the war in 1919.¹⁹⁶ While The Hague congress and the WILPF were direct responses to a worldwide catastrophe, we can now see they were also the culmination of the work of advocacy travelers like Catt, Hodge, and McFaden as well as Doty, and their many likeminded but less peripatetic sisters in the years before the war.

¹⁹⁵ Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1976), 308-309.

¹⁹⁶ Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Woman’s Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 94-227.

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