

Bonds Across Borders

Bonds Across Borders:
Women, China, and International Relations
in the Modern World

Edited by

Priscilla Roberts and He Peiqun



CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

Bonds Across Borders: Women, China, and International Relations in the Modern World,
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This book first published 2007 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN 1-84718-280-1; ISBN 13: 9781847182807

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book represents one outcome of the first conference focusing on the role of women in international relations to be held in China. Conducted over two days in Fudan University, Shanghai, this gathering brought together academics and diplomatic practitioners from China, Hong Kong, the United States, and Britain. It therefore presents an international variety of perspectives on subject matter that is still relatively new and controversial within China.

The essays in this book focus on the following areas:

Theoretical approaches to the role of women in international relations, and explorations of the implications of gender to the study, understanding, and conceptualization of international relations;

General discussions of the role of women in diplomacy, including reflections by women who are or have been diplomatic players;

Case studies, the majority focusing upon China, of the diplomatic contributions, formal and informal, of assorted twentieth-century women, as government representatives, official spouses, missionaries, and peace activists;

Suggestions as to the future development of the study of women and international relations within and beyond mainland China.

This volume is the end result of a workshop held at Fudan University, Shanghai, in October 2003, cosponsored by the Department of International Politics and the Center for American Studies of Fudan University and the Department of History of the University of Hong Kong. As with all such ventures, it represented much hard work and effort by a great many people, to whom the organizers' thanks are due.

The conference received generous financial support from the Ford Foundation; the 211 Project Fund from the Department of International Politics of Fudan University; the University of Hong Kong Vice-Chancellor's Fund for Visits to China; the British Council, Shanghai; and the US Consulates in Shanghai and Hong Kong. Thanks are due to all the individuals in those offices who so efficiently helped to provide and administer this funding.

The conference owed much to Dr. Priscilla Roberts of the Department of History of the University of Hong Kong. Without her initial efforts to solicit financial support from sponsors and her organizing abilities, this conference would not have been possible.

Fudan University, especially Dr. He Peiqun of the Department of International Politics and her head of department, Prof. Zhu Mingquan, bore the brunt of the actual organization of the conference. Dr. He proved a model of efficiency in supervising all the planning and logistical details of the conference. She was assisted by an excellent and efficient team of students, including Ding Changxin, Jiang Yao, Li Mingyan, Liu Aming, Peng Xihua, Shen Yi, Wang Jinji, Xiang Fei, Xu Jue, Ye Zong, and Zhang Ji.

Prof. Ni Shixiong of Fudan University generously allowed the meeting to use the outstanding facilities of the Center for American Studies, a splendid venue for this gathering. The Office of Foreign Affairs and Finance Office of Fudan University were both most helpful in facilitating the organization of the conference.

The office staff of the Department of History at the University of Hong Kong all cheerfully and uncomplainingly took on extra work related to this conference. The staff of the Finance and Enterprise Office of the University of Hong Kong were particularly helpful in administering conference-related funds.

The Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies of The George Washington University, blessed with wonderful and efficient facilities and an enormously helpful staff, provided a stimulating and congenial atmosphere in which to pull together the final manuscript.

INTRODUCTION

WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A HISTORIAN'S VIEW

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

It was peculiarly appropriate that the workshop from which this book developed should have been held in the American Studies Center of Fudan University, in whose entrance stands the bust of Madam Xie Xide, not just a former president of Fudan University and an eminent physicist who helped to pioneer semiconductor research, but also that Center's founding director. On several occasions in the late 1990s I had the privilege of meeting the late Madam Xie. I cannot claim to have known her well, but she became someone I both liked and admired enormously. In her own career she also epitomized the kind of role that women, even while holding no official diplomatic position, have often played informally in international relations at the intersocietal and intercultural level. As a young woman, Madam Xie won degrees from both Smith College and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, before returning to teach at Fudan University. In her later years she facilitated the efforts of hundreds of young Chinese physicists to study and train abroad. In 1985 Madam Xie also took the lead in establishing the American Studies Center at Fudan University, an important part of even broader efforts within her own country to improve Chinese understanding and knowledge of the United States. It is therefore perhaps not entirely presumptuous to invoke her memory as the benevolent presiding genius of this international gathering.

My own interest in women's studies in China was sparked a few years ago, when I chaired a session at a British Studies conference held in Guangzhou, where five or six women delivered papers on a variety of authors, using the writings of George Eliot, Iris Murdoch, Sylvia Plath, and others to articulate some of their own concerns regarding the contemporary personal and professional status of Chinese women. Many

of the chapters included in this book tend to emphasize the numerous disabilities women of all nationalities have encountered when assaying diplomatic careers and the degree to which, even today, they remain disadvantaged by comparison with men. Others focus upon the manner in which women enjoy poorer access than men to such resources as adequate nutrition, healthcare, education, and gainful employment, are disproportionately represented among the victims of poverty and warfare, and often find themselves even more vulnerable than men in resisting famine, violence, sexual assault, and eviction from their own country. No one doubts that such criticisms and complaints are well-founded.

As a historian by profession, I am nonetheless trained to take a longer view, embracing centuries, even millennia. When one employs such a perspective to scrutinize the position of women, especially the roles they have played in international relations over the past one hundred and fifty years, the picture changes considerably. No matter which continent one surveys, for thousands of years women were largely absent from formal diplomacy. When women did attain real power in this area, it was normally through the biological accidents of birth, marriage, or both: in other words, women won influence primarily through their relationship(s) to powerful men. This pattern remained as true of China under the Empress Dowager as it was of Egypt in the period shortly before the birth of Jesus Christ when Queen Cleopatra successively seduced the Roman leaders Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, or of twelfth-century Europe when the great heiress Eleanor of Aquitaine consecutively married the kings of France and England. When women exercised diplomatic influence, almost invariably they did so as the wife, widow, mother, daughter, or sister of powerful men.

Enamored of Renaissance humanism, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European royal families believed in educating the girls, not just their sons. Their reward was some spectacularly successful women rulers. Isabella of Castile and Elizabeth I of England were two of the most famous examples. For almost half a century, from 1507 to 1555, two formidable and energetic widows, the Hapsburg Archduchesses Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and her niece Mary of Hungary (1505-1558), in turn ably administered the Netherlands as Regent, Margaret on behalf first of her father, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, and then of her nephew, the Emperor Charles V, who was Mary's brother. Familial ties provided access to power on the domestic and international front but could not, of course, guarantee that any given woman would wield it successfully; that depended far more on her own personal qualities, not to mention plain luck. Elizabeth I's older half-sister, Mary Tudor, and her cousin, Mary

Queen of Scots, were equally striking examples of women whose inherited rank and status as queens regnant exposed them to unscrupulous manipulation by power-hungry men, both almost pathetically devoid of the shrewdness and toughness required to withstand and protect themselves from such exploitation.

Even in the twenty-first century, marriage remains one potential source of international power and influence for women. For many in fairly recent decades, it served as a springboard to the development of an international role, even when the woman concerned ultimately transcended her position as wife and her personal abilities enabled her to attain independent stature in her own right. In this context, one might cite Song Qingling (Madame Sun Yatsen), Song Meiling (Madame Chiang Kaishek), Jiang Qing (Madame Mao Zedong), Anna Chennault, Imelda Marcos, Eleanor Roosevelt, and even Hillary Rodham Clinton.¹ Until well after World War II, a disproportionate number of women elected as United States senators, congressmen, or governors were the widows of former incumbents, a pattern not entirely absent even today. In post-1945 Asia the widows of well-known and charismatic politicians, such as Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, Begum Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh, and Corazon Aquino of the Philippines, were regularly tapped to replace their dead husbands and become heads of government or of state. In the absence of a widow, a deceased leader's associates often turned to a daughter or other close relative, as with Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Hasina Wazed Rahman of Bangladesh, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga of Bangladesh, Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar, or Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia. Although important, name recognition was not enough. In order to survive the political jungle and the cut-throat competition surrounding them, women such as Indira Gandhi often emerged as forceful characters who were even tougher than

¹ See the chapter by Chan Lau Kit-ching in this volume; also Hahn, *The Soong Sisters*; Chang, *Mme Sun Yat-Sen (Soong Ching-ling)*; Epstein, *Woman in World History*; Wu, *Memories of Madame Sun*; Chu, ed., *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*; DeLong, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Miss Emma Mills*; Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-Shek*; Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty*; Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*; Terrill, *Madame Mao*; Forslund, *Anna Chennault*; Ellison, *Imelda, Steel Butterfly of the Philippines*; Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*; Bonner, *Waltzing With a Dictator*; Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*; Lash, *Eleanor: The Years Alone*; Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, Vols. 1 and 2; Scharf, *Eleanor Roosevelt*; Berger, *A New Deal for the World*; Hoff-Wilson and Lightman, eds., *Without Precedent*; Glendon, *A World Made New*; Milton, *The First Partner*; Warner, *Hillary Clinton*, rev. ed.; Radcliffe, *Hillary Rodham Clinton*; Sheehy, *Hillary's Choice*; Clinton, *Living History*; and Brock, *The Seduction of Hillary Rodham*.

their male associates. In Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi displayed remarkable dignity and moral stature in resisting a brutally authoritarian military regime in a protracted battle of wills which demanded not just high courage but also profound emotional stamina. In Pakistan, by contrast, Benazir Bhutto came to office embodying great hopes for a new era, but soon became enmired in charges of personal arrogance, political incompetence, and acquiescence in her husband's corrupt exploitation of her position.

The other mechanism whereby marriage often enabled women to play some role in international affairs was as the wives of diplomats or of men who held public positions with some bearing on the making of foreign policy. From the sixteenth century onward Western and other international states exchanged ambassadors, though many such positions were temporary in nature, designed to handle some specific issue. Over time diplomats gradually became permanent functionaries accredited to a particular country. The more significant one state was to another, the more likely the appointment of such representatives became. By the eighteenth century, major countries routinely exchanged ambassadors, ministers, or at least *chargés d'affaires*, who resided in their host country for protracted periods, handling official business and also participating in its social life. Two hundred years ago American and European women alike could not vote, had no formal political role, suffered numerous legal disabilities, and were rarely financially independent. Even so, to an ambitious man a suitable, socially adept wife could prove a great diplomatic asset.

Ironically, Louisa Catherine Adams, one of the earliest American diplomatic wives, entitled her still unpublished memoirs, begun in 1840 when she was sixty-five, the "Adventures of a Nobody." Wife to John Quincy Adams, the son and heir of a founding father of the United States who became his country's second president, Louisa Catherine attracted fierce political attacks because, although she was the daughter of an American businessman who served as his country's consul in London, her mother was English and she was born and brought up in the British capital. She was financially dependent on a husband who discouraged her from shining in the social world in which she excelled. Although Louisa Catherine accompanied John Quincy Adams on diplomatic assignments in England, Russia, Prussia, and France, served as his hostess when he was secretary of state and president, and played a crucial role in his successful 1824 campaign for the presidency—like several other presidents since, he won with a minority of the popular vote—she felt that, at least in her husband's view, her contributions to his career were insignificant. Symbolically, her memoirs ended with the death of a one-year-old

daughter in Russia in 1812, an assignment that also separated her from two of her sons for six years, an absence that always caused her profound guilt.²

Depression and marital incompatibility and estrangement undoubtedly contributed substantially to the disillusionment Louisa Catherine Adams experienced and her sense of being a literal non-entity. One should therefore be doubly wary of assuming that her outlook was typical of every diplomatic wife. It is hard to imagine Harriet, Countess Granville, the socially unassailable daughter of the fifth Duke of Devonshire and his first wife, the glamorous Georgiana, considering herself a “nobody.” Happily married to a reformed rake, a devoted mother and stepmother whose son would later become a Liberal Foreign Secretary, from 1824 to 1841 Harriet Granville was an excellent hostess to her husband while he was ambassador in Paris. While she sometimes complained that the social pressures were tedious and a trifle overwhelming, neither she nor anyone else ever doubted her fundamental ability to cope with them and to pursue a fulfilling and enjoyable existence.³

Yet, if Louisa Catherine Adams represented the far end of the spectrum of diplomatic wives, the issues she raised possess a broader resonance. Several contributors to this volume brought up Cynthia Enloe’s question, “Where are the women?” in international relations, and one cited her answer that “women are always *inside* international relations through their work in the practice of its politics—as diplomats’ wives and secretaries, as assemblers of commodities for export, as tourists bringing foreign exchange to the nearly empty tills of third world countries and dirty laundry for poor handmaids to wash.”⁴ While far from diplomatic “nobodies,” in many cases women have been virtually invisible, flitting beneath the radar screen in roles often disregarded in conventional diplomatic history. To such an extent, indeed, was this true that in 1977 Joan Hoff-Wilson concluded that, while American foreign policy had “enormous impact on women all over the world, American women have been scarcely involved in its formulation at the top decision-making levels.” Ten years later, she saw little reason to modify her broad conclusion, that “women have played, and continue to play, insignificant

² Shepherd, *Cannibals of the Heart*; Nagel, *The Adams Women*; Corbett, “Louisa Catherine Adams: The Anguished ‘Adventures of a Nobody,’” 67-84.

³ Askwith, *Piety and Wit*; Surtees, ed., *A Second Self*; see also the description of Harriet Granville’s time as ambassadress in Hickman, *Daughters of Britannia*, 118-23, 133-5.

⁴ See Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*; also the chapters in this volume by Rosemary Foot, Gordon E. Slethaug, and Hu Chuanrong.

roles in determining U.S. diplomacy because they were (and are) not present in top policy-making circles.”⁵

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the historian Edward P. Crapol still told his students “that women played no role and had not been a factor in American foreign relations.” His own research into the abolitionist Lydia Maria Child subsequently proved him wrong, a process that he found caused him to emulate the new social history, as he “altered my perspective and tried to extend the boundaries and limits of traditional diplomatic history.”⁶ Crapol believed that his approach followed that of Gerda Lerner, whose study of the political role of nineteenth-century American women found that their exclusion from direct political power had led many historians to overlook their involvement in events, and that “the form of their participation and their activities were different from that of men.”⁷ Crapol suggested that the substantial contributions of Lydia Maria Child to the intellectual formulation of the anti-abolitionist case, especially in its international aspects, and her indefatigable publicity and lobbying work for it, “ha[ve] not received the full historical recognition accorded [men whom she influenced] primarily because as a woman she was denied equal access to the political arena.”⁸ Another historian, John M. Craig, likewise complained that “studies of the American peace movement, where women have played a significant role since the nineteenth century, usually suffer from myopia based on gender.” This, moreover, despite the fact that in the early twentieth century men were actually in the minority in that movement.⁹ Crapol’s pioneering collection of essays on women and American foreign policy demonstrated that:

... [S]ince the 1830s a number of American women have attempted to shape and influence the nation’s foreign policy. They have done so with varying, often limited, degrees of success. But in the process women have expanded their role in the public sphere, helped shape the public’s consciousness about the nation’s diplomacy, and frequently offered alternative policies that ultimately have infiltrated the inner sanctum of the

⁵ Hoff-Wilson, “Foreign Policy Trends Since 1920,” 1; Hoff-Wilson, “Conclusion: Of Mice and Men,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Edward P. Crapol, 173-4, quotation from 174.

⁶ Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy*, vii-viii.

⁷ Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past*; an earlier article with the same title is also quoted in Crapol, viii.

⁸ Edward P. Crapol, “Lydia Maria Child: Abolitionist Critic of American Foreign Policy,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 16.

⁹ John M. Craig, “Lucia True Ames Mead: American Publicist for Peace and Internationalism,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 67.

foreign policy establishment. They have done this as lobbyists who employed intelligence, charm, and tenacity to persuade powerful men to accept their views, as insiders who subtly and effectively influenced the men who were their husbands, bosses, and confidants, and as critics who publicized their ideas and politically mobilized women and men in the pursuit of changing the nature of American foreign policy.¹⁰

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones likewise argued that one must take account of the impact upon American foreign policy of “[w]omen outside politics and the civil service,” including film stars and other protesters against the Vietnam War, “members of feminist, peace, and other radical organizations,” journalists, and other “influential outsiders . . . who, collectively with many others, make up the public opinion that is the inescapable driving force behind many political decisions.”¹¹ One accomplishment of the current volume is that it highlights some of the non-traditional diplomatic roles women frequently assumed, often implicitly contributing to intercultural and intersocietal relations. Even as missionaries abroad, Western women usually enjoyed only a subordinate position within male-dominated religious institutions. Lengthy tenure, linguistic skills, and what was often the unique access of women to their own sex in the host country nonetheless often gave them advantages over the men who were their nominal superiors. The involvement of women in teaching likewise frequently allowed them to play an interstitial role between their own culture and that of the host country. Some eventually hoped to promote revolution in the countries to which they were assigned. Through their letters home, they also often served as interpreters of their host country to their own.¹² Western women novelists, for China preeminently the influential and popular American writer Pearl S. Buck, whose 1931 novel *The Good Earth* sold enormously in the West, did likewise.¹³

¹⁰ Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy*, xii-xiii.

¹¹ Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, 176.

¹² See not only the chapters by Peter Cunich, Thomas A. Stanley, and Norman G. Owen, but also Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*; Flynt and Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China*; Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*; Garner, *Precious Fire*; Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*; and Lian, *The Conversion of Missionaries*.

¹³ Stirling, *Pearl Buck*; Harris, *Pearl S. Buck*; Block, *The Lives of Pearl Buck*; Gao, *Pearl S. Buck's Chinese Women Characters*; Doyle, *Pearl S. Buck*, rev. ed.; Liao, *Pearl S. Buck*; and Conn, *Pearl S. Buck*. See also Croll, *Wise Daughters from Foreign Lands*.

Another way in which women interpreted one culture to another was as journalists, a profession where women were increasingly prominent from the late nineteenth century onward. Quite a number, the intrepid Englishwoman Clare Hollingworth and her American counterpart, Martha Gellhorn, for example, declined to be politely corralled on the women's and social pages, and instead became foreign and even war correspondents. It was not unknown for them to pass on snippets of useful information to the (usually male) diplomats of their own countries. Others, such as the American Agnes Smedley and Helen Foster Snow, became dedicated supporters of the Chinese Communist revolution. Through their very lifestyles they and others such as the unconventional American Emily Hahn, who spent much of the 1930s and early 1940s in China and Hong Kong, also offered women from cultures far removed from their own models of a very different lifestyle, a characteristic they rather ironically had in common with missionaries and teachers even though their respective lives were otherwise probably highly dissimilar.¹⁴ In both Britain and the United States during World War II, women served on dangerous espionage missions overseas.¹⁵

From at least the mid-nineteenth century onward, American and British women actively involved themselves in political causes, including the American abolitionist movement, the suffrage campaign, the temperance crusade against the use of alcohol, efforts to eradicate venereal disease, prostitution, and the use of narcotics, the movement to regulate and improve the working and living conditions of women and children, and the fight for pure food and drugs legislation. Many of these activists were social workers who sought to improve the living and working conditions of the lower classes through a wide range of welfare legislation. Increasingly, they were women who had received a college education and sought more challenging outlets for themselves than the traditional but often confining middle-class path of marriage and motherhood. In New York state, whose intimate relationship to the career of Eleanor Roosevelt has drawn particular attention to this aspect of its politics, from the early

¹⁴ Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*; Hollingworth, *Front Line*; Hollingworth, with Neri Tenorio, *Captain if Captured*; Moorehead, *Gellhorn*; Rollyson, *Beautiful Exile*; MacKinnon and MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley*; Smedley, *China Fights Back*; Smedley, *China Correspondent*; Smedley, *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution*; Snow, *My China Years*; Hahn, *China To Me*; Hahn, *Times and Places*; and Cuthbertson, *Nobody Said Not to Go*; cf. Milly Bennett, *On Her Own*.

¹⁵ See, e.g., McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies*; Gruhitz-Hoyt, *They Also Served*; and Romanones, *The Spy Wore Silk*.

twentieth century onward women were deeply involved in politics. At the level of labor relations, the Women's Trade Union League, founded in 1902, nurtured such working-class women leaders as Rose Schneiderman and Maud O'Farrell Swartz, who also took part in international labor and socialist conventions. Even before gaining the vote, as social workers and campaigners for suffrage and other reformist causes, women were already politically active and influential. The suffrage movement was itself international in nature, as women from different countries encouraged each other and learned from their counterparts' experiences. From 1919 onward, through the League of Women Voters as well as specifically Democratic organizations, a closely-knit coterie of influential middle-class women, including Eleanor Roosevelt and many of her associates, some married, some single with professional careers, were consistently involved in New York politics, focusing their efforts on a variety of high-minded reformist campaigns, both domestic and international. Presidential candidates felt obliged to make at least some gestures toward the "women's vote," and in the 1930s the Democratic Party set up a specific Women's Division. On the conservative side, the Daughters of the American Revolution proselytized energetically in support of anticommunist and antireform, or what it termed "true American," policies.¹⁶

A pattern was also emerging whereby, although men still monopolized what the historian John M. Craig termed the "visible public capacities," behind the scenes they relied heavily on able and energetic women. Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic political boss and four-term governor of New York, firmly believed that women lacked the ability to fill and administer top executive positions, as governor or cabinet officers, for example. One of Smith's closest and shrewdest political advisers and operatives, however, credited with formulating Smith's extensive social reform and educational programs, was his personal secretary, Belle Moskowitz.¹⁷ Another example was Esther Everett Lape, for most of the 1920s and 1930s executive secretary to and the driving force behind the League of

¹⁶ The range of activities undertaken in early twentieth-century New York by such politically engaged women as Schneiderman, Swartz, Narcissa Cox Vanderlip, Nancy Cook, Marion Dickerman, Elinor Morgenthau, Caroline O'Day, Molly Dewson, Frances Perkins, Mary Harriman Rumsey, Elizabeth Read, and Esther Everett Lape are described in some detail in Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt 1884-1933*; Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*; Ware, *Beyond Suffrage*; and Ware, *Partner and I*. On the international women's movement, see Rupp, *Worlds of Women*.

¹⁷ On Belle Moskowitz, see Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt 1884-1933*, 387-92; for Smith's views on women, see *ibid.*, 389; and Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, 324.

Nations Association, which spearheaded the unsuccessful campaigns to persuade the United States to join the International Court of Justice. Although prominent men invariably headed this organization, the bulk of the work fell upon Lape's competent shoulders.¹⁸ Together with Eleanor Roosevelt and the New York banker's wife and League of Women Voters activist Narcissa Cox Vanderlip, in the mid-1920s Lape also effectively organized and administered a highly publicized competition for a prize of US\$50,000, judged by several prominent lawyers and politicians, for the best plan to ensure future international peace.¹⁹

These activities illustrated the manner in which the crusade for domestic reform could easily expand to encompass the improvement of the international system. Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and other prominent women reformers of the Progressive period were among the founders of the American Woman's Peace Party, created early in World War I in a fruitless effort to prevent the United States being drawn into that conflict. Within a few months American women began to collaborate with their long-time suffrage allies in Europe and in spring 1915 summoned an International Congress of Women to meet in The Hague, the Dutch city that housed the still rudimentary World Court. The meeting established an International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, a pioneering international nongovernmental organization, a forum women have always found particularly congenial, perhaps because the ambivalent semi-official status of such bodies mirrors women's own insider-outsider social standing. Before long the new organization began to campaign for the postwar establishment of an international organization to prevent future wars, what would become the League of Nations.²⁰ Whereas the Woman's Peace Party heavily criticized American intervention in World War I, remaining true to its pacifist principles, other American women proved themselves what Jeffreys-Jones terms "peacetime pacifists," more

¹⁸ On Lape, see the works by Cook and Lash cited above. After World War II, she provided shrewd advice to Eleanor Roosevelt on drafting the human rights provisions of the new United Nations Organization. Cook, "Eleanor Roosevelt and Human Rights: The Battle for Peace and Planetary Decency," in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 105-6.

¹⁹ Cook, "Eleanor Roosevelt," 93-5; Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt 1884-1933*, 342-6; and Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, 282-6.

²⁰ Apart from the chapter by He Hui included in this volume, see Rupp, *Worlds of Women*; Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*; Davis, *American Heroine*; Bissell, *The Education of Jane Addams*; Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*; Stebner, *The Women of Hull House*; Fowler, *Carrie Catt*; Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*; Craig, "Lucia True Ames Mead," 81-5; and Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, 17-8, 22.

nationalistic and also more opportunist than Addams and her followers. The American Woman Suffrage Association, headed by the leading female activist Carrie Chapman Catt, effectively sought to make a political bargain with President Woodrow Wilson's administration, trading staunch support for the war effort in exchange for the government's endorsement of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the vote.²¹

Still more radical women of this era, of course, notably the German-Polish Socialist Rosa Luxemburg, sought not the reform of the existing international system, but rather the outright overthrow of capitalism and imperialism and their replacement by a fully socialist political order. Like Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin, Luxemburg believed that only a total remaking of the international order would suffice to prevent future wars.²² Her attitude was only one example of the degree to which, in revolutionary situations, in eighteenth-century France or twentieth-century China and Russia, for example, women have often been prominent among the standard-bearers of the new outlook, taking up the torch and in many cases—Mao Zedong's earliest wife was a notable example—dying for the cause.²³

Once the League of Nations had been established in 1919, numerous American women campaigned unsuccessfully for United States membership in the new organization and in the associated World Court, while their British counterparts sought to strengthen the League of Nations. Women's groups and bodies in which women played a large part, especially educational and church groups, were active in the campaign for disarmament that contributed to the conclusion of the international Washington Conference Treaties of 1921-22. Through such organizations as the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Peace Society, the World Court Committee, the Women's Peace Union, and the American Union Against Militarism, many also supported the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact of 1928, a non-binding treaty pledge not to wage aggressive war signed by numerous

²¹ Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, 11-2, 20-8; and Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 74-5.

²² Florence, *Marx's Daughters*; Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*; Ettinger, *Rosa Luxemburg*; Abraham, *Rosa Luxemburg*; Bronner, *Rosa Luxemburg*; and Shepardson, *Rosa Luxemburg and the Noble Dream*.

²³ See, e.g., Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*; Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*; Roessler, *Out of the Shadows*; Porter, *Fathers and Daughters*; Slaughter and Kern, eds., *European Women on the Left*; and Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of Their Own*, 2:278-84, 295-321.

nations and subsequently broken by more than one. They also came out strongly in favor of the international disarmament conferences of 1930 and 1932, and at the insistence of the peace movement the United States delegation to the second included one woman, the liberal pacifist Mary Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. Although the American peace movement was divided, in the 1930s it contributed to the passage by Congress of neutrality legislation designed to keep the United States out of any future war.²⁴ In some cases, the British writer Vera Brittain, for example, who served as a nurse in World War I and lost her fiancé, brother, and other close friends, the experience of war induced a lifelong pacifism, eventually making Brittain one of the leading antiwar spokespersons in the English-speaking world.²⁵ The prominence of women in the British peace movement was demonstrated in the 1930s when the charismatic priest Canon Dick Sheppard asked men—but not women, whom he thought were already overrepresented in the peace movement—to send him cards indicating that they would be ready to renounce war in all circumstances.²⁶

In Britain, the United States, France, Germany, and other Western nations, the end of the war brought women the vote. As David M. Pomfret's chapter in this volume demonstrates, some Western women activists from both the left and right of the political spectrum subsequently concentrated primarily on campaigns against such international social evils as the narcotics business, international trade in women, child slavery, and oppressive overseas labor conditions. While such efforts had flourished even before World War I, the social agencies of the new League of Nations gave women more effective forums in which to plead and enforce their favored causes. The American-born Nancy, Viscountess Astor, the first woman to take her seat in the British House of Commons, was one great supporter of such activities, both domestically and

²⁴ Besides the works by Cook, Lash, Rupp, and Alonso cited above, and the biographies of Addams and Catt, see also Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, chs. 3-5; Alonso, *The Women's Peace Union and the Outlawry of War*; and Craig, "Lucia True Ames Mead," 84-6.

²⁵ On Vera Brittain, see Berry and Bostridge, *Vera Brittain*; Alan Bishop and Mark Bostridge, eds., *Letters from a Lost Generation*; Brittain, *Testament of Youth*; Brittain, *Chronicle of Youth*; Brittain, *Chronicle of Friendship*; Brittain, *Wartime Chronicle*; and Brittain, *Testament of Experience*. It is perhaps worth noting that, whereas surviving British male World War I memoirists, Robert Graves and Siegfried Sassoon, for example, usually supported their country's intervention in World War II, Brittain—at considerable personal and political cost—stuck unflinchingly to her pacifist principles.

²⁶ Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945*, 177-8.

internationally. Efforts to oppose abuses of this description were often perceived as peculiarly appropriate to women, generally viewed as the more compassionate and humane sex, with a special interest in improving the living and working conditions of women and children and eradicating social ills that might affect them.²⁷ It was not such a stretch for the “angel in the house” to metamorphose into the angel in the nation and then in the world, her destined mission the improvement and redemption of the international system.

One pervasive theme of the recent workshop was its discussion of the idea, often propounded by Western suffragist leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that due to biology, socialization, or both, women are inherently more peaceable than men, intrinsically more interested in efforts to promote peace and to improve the world by working to alleviate and even eliminate such social ills as environmental damage and pollution, illiteracy, international prostitution, the narcotics trade, discrimination against women and other disadvantaged groups, disease, famine, unacceptably poor or dangerous labor conditions, and the harsh treatment of refugees. Qiu Fang went so far as to suggest that new feminist insights require a reconstruction of the idea of state sovereignty in international relations theory, along lines that would deemphasize the traditional concepts of autonomy and independence in favor of a model highlighting “the feminist ideal of a polity whose ultimate goals are relatedness, care, and empathy.”²⁸

He Peiqun follows other historians and political scientists in noting that, in a pattern which transcends transnational boundaries, as diplomats and within international organizations women tend to be expected to specialize in such “humanitarian” activities, effectively restricted to a “ghetto” of areas perceived as forums particularly suited for women to exercise their supposedly feminine talents for eradicating social evils.²⁹

²⁷ See the chapter by David M. Pomfret in this volume; also Jaschok, *Concubines and Bondservants*; Jaschok and Miers, eds., *Women and Chinese Patriarchy*; essays by Barbara N. Ramusack, Antoinette M. Burton, Nancy L. Paxton, Dea Birkett, Leslie A. Flemming, and Sylvia M. Jacobs, in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, edited by Chaudhuri and Strobel; Masters, *Nancy Astor*; Collis, *Nancy Astor*; Sykes, *Nancy*; Mackay, *Love and Politics*; and Maguire, *Conservative Women*.

²⁸ See esp. the chapters by He Hui, Hu Chuanrong, Qiu Fang, and Wu Chunsi in this volume; Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, 45; and Whitworth, *Feminism and International Relations*, 17.

²⁹ See the chapter by He Peiqun included in this volume; also Stienstra, *Women's Movements and International Organizations*, 94; and D'Amico, “Women Workers

Sheer self-interest might indeed mandate such preoccupations. During the workshop, Rosemary Foot and Linda J. Yarr both highlighted the disproportionate degree to which women are the victims of war and international violence, a regrettable trend that inevitably gives women overall a special interest in including issues involving women in the complex of matters subsumed under the concepts of national and international security.³⁰

During the workshop Hu Chuanrong nonetheless perceptively challenged the myth that women are necessarily more compassionate, peace-loving, and nonbelligerent than men. Drawing especially on the work of Jean Bethke Elshtain, she rightly pointed out that in numerous conflicts many women have strongly backed the war effort, serving in vital ancillary capacities, assuming men's roles on the homefront, and backing government propaganda, national economy, and war savings drives. When the situation at the front was considered sufficiently desperate, women have even fought themselves, playing particularly notable roles in "unofficial" partisan fighting. In World War II Russian female aviators, the "night-witches," battled German airplanes. Twentieth-century armies have increasingly recruited women, though until recently they have often sought to restrict them to noncombat functions. Whether their gender makes men inherently bellicose is also open to question. Recruits for the large conscript armies so typical of twentieth-century warfare are usually subjected to intensive training and propaganda designed to make them willing to fight and kill. The fact that such heavy socialization is considered necessary rather suggests that substantial numbers of young men find the prospect of killing or maiming others less than alluring.³¹

The historians Edward P. Crapol and Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones both addressed this issue. Editing a volume focusing upon eight women active in American foreign policy over a span of more than one hundred and fifty years, Crapol presented a variety of women, ranging from pacifists and

in the United Nations: From Margin to Mainstream," in *Gender Politics in Global Governance*, edited by Meyer and Prügl, 19-40.

³⁰ See the chapters by Rosemary Foot and Linda J. Yarr.

³¹ See Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations*, 55-6; Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Feminist Themes and International Relations," in *International Theory*, edited by Derian, 357-8; Elshtain, "Thinking about Women and International Violence," in *Women, Gender and World Politics*, edited by Beckman and D'Amico, 109-16; Jenny Edkins and Véronique Pin-Fat, "Jean Bethke Elshtain: Traversing the Terrain Between," in *The Future of International Relations*, edited by Neumann and Waver, 303-6; and Noggle, *A Dance with Death*.

feminists to bellicose nationalists, including at least two, the State Department officer Eleanor Lansing Dulles and Jeane Kirkpatrick, the first female United States ambassador to the United Nations, who sought to function as well-connected insiders in American foreign policy. Beyond the fact that they were women and, as Joan Hoff-Wilson points out in her concluding essay to that volume, that their influence upon the decision-making process remained marginal, it is difficult to discern among them any consistent position on issues of war and peace.³² In his survey of the role of women in the making of United States foreign policy from World War I onward, Jeffreys-Jones gave a more nuanced picture. He stated that, although most American women—like their counterparts in other countries—were at best “peacetime pacifists,” who rallied patriotically behind the flag and the national cause in time of war, “Women have always been especially inclined to support peace.” Eleanor Roosevelt was a prominent case in point. Although women were undoubtedly over-represented within the pacifist and peace movements, according to Jeffreys-Jones the gender gap that opinion polls demonstrate has existed since at least World War II was founded upon the fact that most women supported a strong defensive national security posture but were reluctant to contemplate outright war until all other alternatives had been exhausted. Eight out of nine women in Congress, however, voted for American intervention in World War II, the only dissenter—male or female—on that issue being the dedicated Montana and Georgia pacifist Jeannette Rankin, who had cast a similar vote on World War I. The difference between men and women was often more a matter of shading than of diametrically opposed attitudes. Jeffreys-Jones was, moreover, extremely cautious in drawing any implications for the attitudes women were likely to adopt toward international issues in the future, warning:

If history is a guide, the only constant feature of the difference between women and men over foreign policy would appear to be that it is rarely constant: Clearly gender differences in this sphere are neither innate nor immutable. It does seem likely that women will remain more peaceful than men until well into the twenty-first century. Yet that will reflect not an unchangeable law of nature but a conscious choice made by women.³³

One of the workshop’s more stimulating features was the manner in which Joan Hoff in her keynote address drew attention, as did other

³² See the various essays included in Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy*.

³³ Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, quotation from 199.

participants, to the “maleization” or “masculinization” of women in positions in power, the degree to which they present themselves as “one of the boys” and internalize masculine norms of thinking and behavior. Over fifteen years ago, Hoff highlighted such attitudes as characteristic of women who have joined and wish to succeed within male-dominated bureaucracies.³⁴ Few would doubt that women such as Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, or Jiang Qing displayed enormous toughness in winning power and exercising it, in several cases gaining the dubious accolade of “the only man in the cabinet.” What remains less clear is whether any given woman’s forceful and supposedly masculine personal style in politics, even when associated with her bruising treatment of male colleagues, automatically translated into aggressive international policies. In an interesting analysis of female heads of state and government, Jeffreys-Jones found that, whatever their image and rhetoric, in practice women leaders were at least as cautious as men in international relations, and perhaps more so. Even those such as Thatcher, Meir, and Gandhi, who sometimes employed bold language against adversaries, fought wars which were either defensive in nature or, in the case of the 1971 Indo-Pakistan conflict, designed to end a situation that threatened to destabilize their own country’s security. In Scandinavia and Ireland, by contrast, other equally forceful if slightly less renowned women leaders worked rather assertively for peaceful policies. Since all these women won power after 1960, their attitudes may of course reflect nothing more than the pragmatic caution that characterized the practice as opposed to the rhetoric of Cold War international policy. Jeffreys-Jones does, however, absolve the “iron ladies” of any especially warlike proclivities, even concluding: “Women show a uniform disposition to be peaceful. What varies according to different cultures is not so much the degree to which women practice peace, as their willingness to advocate it.”³⁵

Historically, the number of women rulers involved in major warfare has been relatively small, making it difficult to generalize. In the eighteenth century, the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa and Catherine the Great of Russia—the former, according to the sardonic Prussian King Frederick the Great, weeping hypocritically as she did so—cheerfully resorted to war in their quest to annex large portions of the Kingdom of Poland. Easy pickings at low cost were difficult for men and women alike to resist. The economical sixteenth-century monarch Elizabeth I of

³⁴ Hoff-Wilson, “Conclusion: Of Mice and Men,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 182.

³⁵ Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, ch. 9, quotation from 173.

England, by contrast, thought war expensive, wasteful, and a threat to her coffers. Debarred by her sex from taking the field in person, she also disliked the possibility that a successful military leader might seek to encroach on her own authority. Though happy to encourage civil conflict in Scotland and thereby destabilize a neighboring country that might otherwise threaten English interests, Elizabeth resorted to major war only when forced to do so by her enemies. Cleopatra of Egypt took up arms primarily to protect her own position and that of the Roman leader, Mark Antony, to whom she had rather imprudently allied herself by marriage; she also left to him the task of commanding her military forces. Even the British Boudicca, epitome of the commanding warrior queen, required great provocation before she fought the occupying Roman forces of the first century before Christ.

Several conference papers drew attention to the important ancillary functions women—the “cogs,” in Kitty Xia Yongfang’s telling phrase—unobtrusively perform at lower levels of diplomacy, where their linguistic skills, meticulous attention to detail, and consistent hard work render many of their services indispensable. Studies of the Chinese and American diplomatic services alike, however, highlight the degree to which women were and to a considerable degree still are concentrated in low-level, administrative, and support positions and excluded from those in policy-making. In the United States, no woman who is a career diplomat has yet served as ambassador to any major country. The same holds true for China, though among the forty-four women who have held fifty-five ambassadorial positions several have served in Asian countries, Singapore, Myanmar, and the Philippines, for example, of some significance to Chinese diplomacy. Although China appointed women to diplomatic positions from the early 1970s onward, in the early 1980s the government ruled that the wives of male Chinese ambassadors, even when they were themselves senior diplomats, could not function in that capacity overseas. The first United States appointment of a woman as head of mission, that of former Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen—herself the daughter of past Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan—as minister to Denmark, came in 1933, but although in 1977 76.9 percent of State Department employees were female, women only held 3.3 percent of senior positions. During the 1930s Great Depression, in many Western countries, including Britain and the United States, women who held government jobs were expected to give these up upon marriage. Although these restrictions broadly disappeared during World War II, until the early 1970s British and American women working in the career diplomatic service—though not in ancillary positions, such as secretary—were still expected to relinquish

their jobs if and when they married, a choice between wedlock and a highflying career never imposed on men, for whom an efficient and charming wife (sometimes termed a “diplomatic geisha”) could represent a great asset. In 2003, of 167 United States ambassadors only thirty, or 16 percent, were women, and three years later the number had fallen to twenty-three. Of the 189 countries represented at the United Nations, in 2003 eleven and by 2006 twenty had a female permanent ambassadorial representative serving at the United Nations New York headquarters, while in 2003 fifteen and three years later twenty-three had a woman heading their mission in Washington.³⁶

Despite the high-profile appointments of Madeleine Albright as secretary of state under President Bill Clinton, Condoleezza Rice as national security adviser and secretary of state under President George W. Bush, and Jeane Kirkpatrick as ambassador to the United Nations during the administration of President Ronald Reagan, qualified American women still find it difficult to break into policy-making positions. None of these three, moreover, came from the career diplomatic service; all were political appointees, as were such prominent women ambassadors as Clare Boothe Luce in Italy in the 1950s, Shirley Temple Black in Ghana under President Richard Nixon, or Pamela Harriman in France during the Clinton years. Women who attained high office often, moreover, found the going hard. According to Hoff-Wilson, despite earning a Stanford PhD, the unmarried Frances Willis, the first woman career foreign service officer to be appointed as US ambassador, to Switzerland in 1953, Luxembourg in 1957, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1961, had “a promotion record [that] lagged behind and was less prestigious than that of her male colleagues.”³⁷ Even though the mid-level State Department official Eleanor Lansing Dulles, a trained economist, was the sister of John Foster Dulles, secretary of state from 1953 to 1959, in Austria in the later 1940s and in Berlin in the 1950s she often encountered frustrating sexism from male colleagues. In the 1950s her relationship to the secretary ensured that her career flourished as it might not otherwise have done, but after her brother’s death she was once more relegated to obscurity. However well-connected she might be, this formidably able and highly qualified woman undoubtedly found her sex a near prohibitive handicap in pursuing a

³⁶ See the chapters by Gordon E. Slethaug, Julia Chang Bloch, Li Yingtao, and He Peiqun; also Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, 174-8; and Hoff-Wilson, “Conclusion: Of Mice and Men,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 173-8.

³⁷ Hoff-Wilson, “Conclusion: Of Mice and Men,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 179.

career of the same distinction her brothers attained, one as secretary of state, the other as director of the Central Intelligence Agency.³⁸ Jeffreys-Jones also drew attention to the particular vulnerability of women, even such redoubtable characters as longtime Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, to smears of sexual misconduct, along the lines that they used men to sleep their way to the top, behaved inappropriately when in power, or—a hoary old chestnut pulled out whenever men perceive any woman as undesirably strong—preferred women to men.³⁹

Even high-profile noncareer female appointees found it difficult to gain acceptance and respect in the United States of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Kirkpatrick, a woman of strong character whose position entitled her to attend meetings of the National Security Council, rarely felt comfortable within the top policy-making circles of the Reagan administration, and clearly found particularly distressing her relationship with Alexander M. Haig, Reagan's highly turf-conscious first secretary of state.⁴⁰ Joan Hoff's chapter on Kirkpatrick and the first two US female secretaries of state demonstrates that over the next two decades little changed. During the Clinton administration Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, though flamboyant, forceful, and highly visible, was quietly excluded from the president's inner circle of masculine foreign policy decision-makers, considered "useful for testing policies out on talk shows, but not necessarily involved in formulating them." As US national security adviser, and perhaps even as secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice was often relegated to the sidelines by the powerful masculine egos battling for power and control within George W. Bush's administration.⁴¹

Given the historical context of centuries and even millennia in which participation by women in foreign affairs was effectively contingent upon the accidents of birth and marriage, one might nonetheless argue that the transitions in female diplomatic roles that occurred during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the second half of the latter, were

³⁸ Lynne K. Dunn, "Joining the Boys' Club: The Diplomatic Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 119-25; see also Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*.

³⁹ Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, esp. 106-7, 127, 181-2. One irritated woman once riposted by sweetly inquiring just why it was that men should automatically assume that any woman blessed with a modicum of intelligence would naturally prefer women to men.

⁴⁰ Judith Ewell, "Barely in the Inner Circle," in *Women and American Foreign Policy*, edited by Crapol, 153-71; and Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences*, 174-5.

⁴¹ See Joan Hoff's chapter in this volume.

remarkably swift. It is worth remembering that different patterns of feminine activity in international relations often coexisted contemporaneously with each other. In this respect, it may be instructive to consider two American women who employed and became mentors to Letitia Baldridge, who herself subsequently won some renown in the early 1960s as Jacqueline Kennedy's White House chief of staff, eventually leaving to set up her own successful public relations business. Evangeline Bell Bruce, the diplomatic wife *par excellence*—the young and impressionable Baldridge described her as “the smoothest pro in the entire Diplomatic Corps of any country”—was the first woman to hire Baldridge, then in her early twenties, as her social secretary in the Paris embassy, where her husband, David Bruce, was ambassador from 1949 to 1952. Baldridge described her glamorous employers, who attained legendary status within the American Foreign Service, as “one of the most charismatic, gifted couples in diplomatic history.” Half-American, half-British, the daughter and stepdaughter of diplomats, Evangeline Bruce was a “perfect hostess” who

knew the art of flower arranging, could dash off menus *en français* that would inspire any Cordon Bleu chef, and could argue the finest points of protocol with any official Protocol Office in any country. . . . Evangeline Bruce always knew the right thing to do, what to say, what to wear, what invitations to accept, when to leave a party.

Tall, beautiful, slim, so graceful she was described as “poetry in motion,” a still young second wife who ascended to the International Best Dressed Hall of Fame while in Paris, “she was the only diplomat's wife who spoke five languages fluently, wrote for French intellectual magazines (in French), and was considered [her husband's] assistant as well as his spouse.” The highly intelligent Bruce, who met her husband while working for the wartime Office of Strategic Services in London, was granted security clearance to see official papers and viewed herself as his co-ambassador in Paris and the embassies in Germany and London where the couple subsequently served, as they did in the 1970s in the new United States Liaison Office in Beijing and the NATO embassy in Brussels. Rumor credited this artistic and highly cultivated woman with being the State Department's ultimate arbiter on all matters of protocol and culture, and every new ambassador's wife was routinely sent to consult her.⁴² In

⁴² Baldridge, *Of Diamonds and Diplomats*, 6-7, second quotation from 6; Baldridge, *A Lady, First*, 47-52, first and third quotations from xi, 51; see also