

Enroth, Heinrich and Douglas
Brommesson, eds. *Global
Community? Transnational and
Transdisciplinary Exchanges*. London:
Rowman & Littlefield International,
2015.

Chapter 8

The “Spirit of Internationalism” in the Prewar Women’s Movement

Susan Hinely

On the night of November 6, 1887, meetings and rallies were held in major cities of the Americas and Europe, with almost fifty separate gatherings in London alone, all condemning the murder conviction of eight anarchist workers in Chicago and calling for the governor of Illinois to halt their execution.¹ As one of the first local tragedies with real-time global resonance, what we remember today as the Haymarket Affair illustrates the degree to which the foundations of our contemporary globality were already in place by the late nineteenth century. The newest technologies of mass printing, a vastly accelerated international post and, most critically, international telegraph lines, had enabled an increasingly mobile class of educated elites to organize on behalf of causes that transcended national borders. These activists presented the conviction of the Haymarket anarchists, almost all of whom were immigrant workers, as a *global* injustice, as an affront to basic rights held by all members of an imagined international community. Mobilized by an inchoate vision of this larger democracy, these international activists engaged in an early version of “virtual politics,” as their collective telegrams sent electronic impulses through a cable under the Atlantic Ocean, along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad telegraph lines, and on to a paper delivered to the governor’s desk.

Twenty-two years after the Haymarket Affair, some of the same activists who as young people had worked on the lost cause of the anarchists, were gathered in London to organize once again in the cause of global justice. At the biannual conference of the International Women’s Suffrage Alliance, women and men from twenty-two countries denounced slavery, labor exploitation, economic inequality and other social ills as violations of human rights. As before, the activists were using the newest technologies to connect their far-flung network, technologies that now included motor cars, telephones,

box cameras, recorded sound, motion pictures, and the “wireless” telegraph, now able to transmit electronic data through the air. By 1909, the concerns of these global activists reached far beyond immigrant workers in Chicago to include slaves in China, abused workers in India, and the impoverished victims of market forces all over the world. Once again, the activists phrased their demands in democratic terms with a nascent global republic in mind. This new international community would be the first truly democratic society, the activists argued, with both women and men enfranchised and with equal representation for all the world’s “nations,” a term often interchanged with “races,” and one meant to embrace all national groups, including those subject to imperial rule. “We have been baptized in that spirit of the Twentieth Century which the world calls Internationalism,” proclaimed Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the IWSA. Inspired by this new, cosmopolitan ethic, the women’s movement for democratic representation and equal justice would replace “the sordid struggle of each nation” with a federated order governed by international law.²

These two examples of international activism provide temporal markers for an era increasingly described by historians as the first stage of contemporary globalization: the three to four decades before the First World War when revolutions in energy, communication, and transportation vastly accelerated the global movement of people, products, and capital.³ Not only did this period build key technological and economic foundations for our present condition of globality; it was also marked by challenges to the liberal constitution within Western states and to the imperial order globally, a widespread and still resonant questioning of the adequacy of the nation-state to meet the needs and respect the rights of a newly cognizant global community. While we can trace many of the conditions of modern globality to this prewar era, the historical profession faces real challenges in analyzing global history generally. History in its modern academic form developed in tandem with the rise of the nation-state.⁴ The profession is structured, by its terms, categories, and what counts for evidence, to tell a story with the nation as the basic referent. If the discipline is to meet the challenge of providing a history relevant to our global present, it must develop new vocabulary, methods, and theoretical models.

In response to this challenge, a rich and growing body of historical literature has emerged that seeks to recast the past outside of the national frame. Transnational history, as it is most often called, focuses on fluid and transient networks of ideas, individuals, and images, even or especially when they cross or contradict the institutions and labels that traditionally structure political history.⁵ Rather than tracking a linear trajectory, transnational histories engage in what Benedict Anderson calls “political astronomy,” an attention to global circuitries that light up intermittently in unexpected places and that

illuminate alternative readings of familiar stories. Such histories take seriously what appear to us to be contradictory allegiances held by historical figures. Recognizing that people are prompted to political action by affective as well as rational signals, transnational histories acknowledge the complex cultural matrices within which political identity is formed, and they resist the tendency to see historical figures and their political alliances as fixed or internally consistent.⁶

In this chapter, I will suggest some "gravitational fields," in Anderson's sense, where overlapping ideals, images, and practices offer new ways of seeing the demands for democratic rights and self-rule that swept the world in the prewar period. While the new transnational histories have begun producing a global radical past by examining many of these prewar challenges to the established state, these accounts neglect the largest transnational movement of the period, the uprising of women in support of a vast and multifarious set of demands, including the right to vote. By focusing on overlapping icons and ideals, rather than national groups and organized movements, we can recognize connections between the anticolonial and civil rights activism of the period and that of the women's suffrage movement, the one moment in modern history when women as women, that is, as part of a distinctly gendered political alliance, physically confronted the state and forced it to use violence against them. This extraordinary moment not only challenged governments simultaneously around the globe, but also introduced technologies and strategies of mass politics still employed in radical activism—including the political prisoner's hunger strike. In return, its activists faced new, internationally coordinated state responses of surveillance, violence, and provocation that persisted long after the Great War brought the movement to an end.

To be clear, I do not argue that anticolonial, civil rights, and women's movement activists were formally allied and pursuing a common set of aims.⁷ Indeed, while these activists periodically coalesced around shared ideals and icons, these moments of collective identity tended to fragment into various and often contradictory prescriptions for change in the actual practice of politics. I do argue that the women's movement in this period, partly because of the size and power of its Western-led campaigns, was particularly generative of these "gravitational fields" or transitory moments of alliance, and that its militant struggle for democratic inclusion reinforced and invigorated the democratic claims of other activists.

Four gravitational fields that illuminate women's key position in this loose web of prewar activism can be detected in the discourse of the period. The first is the ideal of a stateless community, both as an ideological goal and as a kind of political practice. Like other prewar radical movements—arguably, like all modern democratic revolutions—the women's movement was driven by a vision of community that claimed to reconcile individual freedom

with social order and equality. From the beginning of the age of modern democratic revolutions, women's pursuit of this elusive goal was historically marked by a deep distrust of the state and an unwillingness to accept its claim to represent the "community." As anarchist socialists in the late nineteenth century, as "internationalists" in the prewar years, and as neoreligious revivalists calling for a universal faith, women radicals were some of the fiercest denouncers of the expanding imperial state. Their antistate rhetoric and imagery roiled the early global airwaves and intensified the antistate discourse of the parallel anticolonial networks.

Second, women's claim to be equal members of the new global community corresponded and resonated broadly with the claims for inclusion of "non-white" activists in this period.⁸ Every "community" is metonymic, that is, less than the whole it claims to be, and the border-drawing required of defined communities historically requires exclusion, a setting apart and rejection of groups whose "difference" gives the illusion of identity to the community.⁹ In their efforts to be included within the always-shifting boundaries of an emerging imagined global democracy, women and other "others" experimented with new forms of identity, often in a vocabulary extolling the eugenic possibilities of racial vitality, New Women, and a revolutionized family. One of the most intriguing aspects of the transnational networks of this period was the degree to which sexual and racial categories were questioned and crossed, setting in motion unpredictable relations of cultural and imperial power.

Third, the tactics and political practices of the women's movement and those of non-Western radicals overlapped and periodically galvanized each other. The strategies of party politics and cooperation with the state yielded few successes to disenfranchised and excluded women. In contrast, the politics of daily living and small group networks were available and effective, resulting in a robust tradition of alternative politics that intersected with the strategies of non-Western activists. Consonant with anarchist strategic traditions, women and other groups excluded from the imperial state engaged in new habits of consumption, passive resistance, and the politics of spectacle or "propaganda by the deed," and faced internationally coordinated state repression as a consequence.

Finally, the global attraction to the ideal of international law offers another gravitational field that intermittently united and reinforced these radical movements. The prewar women's movement devoted enormous efforts and resources to the construction of an international legal regime. Though concealed in the international conventions and organizations of the period, where the representatives of the party-states were always men, they supported these endeavors with labor, ideas, and money. Furthermore, in their own political, religious, and humanitarian international organizations, they developed structures and strategies still employed by international nongovernmental organizations.

THE IDEAL OF THE FREE AND MORAL COMMUNE

One of the key organizers of the international campaign in support of the Haymarket immigrants was Charlotte Wilson, a middle-class Englishwoman who collaborated with the exiled anarchist philosopher Peter Kropotkin in publishing the anarchist journal *Freedom*, and who provided funds and contacts for the many political refugees who flocked to London from around the world.¹⁰ Her ideal of global democracy was expressed as "anarchist socialism," a dream of both individual freedom—"anarchism"—and social order and equality—"socialism." Her anarchist ideal of the good society was shared by many in the socialist revival of the 1880s, especially women socialists, who had good reason to distrust the strategy of forming socialist parties and electing laboring men to the state. To adopt the strategy of party politics would be to place the future of socialism in a governmental system that women could not enter and that enforced their subordinate status through a myriad of laws. In place of what some socialist women called "the Masculine State," they called for a commune marked by social and sexual equality, one that would link with other communes in a stateless federation.¹¹ While state socialists increasingly structured their propaganda to appeal directly to the voting male and his organized trade unions, the anarchists addressed the disenfranchised, an audience that always included women but that also embraced an increasingly transnational pool of immigrants, political refugees, and the very poor.

By the turn of the century, Wilson and most other Western socialists no longer called themselves anarchists, a term that by then had become synonymous with "terrorism." They still considered themselves socialists, however, as they continued to pursue the ideal of a free commune as members of the women's suffrage movement.¹² By the prewar years, this free commune was increasingly imagined as a global one, and "the spirit of internationalism" was used to describe the ethical basis for this new social order. Prewar suffrage journals were full of antistate rhetoric and hopeful pictures of a new form of international governance once women ruled equally with men. A rejection of the existing nation-state was implicit, as suffragists hailed the women's movement as the first truly transnational cause, composed of the women of the world who had full political rights in no nation.¹³ While the name "anarchism" no longer signaled the ideal of a free commune in the West by 1914, the term continued to evoke revolutionary responses in the socialist, anticolonial, and women's movements of Japan, China, Mexico, and Cuba, where the works of Kropotkin and Tolstoy, often translated by Western women, were widely admired.

The journey Wilson and others made from anarchist socialism to international suffragism forms an important thread in the loose fabric of prewar radicalism. The traditional histories of socialism sever the tie between

suffragists and socialists and replace it with two opposed movements structured around national aims.¹⁴ As intellectual traditions and political movements, however, socialism and what is now called feminism are inextricable.¹⁵ Both flow inexorably from the Western democratic ideal that rejects all authority not based on consent and that imagines an egalitarian social order composed of free individuals. The transnational lens helps restore this substantive link between the histories of socialism and suffragism and makes visible other connections obscured by the national frame.

Another such newly visible strand in the prewar transnational imaginary was the substantive consistency between the anarchist ideal of community and the picture of a moral society promoted by many Christian and neoreligious activists. Many Victorian/Edwardian activists who never called themselves anarchists or socialists practiced a religiously driven politics shaped by the same ideal of individual liberation and social equality that all democratic radicals shared. The good society they pictured transcended the nation-state, and the programs they pursued were often in conflict with actual state practice. While the aims and interests of these religious activists often conflicted with those of anarchist activists, their common antistate discourse resonated and could support the perception of a larger global accord.

This ideal was most audible when expressed in terms of a Christian mission, and women were the ones most often broadcasting this global message in the prewar years. Spiritually driven women were building schools, hospitals, and settlement houses in the immigrant zones of the Western metropolis and all over China, India, Africa, and Latin America. The world's largest non-governmental international organization in the prewar era was the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Through literature and programs that circled the globe, it threw its mighty weight behind the cause of women's suffrage while simultaneously battering the imperial state for its complicity with the liquor, tobacco, and other drug industries.¹⁶ While Biblical references and Christian motifs strongly mark the suffrage archive, there simultaneously exists a shaming of the practice of Christianity, especially its legacy in the non-Western world. Christian armies, manufacturers, and politicians are compared unfavorably with the "heathen" (invariably set in quotation marks) women and children they employed and enslaved.¹⁷ The descriptions of Jesus as a revolutionary and his followers as members of a community that transcended the state could resonate with other martyrs and critics of the state, even as the concrete political agenda of these groups pointed in different directions.

Not only were women of the world inherently international, the suffragists claimed, but they were also "interconfessional," that is, aware of the global diversity of faith and united by a spirituality beyond any one organized religion. The suffragist interconfessional spirit supported a wave of new blended faiths, from Theosophy and Baha'i to the neo-Hinduism of

Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghose. Neo-Hindu spiritual explorations circulated among socialists, suffragists, and anticolonial intellectuals in the drawing rooms and lecture halls of London, New York, Alexandria, Tokyo, and other transnational crossroads. The women's movement activist Adelaide Manning provided a setting for such cross-cultural encounters in her North London home, which also served as the headquarters of the National Indian Association and as a well-known haven for colonial subjects studying medicine or preparing for the Indian Civil Service exam. Henrietta Müller, an antistate socialist, tax resistor, and suffragist activist, spent years in India lecturing on Theosophy, mostly to audiences of secluded women, and edited and publicized the works of Swami Vivekananda. With travel greatly accelerated by the Suez Canal, middle-class Americans and Europeans could affordably travel back and forth to Asia on treks that combined personal pilgrimages with cultural and political networking. The socialist and suffragist Edward Carpenter traveled the Indian subcontinent in the 1890s, as did the French anarchist Alexandra David-Néel, who went on to work in Hanoi and Japan. North Americans Josephine MacLeod and Sara Chapman Bull meditated in the Himalayas, and then provided critical financial and organizational support for the Ramakrishna Mission, including funds to start the Bengali nationalist magazine *Udbhoden*.¹⁸ A leading socialist and women's rights advocate in the 1880s, Annie Besant left England at the end of the century and traveled the world preaching Theosophy, Irish Home Rule, and women's rights, before assuming the presidency of the Indian National Congress in 1916. After a period in London where she was part of the socialist anarchist network, Irish-born Margaret Noble traveled to Calcutta in 1898, took the vow of brahmacharya (including celibacy) and, rechristened as Sister Nivedita, spent the rest of her life in India building girls' schools and supporting the Indian nationalist movement.¹⁹

Although the activists' particular pictures of the ideal community inevitably varied and were sometimes inconsistent, the abstract commitment to the good society and a new, universal faith intermittently linked a wide range of prewar activists. In spite of their traditional separate categorization as suffragists, missionaries, socialists, or anticolonialists, and even from their distinct, seemingly opposed positions on the Western imperial grid of racial and sexual difference, these seekers of political justice and a higher faith were operating within a common field of emerging global communication.

SEXUAL AND RACIAL DIFFERENCE

The next important task for a transnational history of prewar radicalism is to recognize the common morphology and history of women's politics and the

liberation movements of other biologically imagined excluded groups. As with socialism and feminism, abolitionist and anticolonial ideologies drew much of their sustenance from the Western ideal of an individualism that naturally produces an egalitarian social order. The contours of this abstract individual were most often drawn in contrast to groups whose members were *not* part of this ideal order, a depiction that historically excluded groups based on sex and race.²⁰ In their claims for inclusion, women and nonwhites engaged in overlapping descriptions of themselves as human individuals capable of exercising democratic freedom. Most clearly in the history of the American abolitionist and civil rights movements, but visible in other examples of democratic radicalism as well, the campaigns of women and nonwhites merged at key points, both strategically and in terms of theoretical justification.²¹ In spite of their common ideological and political lineage, the campaigns for the democratic inclusion of women are traditionally treated separately from those of African Americans or colonized peoples. These separate, nation-based histories diverge most widely in the prewar years. As “imperial feminists,” Western women agitating globally for political equality in this period are treated separately in accounts that often highlight their roles in transmitting racist Western culture.²²

Yet, racist Western culture was being transmitted in all directions and by all groups whose subjectivities were constructed in a cultural field resonating with dominant Western tones, including Western-educated colonial elites and first-generation freedmen in American higher education. Like many middle-class women in the West, these men (and sometimes women) were beneficiaries of the late nineteenth-century expansion in university education. W.E.B. Du Bois at Harvard, Qasim Amin at University of Montpellier, Mohandas Gandhi at University College, Charlotte Wilson at Cambridge—these and others were part of the first generation of their particular excluded group to receive higher education. Many of these intellectuals had received their precollegiate education from Western Christian women, whether in mission schools in China, freedmen academies in America, or secondary girls’ schools in England. All had been taught the ideals of democratic theory and the truths of Victorian science, including the biological evolution of human races and the eugenic imperatives of sexual reproduction. Indeed, it was their acquired fluency in the vocabulary of Western science and philosophy that often distinguished these educated women and “coloreds” from their respective excluded groups and that led them to leadership roles in radical politics. They used science to make their case for inclusion, and argued in structurally similar terms that women and nonwhites were essential members of a new, eugenically sound world order.

While racial and sexual differences were established facts in Western knowledge, the social meaning of these facts was debated broadly,

especially among the globe-trotting suffragist, neoreligious, anarchist, anti-colonial, and civil rights activists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For some, eugenics required the separation of races so that each could perfect and purify its particular traits. For others, eugenics required a healthy admixture of multiple races so as to avoid the cultural and biological sterility that develops with too much inbreeding. The majority of belle époque intellectuals employed both eugenic principles, depending upon the audience and the definition of "race" they were using, as they tried to describe an ideal that would include their own imagined biological group as part of a free and just communal order. Most often these activists transposed racial difference into the Western binary formula as a key component of the interacting cultural diversity that naturally produces a rich and robust communal order. In this key, racially defined cultural differences must be preserved and protected, as Du Bois argued in *The Souls of Black Folk*, and as the German immigrant anthropologist Franz Boas taught in the new field of cultural anthropology. By 1910, this interpretation had taken political form in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, organized by Du Bois and supported by Boas and a core group of suffragists, social workers, and educators. Nannie Burroughs, the Baptist daughter of slaves and advocate for the rights of domestic servants, saw women's suffrage as key to this project of protecting the integrity of racial variety. In the NAACP journal *The Crisis*, she argued that "the Negro woman is white woman's as well as the white race's most needed ally in preserving an unmixed race."²³ A variation on this positive reading of racial difference was sounded frequently among anarchist theorists, such as the French geographer Élisée Reclus. Like everyone else, he spoke in the language of racial science, but he made an evolutionary argument for "racial fusion," an intercoupling of peoples that would strengthen rather than weaken the human stock. The reproductive union of "East and West," Reclus argued, was the key to moral and biological progress, a reading that perhaps appealed at some level to Burroughs, Du Bois, and the other African American leaders who benefitted socially from the lighter skin that their "mulatto" lineage produced.²⁴

Biological arguments on behalf of women's inclusion were equally indeterminate, with some activists promoting equal but differentiated sexual identities as essential to the democratic order, while others described a merger of male and female attributes into a new human type for the new, international twentieth century. The slogan "the Woman Question," in various translations, may be the most often repeated phrase in the journalism of prewar transnational radicalism. Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Persian, Turkish, and Egyptian intellectual revolutionaries placed a challenge to established sexual practices at the heart of their politics, even

as their actual prescriptions for a transformed family life often differed dramatically from those advanced by the Western women's movement.²⁵ More consonant was the transnational call for eugenic sexual relations. The Chinese nationalist Kang Youwei sounds much like the Swedish suffragist Ellen Key in his conviction that the free society of the future must include the best reproductive practices. The "New Woman" was a transnational icon whose substantive identity alternated between ideals of sexual purity and visions of a new, more highly evolved amalgamated sexual being. While the eugenicist Karl Pearson and the feminist Olive Schreiner disagreed about the best form of the future socialist family, they agreed that the issue was central to radical democratic politics, as did the Egyptian nationalist Qasim Amin, the Filipino revolutionary Jose Rizal, and the Japanese anarchist Qiu Jin.²⁶ Edward Carpenter's widely read depictions of the "intermediate sex," and his critique of state-enforced heterosexuality, explicitly tied an ideal of sexual fusion to the radical, antistate project: "Confessed passionate lovers of your own sex, Arise!... Government and Laws and police then fall into their places—the earth gives her own Laws."²⁷ Similarly ecstatic pictures of a new, transcendent sexual being, most often an empowered mother or New Woman, appear throughout the literature of the suffragist movement.

Whether depicted as harmoniously interacting or as fruitfully merging, racial and sexual difference was a transnational assumption, articulated no more often by Western feminists than by their contemporaries in anticolonial and socialist causes. Again, this is not an argument for a coherent, self-aware collaboration in the sense of standard histories of nationalist movements, nor is it a claim that Western suffragists were free of racist assumptions. They could not possibly be, just as they and their non-Western contemporaries could not be free of assumptions about sexual and other assumed biological hierarchies. It is a claim that the points of allied discursive contact between these groups matter more for transnational history than the assertions of racial or sexual superiority that all of these activists employed at some point. After all, Gandhi's nationalism straight through the Great War was framed by his claim of rights as a subject of the British Empire, with a racial identity distinct from (and superior to) that of the native South Africans with whom he lived. Much of the information Western suffragists learned about the "primitive" practices of East and South Asian peasants came directly from the orientalist lectures and literature of East and South Asian university-educated elites. These and other anomalies in the nationalist narrative allow us to see the history of prewar radicalism in unfamiliar ways. Only then can we explore the implications of understanding the NAACP as a "feminist" organization, or Bengali militancy as a campaign supported by neoreligious Western suffragists.

NEW LIFE POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA BY THE DEED

Women and colonial subjects alike were blocked from participation in the late imperial state. This was also the practical reality for most African Americans, in spite of the formal enfranchisement of black men after the Civil War. The option of pursuing change through party-based electoral politics, therefore, was not a winning strategy, as the long history of the women's suffrage movement in both Britain and the United States clearly showed. As outlined above, the understandable appeal of anarchist and other forms of antistate ideologies to all these excluded groups was a major node of transnational intersection.

One alternative to party politics was to engage in what was often called the "New Life." Like the stateless vision of the future, the emotional appeal of "simplification" and "free fellowship" and "rational dress" and other new habits of living reverberated broadly, and even appealed to many in the electoral politics camp. A romantic, antimodernist theme has always coursed alongside the rationalist optimism of the Western political ideal, and the opening it provided to a politics of personal life helped sustain the critique of sexual hierarchy.²⁸ Unions without marriage, marriages without sex, communal living, and same-sex partnerships were part of the politics of both the socialist and the women's movement. Edward Carpenter's celebration of intersexed erotics, the fiercely egalitarian Christian Quaker couples, the insistence that married women keep and use their names—all these practices tapped in to the revolutionary current that placed the origin of democratic politics in a transformed and nonhierarchical home. As with the antistate sentiment, this rejection of bourgeois sexual relations could evoke an affective response in ways that electoral propaganda could not, especially from the university-educated women and men who claimed that freedom in love would be both liberating and eugenically sound.

For many, the New Life called for a rejection of bourgeois consumption as well as bourgeois marriage. For them, political practice started not at the polling booth but by the daily nurturing of a "simplified" culture of desire. This mode of political action might involve vegetarianism, a renewal of handicraft, loose-fitted clothing and open shoes, or any other alternate form of consumption that supported their program of a radically decentralized economy based on a federation of self-sufficient producers. Socialists invented models of this antimodern system in the histories of medieval England, the Russian mir, the Iroquois confederacy, or the traditional Bengali village. Significantly, the traffic in these utopian blueprints was thoroughly transnational, with cultural transmission often rebounding in unexpected directions, as anthropologists, geographers, and social workers lectured about alternative economies at socialist and suffragist international conferences, and their writings circulated

from London to Calcutta to Tokyo. The best known, but hardly the only example of this transcultural exchange is provided by Mohandas Gandhi, who moved in Fabian socialist circles during his London years, first read the Bhagavad-Gita there in its orientalist English version, and was re-introduced to vegetarianism by Henry Salt, a sandal-wearing anarchist socialist in a companionate (sexless) marriage. Gandhi's manifesto against imperialism and industrialism, *Hind Swaraj*, is reminiscent of passages from William Morris's anarchist utopia *News From Nowhere*, and it pays tribute in the text to Edward Carpenter, the anarchist critic of heterosexuality and member of the suffragist Women's Freedom League, for his analysis of "civilization" as a "disease."²⁹

Especially for women, the New Life offered a form of visual politics, as their decision to reject restrictive bourgeois attire allowed them to engage in politics through their appearance alone. While deriving independently and from different cultural conflicts, the decisions by radical women in Egypt to forego the veil, by Chinese activists to combat foot and breast binding, and by Western women to reject corsets and hats, could be imagined to be part of a global rejection of sexual oppression, as these examples circulated in the international suffrage press. Here, too, the transnational politics of the Women's Christian Temperance Union exposes an unexpected seam of common discourse between women, anticolonialists, and other prewar activists. Understanding "temperance" to mean subjugation of the pleasure and power-seeking self in deference to the needs of the greater godly commonweal, the nonsectarian WCTU by the prewar period had expanded its attack on the liquor industry to include attacks on British imperial policy in India, Ireland, and South Africa, condemnation of Ottoman violence in Armenia, and support for child welfare and industrial safety. With its activists circling the globe, both physically and virtually, the WCTU spread slogans and icons that were compatible with practices and critiques of non-Western activists, especially in pan-Islamic and South Asian movements.³⁰ As a cause identified with temperance, as well as vegetarianism, Theosophy, and Baha'i, the suffrage movement was central to this circuitry, reinforcing the impression of an international spirit in common cause.

Corresponding idioms and visual cues were circulating in the journals, literature, conferences, and demonstrations of those prewar activists whose primary political strategy was propaganda, since constitutional access to state power was closed to them. The slave; the political prisoner; the victim of drunken violence and of rape; the lost preindustrial commune and its craft traditions; the new human, an often celibate body that transcended sex—these symbols roved globally, inevitably filled with distinct, often conflicting meaning for those who produced and consumed them, but cumulatively conveying a sense that an international movement was underway. Perhaps

the image most often reproduced in this early electronic traffic was the icon of the Mother. The shrewdest card the suffragists could play in a political game ruled by boys was to draw upon the power of the Mother, the stern but loving first voice of justice. At the same time, the Mother was clearly an emotionally powerful and unifying symbol within the suffrage movement itself, including or even especially for the many childless women who led it. She was the marker for an imagined community of universally enfranchised individuals, the Marianne of the movement, and like all such revolutionary symbols, indeterminate enough to cloak real political differences. In the equally indeterminate image of Mother India, nationalists projected a similar postcolonial fusion of freedom and social order; it's no wonder that both groups could imagine they shared the same dream. As Josephine MacLeod explained, the "fundamental difference between the Indian and our Western civilizations" was that "Indian civilization is based upon motherhood, and our civilization is based upon wifehood."³¹ For MacLeod and many others, the goal of the women's movement was not to join men as citizens in the existing state but to abolish Western civilization, defined as the meat-eating, profit-seeking, industrial "disease" that Morris, Carpenter, and Gandhi despised. From Emma Goldman's anarchist journal *Mother Earth*, to the "Mütterlichkeit" social policies of German feminists, to the Sree Maa (Holy Mother) of Ramakrishna, to the "Mothers of Citizens" maxim among anti-Qing radicals, the transnational talisman for justice in the new century was the Mother.

The book that helped globalize an alternate, also symbolically powerful image of Mother, one in which her mighty wrath lays low the wicked, was written in 1900 by the Irish anarchist turned Indian cultural nationalist, Sister Nivedita. *Kali, the Mother* offered to the English-reading world a muscular maternal hero whose righteous sword cleared a path for militant nationalists to follow. Her symbolic sanction to the use of force prefigured Joan of Arc in suffrage iconography a few years later, as well as the Baha'i martyr Tahrih, and the ancient Chinese warrior Mulan, all of whom circulated as sword-wielding icons for a wide range of militant activity in the prewar era. There exists a clear tactical, theoretical, and discursive correspondence between suffrage militancy and the simultaneous wave of imperial insurrection that rumbled through the world in the years before the Great War. 1905, for example, marks both the commencement of the militant Swadeshi campaign and the civil disobedience tactics and imprisonment of British suffragists. The Iranian constitutional revolution and the Natal uprising, both in 1906, the execution of the anti-Qing and anarchist feminist Qiu Jin the following year, and the revolutions in Turkey (1908), Mexico (1910), and China (1911), all transverse the networks outlined here, as do the militant prewar activities of Irish and Egyptian nationalists and Japanese anarchist feminists. Rather than tracing a linear causal link running in any one territorial direction, the

transnational militant circuitry of the prewar period lit up in an intermittent fashion but with a visible uniformity in ideals and imagery. The anarchist tactic of "propaganda by the deed" was first employed under new terms by the prewar suffragists, most of whom, like Charlotte Wilson, no longer called themselves "anarchists," and appeared erratically thereafter in multiple settings. Passive resistance, symbolic property destruction, street theater, and other spectacles were skillfully employed, as the militant suffragists manipulated the state and the media to broadcast their message globally. They staged a new version of the old Western liberation story, with women cast as revolutionary "outlaws" whose open defiance of man-made law forced the imperial state to reveal the violence underlying the liberal consensual façade. Their tactics, especially the hunger strike, which the British suffragists originated in its contemporary political form, had a profound impact on Gandhi, who was in London campaigning for the rights of South Africa's Indian population at the same time that suffragists were being forcibly fed in Holloway Prison. Gandhi admired the suffragists "for the simple reason," as he put it, "that deeds are better than words."³² The militant suffragist Christabel Pankhurst was an acknowledged hero to the Indian nationalist Bhikaiji Cama, who was often in London during the height of suffrage militancy. In support of the world-wide democratic revolt, Cama traveled to Cairo in 1910 where she encouraged Egyptian nationalists to accept women in their ranks: "I see here the representatives of only half the population of Egypt. May I ask where is the other half? Sons of Egypt, where are the daughters of Egypt?"³³

Describing women and anticolonials as "subject peoples" allied in a common cause, suffragists drew a clear connection between women's "just war" against "sovereign masculinity" and the transnational revolt against the imperial state going on at the same time.³⁴ The nationalist activities of Egyptian, Persian, Philippine, and Javan women were followed in the suffrage press and expressly compared to women's experience in Western revolutionary history. After her 1913 "Suffrage World Tour," Carrie Chapman Catt drew the attention of international suffragists gathered in Budapest to the global pattern in which women are mobilized for revolution and then denied citizenship in victory, with women's militant participation in the 1911 Chinese Revolution offered as the most recent example. In spite of women's sacrifices, including the thousands who lost their lives, the post-revolutionary National Convention held at Nanking claimed to hold, according to Chapman Catt, a "theoretical belief in woman suffrage," but then determined "that the women were not yet ready," proving once again that "in some things the East is a faithful follower of Western example!"³⁵

Certainly the British imperial state made a link between the insurrection of women and that of colonial subjects, and it devised prewar containment strategies that addressed both forms of what it called "terrorism." In 1912, Scotland



Figure 8.1

AQ: Please provide caption for the figure 8.1.

Yard bought an 11-inch Ross Telecentric lens and secretly trained it on the movements of suffrage activists in what was possibly the world's first state surveillance photography. In another first, frustrated officials at Holloway Prison manipulated, or as we would say today, "photo-shopped," images of suffrage prisoners to hide the police chokeholds and weaponry used to subdue



AQ: Please provide caption for the figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2

them. Some of these same technologies and secret intelligence tactics, including the use of *agents provocateurs*, were employed against Indian nationalists before the War and against a wide range of "subversives" after the Bolshevik Revolution. In expanding the surveillance capabilities of Scotland Yard to address the uprisings at home and in the colonies, and in practicing its own form of internationalism through police collaboration with other Western nations, the British were continuing a project commenced in the 1880s in response to the perceived threat from anarchist immigrants. Indeed, there is a striking continuity between Victorian state and media depictions of anarchist "dynamitards" and the prewar depiction of suffragists, who are explicitly described as "anarchistic" and whose behavior is often ascribed to the same criminal bio-pathology as the racialized immigrant anarchists.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: THE LAST UTOPIA

Carrie Chapman Catt's invocation of the "spirit of internationalism" in 1909 on behalf of women's suffrage was echoed in countless conferences and expositions, as the growth of international organizations and conventions accelerated in the years before the Great War. This period reveals a torrent of ideas and efforts devoted to human rights and international law, and much of this utopian storm gathered its strength from the women's movement. Many of its members began to see the body of public international law developing at this time as a first step in the construction of the emancipated global community they imagined. These hopes, like the political ideals of socialists, anti-colonials, and other radicals, reproduced and transposed to the international level the fundamental Western claim that the pursuit of freedom by rational individuals would naturally produce collective order and equality.³⁶ Suffragists renamed rather than resolved the basic Western tension between liberty and order, with the place of the rational individual taken by the fully democratic state of the future. Fundamentally transformed by the empowerment of women, workers, and all the "races" of the world, the suffragists claimed, states of the future would govern themselves under international law, and war would exist no more. As suggested in the previous sections, it was the indeterminacy of this ideal "self as sovereign" that provided a lubricant throughout Western revolutionary history and allowed discordant groups to ally in opposition to the existing state in the name of a future state (or nation, commune, federation, and so on), whose institutional form would take shape upon victory. For women of the world, full citizens of no nation, the moment of final suffrage victory, like the moment of Christian rapture or the workers' revolution, would ecstatically transfigure the world of nation states into their imagined international community, a nonauthoritarian fusion of free,

interacting cultures attracted to one another by their racial and erotic differences and governed by the consensus and affection such interaction produces.

Prewar theorists of international law such as Leonard Hobhouse, Helena Swanwick, and Leonard Woolf, all of whom were socialists and active supporters of women's suffrage, posited a counter-narrative to the Social Darwinian theory of international relations and offered instead an evolutionary model based on mutual aid. While these legal theorists stayed within the Western binary tradition that promised both individual (or sovereign) freedom and social (or international) order, they shifted the dominant impulse in evolutionary progress from competition to cooperation. In this respect and others, their assumptions overlapped with those of anarchist theorists, such as Kropotkin, Reclus and Wilson, who saw centralized authority and an imperial state as impediments to, rather than facilitators of healthy international relations. Reciprocity and cooperation for mutual benefit were to be found in the historical record as often as selfish scrambles for individual advantage, these legal theorists and anarchist social scientists argued. Furthermore, those cultures that practiced voluntary mutual aid were the ones that endured, while centralized, rule-bound societies all came to the same, bloody end. Historical evidence of mutual aid was provided by Kropotkin's study of Siberian tribes, by Reclus's geographical research, and by examples of nongovernmental organizations like the new International Association of the Red Cross. This evidence showed, they argued, that people respond best to challenges when the state stays out of the way and leaves them free to apply their own local knowledge and to exercise their natural cooperative tendencies, a response that the dead hand of government tended to stifle.

The homology between anarchist and international legal theory is not surprising. After all, both schools had the burden of proving that freedom and order can co-exist without an over-arching sovereign force. Activists in the women's movement made persuasive contributions to the case by offering as evidence their own experiences with children. As educators in experimental schools all over the globe, women showed that one needn't search the Siberian steppes for proof that humans have a capacity for voluntary cooperation; they could see it daily in the interaction of children. Not only are young children naturally drawn to socially useful activities, they have a thirst for knowledge that compulsory education tends to destroy.³⁷

Similarly, the experiences of Western women in humanitarian relief efforts—the kind of work that is undertaken today by UN agencies and NGOs—provided further support for the theorists of mutual aid, whether anarchists or international legal theorists. Philanthropic and religious activists all over the globe gave evidence for a localized and spontaneous civility in response to disaster. From Calcutta, Sister Nivedita wrote to her former comrades in the *British socialist and women's press* asking for money and

extolling the voluntarism she witnessed in the series of plague and cholera epidemics that struck India in the late 1890s. From Bombay, where she was the senior medical officer of the Cama Hospital for Women and Children, Edith Pechey made similar fund-raising appeals to her colleagues in the West, while simultaneously lambasting the colonial administration's incompetent and obstructive response to the crisis. Pechey returned from India to Britain in 1905 to work full-time in the suffrage movement, attending the 1906 IWSA conference in Copenhagen, and organizing the massive suffragist "Mud March" in London the following year. Heading in the opposite direction at about the same time, Cambridge-educated Sarojini Naidu left Britain and returned to India. A member of the first-generation university-educated "others" network described above, she worked with Western and Indian women in organizing relief work in Hyderabad in response to the disastrous flooding of the Musi River in 1908.

Like the suffragists, the women involved in international humanitarian activism were pioneers in the techniques of global mass media. The principal tactic of contemporary human rights activists, "naming and shaming," can be traced to the employment of international journalism and photography by transnational activists working in Africa at the turn of the century. With her improvised darkroom and Kodak camera, the Baptist missionary Alice Seeley Harris provided the all-important visual factor that transformed a local tragedy into an international protest against King Leopold and his brutal, slave-based regime in the Congo, arguably the first global human rights campaign.³⁸ Leonard Hobhouse's sister Emily used photography, investigative journalism and the transnational women's philanthropic and educational network to put pressure on Herbert Kitchener, the commander of British forces in the Anglo-Boer War, to close the concentration camps that were at the heart of his containment counter-insurgency strategy. The photographs of emaciated children that illustrated Hobhouse's *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell* were the key to turning British and international public opinion against the war and to casting the Boers as comrades in the cause of "subject peoples" of the world.³⁹ Like Pechey, Hobhouse returned to Britain when suffrage activism grew dramatically. She was among the substantial but traditionally discounted segment of the movement that protested Britain's declaration of war in August 1914. Under the signature of 101 prominent suffragists, she published an "Open Christmas Letter to the Women of Germany and Austria" that called upon their "common womanhood" to bring an end to the War, to "own allegiance to that higher law," in spite of their being "technically at enmity in obedience to our rulers."⁴⁰

Even more widespread were the efforts of suffragists in support of international law and institutions. As interlocutors, theorists, researchers, translators, fundraisers, benefactors, organizers, as supporters in every sense, members of

the women's movement appear throughout the developing discourse of "the gentle civilizer of nations," one of the many phrases used to describe international law in this period that hints at the influence of a gendered politics. I will mention here just three of the areas where the women's movement intersects with prewar international law-making. First, activists poured an enormous amount of labor into the prewar project of disarmament and arbitration of international disputes. At both of The Hague Conventions and at other international peace conferences, women made their voices heard when possible, taking full advantage of their widely accepted claim to maternal expertise in the mechanisms of peaceful mediation. Second, women were very active in the development of international organizations for industrial health and consumer protection. Already leaders in national efforts to regulate working conditions and the safety of consumer goods, women in the prewar movement promoted international standards as the only way to insure compliance in a competitive global market. Finally, international laws against slavery and human trafficking are the most clearly marked by the politics of the transnational women's movement. Women in the movement knew well that abolition of slavery and women's emancipation shared a common political history. They saw their campaign against the "White Slave Trade" as a continuation of this honored crusade. The 1904 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade was the culmination of a campaign launched by Josephine Butler decades before, and the men who represented their member states relied upon long-existing women's philanthropic organizations to carry out the reporting, sheltering, and repatriation requirements of the law. Significantly, suffragists dropped the word "White" when reporting on the "Slave Traffic" at their international gatherings. Women of every color were sold, IWSA President Chapman Catt pointed out, by "Slavers" all over the world.⁴¹

THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONALISM IN THE GLOBAL PRESENT

This unfamiliar story that merges socialism, anticolonial movements, civil rights, and the women's movement doesn't claim, for example, that Jean Jaurès, Aurobindo Ghose, W.E.B. Du Bois, or Carrie Chapman Catt were all part of a conscious and coherent political project. Rather it proposes a kind of history that sees these radicals and others responding to a set of convergent ideals, terms, and images that reverberated in the transnational cultures of London, Calcutta, Tokyo, New York, and other cities connected to electronic media and accelerated transport in the prewar years. Precisely because of the contradictory and inconsistent politics these convergent signals produced,

this kind of history is closer to capturing the origins of our global community than the tales of rational progress structured by coherent national identities. Like prewar activists, today's activists find themselves navigating a flood of information and images produced by global media, operating under fluid, often contradictory notions of personal and political identity, and responding to affective signals as often as logical imperatives.

Indeed, the gravitational fields outlined above continue to attract transnational activists, many of whom are elites educated in imperial universities as were their Victorian predecessors. The fundamentally liberal ideal of a stateless community that protects both individual (or sovereign) freedom and social (or global) equality still structures international legal conventions and serves as the starting point for theoretical debates.⁴² And in spite of our so-called secular modernity, religious motivation quite clearly still galvanizes a wide range of transnational activism. While the terms "race" and "eugenics" were buried with the noxious twentieth-century politics that employed them, the goals of multiculturalism and best health practices remain. As indeterminate as were the prewar icons, the ideals of "cultural autonomy" and "universal human rights" yield unpredictable and often contradictory results when translated from declarations into the actual practice of political power.⁴³ Without the opportunity for meaningful participation in the financial, trade, and governing bodies of the international legal regime, activists today increasingly focus on revolutionized daily living. "Be the change you want to see," chanted the anti-globalization activists in Seattle in 1999 and the Occupy protestors in 2011, as they appealed to a global public through spectacle propaganda transmitted virtually. Finally, the major targets of international law and humanitarian organizations in the prewar women's movement—human trafficking, child marriage, genital mutilation, violence against women, extreme poverty—have budged very little and remain the focus of international human rights initiatives.⁴⁴

While transnational history offers little to those who like to hear stories about coherent individuals producing unified political movements with logical goals, it does present moments of global conjunction, where the pursuit of freedom and justice brought together people who are not ordinarily grouped in traditional stories of our past: a coalition of Victorian New Women and anarchists working on behalf of victimized immigrants on another continent; prewar Western suffragists claiming alliance with Iranian, Egyptian, and Chinese revolutionaries. These are stories of variable and often wrong-headed activists who tried but mostly failed to institute a new version of the good society, the old version having become alarmingly inadequate. Unlike the heroic tales of national history, they provide a broad, unsettled, and open foundation for our own variable and alarming times.

NOTES

1. See the reports throughout 1887 in *Freedom, Justice, Commonweal, Our Corner*, and other socialist periodicals, especially “The Chicago Prisoners,” *Freedom* (Sept. 1887); C.M. Wilson, “The Condemned Anarchists,” *Commonweal* (12 Nov. 1887); and “The Tragedy of Chicago,” *Freedom* (Dec. 1887). For a recent account of the Haymarket Affair see James Green, *Death in the Haymarket* (New York: Knopf, 2007).

2. International Women’s Suffrage Alliance, *Report of the Fifth Congress* (1909), The Women’s Library at the London School of Economic and Political Science (hereinafter TWL).

3. Vanessa Ogle, “Whose Time Is It? The Pluralization of Time and the Global Condition, 1870s–1940s,” *American Historical Review*, 118 (2013): 1380; Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 81–98; C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: 1780–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 451–487; Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005), 2–3.

4. Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

5. The terms “global,” “international,” or “cosmopolitan” are also employed, with increasing refinement as to distinctions between these fields, but the core project—to break out of the state-centered imperial narrative that structures history as we know it—is essentially the same under all these labels. See C. A. Bayly, et al., “Conversation on Transnational History,” *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006): 1441–1464.

6. See for example Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, whose analysis of anarchism as a “gravitational force” challenges the historiography that sees pre-war labor movements as culminating in socialist political parties; Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), whose study challenges the historiography that sees pre-war eastern Mediterranean radicalism as culminating in the nation state; Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), whose determination to transcend the circular logic that tells the history of nationalist movements within a nationalist lens has produced a global history of that most state-bound field, diplomatic and foreign relations. See also Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

7. Note that the category “women’s movement” unavoidably sets women apart from the anticolonial and other activist campaigns, even though women were thoroughly and indispensably involved in all of these movements. For the epistemological problems presented by the use of gender categories, see Denise Riley, “Am I That Name?”: *Feminism and the Category of “Women” in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988). For the related problem of writing the history of India

using names and identities constructed by imperial Britain, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

8. Again, note the way in which the category "women" suggests an implicit "whiteness" when it is used separately from "non-white" activists, resulting in an unacknowledged erasure of "non-white" women.

9. See Gayatri Spivak, chapter 1 above.

10. Susan Hinely, "Charlotte Wilson, the 'Woman Question,' and the Meanings of Anarchist Socialism in Late Victorian Radicalism," *International Review of Social History*, 57 (2012): 3–36. See Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 191, for London's role as a refuge for international anarchists.

11. Nicolas Walter, ed., *Charlotte Wilson: Anarchist Essays* (London: Freedom Press, 2000), 50–53; Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898).

12. After leaving the anarchist movement, Wilson became active in numerous suffrage organizations, including the Women's Freedom League. She founded the Fabian Women's Group in 1908 and attended IWSA conferences as its representative.

13. See International Women's Suffrage Alliance, *Report of the Seventh Congress* (1913), TWL.

14. Marilyn J. Boxer, "Rethinking the socialist construction and international career of the concept 'bourgeois feminism'," in *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789–1945*, ed. Karen Offen (New York: Routledge, 2010), 286–301.

15. Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

16. Ian Tyrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

17. See for example IWSA, *Report of the Seventh Congress*, 448.

18. Swami Chidatmananda, ed., *Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda by his Eastern and Western Admirers* (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1964), 233–251; Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008).

19. Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the National, and the Postcolonial, 1890–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

20. Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996).

21. Katherine Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds. *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

22. Antoinette Burton's groundbreaking work on the imbricated discourses of feminism and imperialism in the British women's suffrage movement is generally the starting point for historical analyses of "imperial feminism." See *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

23. Burroughs quoted in Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 428.

24. Élisée Reclus, "East and West," *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1894. Reclus's marriage to Clarisse Brian, of French and Senegalese parents, is one example of many mixed-race couples in the anarchist and women's movements.

25. Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

26. See the debates of the Men and Women's Club, whose members included Pearson, Schreiner, Henrietta Müller, Annie Besant, and other socialists. Karl Pearson Papers, Watson Library, University College, London. See also Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 135–170; Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca E. Karl, and Dorothy Ko, eds., *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013); Raquel A. G. Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882–1892* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

27. Edward Carpenter, *Towards Democracy* (Manchester: Labour Press, 1896), 29, 62.

28. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

29. M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 34. Swami Vivekananda, the chief global transmitter of neo-Hindu philosophy in the late nineteenth century, shared Morris's, Gandhi's, Wilson's and other activists' belief in a communal past whose freedom and tranquility had been destroyed by modern Western commerce. Boehmer, *Empire*, 51–52.

30. In words suggesting an awareness of the new technologies that were amplifying her message, WCTU founder Frances Willard described temperance as a universal cause that "ran along the electric wires that connect human hearts." Tyrell, *Woman's World*, 27. See also Margherita Arlina Hamm, "The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union," *Peterson's Magazine*, (September 1895), 972–975.

31. Chidatmananda, *Reminiscences*, 228.

32. Gandhi quoted in James D. Hunt, "Suffragettes and Satyagraha," *Indo-British Review*, 9 (1981): 67.

33. Cama quoted in Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 100.

34. See for example Laurence Housman, *Sex-War and Women's Suffrage* (1912), 52–53; International Women's Suffrage Alliance, *Women Suffrage in Practice* (1913), 55; Teresa Billington-Grieg, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Emancipation in a Hurry* (1911), 28; all at TWL.

35. IWSA, *Seventh Congress*, 449.

36. See Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010); Martti Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

37. Charlotte Wilson wrote frequently in *Freedom* about children and compulsory education, as did her anarchist colleague Agnes Henry. For examples, see *Freedom*, Nov. 1886, Jan. 1888, July 1888, Jan. 1891.

38. See Harris's well-known photographs at <http://www.antislavery.org>.

39. Michael Godby, "Confronting Horror: Emily Hobhouse and the Concentration Camp Photographs of the South African War," *Kronos*, 32 (2006): 34–48.

40. *Jus Suffragii*, (Jan. 1, 1915): 228.

41. IWSA, *Seventh Congress*, 97.

42. Note that conflicts between the right to civil liberties and the right to social equality, both of which are protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ultimately resulted in the separation of these two fundamental protections and their codification into distinct conventions. See Wiktor Osiatynski, "The Historical development of human rights," in Scott Sheeran and Sir Nigel Rodley, eds., *Routledge Handbook of International Human Rights Law* (London: Routledge, 2013). See also Mario Prost, *The Concept of Unity in Public International Law* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2012); Martin Albrow and Hakan Seckinelgin, eds., *Global Civil Society: Globality and the Absence of Justice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

43. Michael Freeman, "Universalism of Human Rights and Cultural Relativism," in Sheeran and Rodley, *Handbook*, 49–61.

44. In their discussion of contemporary human trafficking, Kevin Bales and Jody Sarich expressly credit the prewar women's movement and its antislavery activism for providing models of advocacy. "Anti-Slavery and the Redefining of Justice," in Albrow and Seckinelgin, *Global Civil Society*, 64–76.