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Introduction: Women's International Activism during the Inter-War Period, 1919-1939

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This article *explains why women's international activism in the inter*-war period should be a subject of scholarly interest, and also discusses the myriad and vibrant forms it could take. For some women campaigners, international work – whether through .*established national women's movements or via* separate, radical pacifist organisations – was crucial for the prevention of war and the maintenance of world peace. However, this was not the only motivation. Others were interested in the scientific or professional advantages of combining knowledge at international or transnational level. Others still were keen to exploit international links in order to further political objectives closer to home, such as *the achievement of women's suffrage, the* encouragement of inter-cultural understanding between women from different ethnic, religious or linguistic backgrounds, or the promotion of conservative values, anti-communism or physical fitness within particular national or multi-national settings. Examples of all of these kinds of activism can be found in the individual contributions to this special issue.

Although the First World War led to many radical changes on the world stage, including the appearance of rival visions of democratic participation, social justice and national self-determination, the years 1919-1939 must rank as one of the most difficult periods to categorise in the history of women's international activism. After more than four years of devastating worldwide conflict, involving unprecedented levels of forced migration, death, disease and family separation, internationally organised women across the globe had to take stock and reconstitute themselves in face of fresh challenges to come. On the one hand, the restitution of peace in 1919-1920 – albeit very much a victors' peace imposed upon the vanquished – allowed women's movements at national and international levels to slowly heal the internal divisions that had emerged between pro- and anti-war voices in the years 1914 to 1919. True, it was to take some time before women activists from the defeated nations were welcomed back into the ranks of the more conservative-minded international women's organisations, but at least campaigners from Allied and neutral countries could re-establish contacts that had been broken not only by political differences after 1914 but also by interruptions in

postal communications and practical barriers to foreign travel caused by the fighting.[1] On the other hand, whether they had been pro- or anti-war before 1918, women's groups and individual female activists were frustrated by their complete exclusion both from the peace talks in Paris in 1919-1920, and from subsequent efforts at the level of high politics to establish a new order in international relations. Men, it seemed, were determined to bar women from active involvement in foreign policy and diplomacy on the grounds that they would 'naturally' prioritise peace and reconciliation over other, supposedly more important matters of state interest, such as maintaining or developing existing wartime alliances, securing new borders, and protecting the interests of national and religious minorities.[2]

While lip-service was occasionally paid to equality of rights for women in international negotiations, in reality decisions over how best to resolve ongoing territorial disputes and alleged violations of the rights of minority communities in individual countries – and how to confront or deter future acts of aggression committed by one state or group of states against another – were left in the hands of men. Even important steps towards preventing further world wars, such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, signed by fifty-seven countries and renouncing the use of armed force as a means of resolving 'disputes and conflicts of whatever kind', reflected male priorities and assumptions about how international politics should work, and how the competing interests of individual nations and states might be reconciled. As was the case with the Paris Peace Conference, women were not given a hearing by the delegates invited to the French president's summer residence in Rambouillet in 1928 to sign this solemn new undertaking to maintain world peace. All of the delegates were men, and, worse still, a group of militant women protestors who gathered outside to present a petition in favour of an equal voice for their own sex were arrested by the French police.[3] In fact, this proved to be something of a turning point. Although some female peace activists operating across borders continued to put their trust in the League of Nations as the best way of mediating international disputes and preventing armed conflict, six leading women's organisations - the International Council of Women (ICW), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the World's Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship; the World Union of Women for International Concord, and the International Federation of University Women - issued a joint 'appeal of the world's women to the world's statesmen' in 1930, criticising what they saw as

> an increasing and ominous tendency of the Press, the general public and even Governmental circles to discuss, or admit in discussion, the possibility of another war; this in utter disregard of the sacred [Kellogg-Briand] pact formally renouncing war which has just been signed by fifty-seven civilised nations… We declare the work for peace to be the most urgent task before the world to-day. We appeal, therefore, to every right-thinking person and, in particular, to women, who pay the first cost of human life, to realise their responsibility and power. We ask every single individual to use his active influence to combat the idea of a recourse to violence as the solution of any problem; to work by word and deed for the eradication of the psychological causes of war: fear, ignorance and greed, and to promote by every means the recognition of the oneness of humanity and the interdependence of nations.[4]

Not only did the peace settlement of 1919-1920, the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 fail to tackle the causes of war mentioned above, but they also left open a number of issues connected to women's rights in particular, especially the twin questions of suffrage and equal citizenship. At the level of international politics, these issues were considered to be a matter for existing states to decide for themselves, irrespective of any feminist campaigns mounted in favour of universal principles of justice and equality.[5] Thus individual countries could refuse women the vote – or rescind in part or in full previous acts of enfranchisement, as happened in Hungary after 1922, or in France where the Senate repeatedly rejected pro-suffrage motions passed by a majority in the Chamber of Deputies – without this becoming an issue for the way relations between states operated. Moreover, a married women's right to determine her own nationality – rather than being forced to accept that of her husband – was denied almost everywhere. As the number of stateless refugees grew as a result of the redrawing of international borders in the 1920s and the rise of ever-more brutal dictatorships in Europe in the 1930s, the gender inequalities inherent in contemporary approaches to citizenship became increasingly stark. A woman who married a stateless refugee became stateless herself, as did her children. Minority rights, as well as rights to vote and to access health care, education, housing and welfare, were granted only to those who belonged to a state – and while nearly all post-war European states encouraged motherhood as a national and domestic good, they continued to prioritise fatherhood and patriarchal values when it came to determining who did and did not belong in a legal sense.[6]

In the new world order after 1918, which has been cast by Eric Hobsbawm as marking the initial, 'Wilsonian' phase of a longer 'apogee of nationalism', lasting until 1950 and entailing a 'redraw[ing] of the [world] political map along national lines', the inter-twined principles of nationality and gender thus remained key determinants of an individual's life chances.[7] Moreover, the espousal of nationalism itself – and in particular the more aggressive forms of ethnic nationalism which arose in the inter-war years – was frequently associated, especially, but not only, in Europe, with efforts to return women to the private and domestic spheres International activism, by contrast, was often considered to be unpatriotic and 'unmotherly', especially when it involved women who failed in their supposed 'duty' to marry and have children or who refused to align themselves with a particular nation or national cause.[8] Jews and pacifists were most vulnerable to exclusion from the new nationalist mainstream, with even 'respectable' conservative women's groups adopting 'moderate' forms of anti-Semitism and/or anti-communism as a means of (re)positioning themselves vis a vis far right and fascist organisations.[9]

These developments were setbacks indeed for some of the central causes espoused by democratic and internationally organised women since the turn of the twentieth century, but did they constitute, as some writers have claimed, a collective 'backlash' against gender equality and a near-global decline of domestic women's movements in the 1920s and 1930s which lasted through to the 1960s?[10] Here recent scholarship has been inclined to take a more nuanced approach, in line with Ann Taylor Allen's call to recognise that women during and after the First World War 'confronted conflicting and discordant definitions of femininity', citizenship and belonging, some of which were socially conservative or reactionary, and some of which embraced and even encouraged radical changes to gender relations and new forms of female (self-)mobilisation in particular regional, national or imperial settings.[11] Historians of the international women's movement have also reclaimed the 1920s and 1930s as a time in which women's cross-border social and political activism continued to flourish, while developing in varied and sometimes unexpected or disconcerting directions.[12] Thus, US historian Leila J. Rupp has argued that the inter-war period represents 'the high tide of internationalism' and international organisations, their star rising as many national groups lost impetus following the granting of suffrage in the aftermath of the First World War.[13]

The experience of the First World War and the instability of the post-war context in fact strengthened and clarified the pre-war commitment to internationalism within the ICW and the other

principal women's international organisations, while their increased presence in national and international politics heightened their sense of moral responsibility for protecting the fragile peace. In many cases it was the pressure of ongoing armed conflict and potential conflict in the post-war world that lent urgency to the women's internationalist project, forcing on the one hand the development of concrete proposals for international co-operation, but also finding expression in terms of dense transnational networks of internationally-minded and politically- or intellectually-engaged women.[14] This 'imagined community', to follow Glenda Sluga in applying Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation-state to the international sphere,[15] was as powerful for many of the women as the imagined national communities that bound the belligerent societies together and maintained national cohesion during the war years. It was typically made up of women of independent financial means who had the time and resources to travel abroad and a degree of political or scholarly influence in their home countries. The liberal, progressive vision of female solidarity across borders that enthused and mobilised this 'imagined community' was reflected, for instance, in the quinquennial congress of the International Council of Women (ICW), which took place in Vienna in 1930. Here, as the editor of the subsequent report noted:

> Brilliant speeches were delivered by **Dr. Valeria Parker [an American physician and suffrage campaigner]**, on Women's part in International Understanding, recalling the achievements of Josephine Butler; **Mlle. Josephine Szebeko [President of the Polish National Organisation of Women]**, on the necessity of Nations getting to know more about one another and their respective histories, in order to promote good understanding; **Dr. Gertrud Bäumer [of the League of German Women's Associations]**, on the special mission of women as promoters of International understanding and the responsibilities which they now possessed equally with men regarding the future of their respective countries; **Miss Cornelia Sorabji [an Indian legal scholar and social reformer]**, on the only way to Peace being the open door between nation and nation, through which all might pass and find friendship and understanding; and **Princess Alexandrine Cantacuzène [President of the National Council of Women of Romania]**, on Peace through Education, recommending Essay Competitions, with prizes, for the young people of different countries, and urging that the League of Nations should advise National Governments to introduce Courses of lessons into secondary schools showing the disasters caused by War.[16]

In addition, the development of new and terrifying weapons of war that targeted civilian populations challenged the gendered division that separated men from women, combatant from non-combatant.[17] In a hostile and threatening world, the imagined community of internationally-minded women was thus urgently needed as a model for harmonious relationships between nations and a platform for building a sustainable peace.

But it was not just the ICW and other elite feminist organisations that channelled the energy of women's international engagement and advocacy during those years – as Rupp points out, after 1918 'women came together as socialists; as advocates of single issues, such as equal rights; as members of occupational categories; as adherents of different religious traditions; and as inhabitants of different regions of the world'.[18] The individual essays in this special issue likewise emphasise the growth of women's international activism in the aftermath of the First World War, while acknowledging the diversity of political interests and ideological positions from which such activisms sprang. In some instances, it was the spirit of optimism and all-round 'commitment to openness and inclusivity'[19] engendered by the formation of the League of Nations in 1920 that prompted women to come together and seek to address issues now recognised as having a global dimension, such as food distribution, famine relief and medical intervention to improve women's health and prevent the spread of diseases. As had been shown all too clearly during the influenza pandemic that followed in the wake of the war and claimed over forty million lives globally, epidemics had no respect for political borders.[20] Kimberly Jensen in her study of the International Conference of Women Physicians, held in New York City over six weeks, one year after the armistice, argues that for some women doctors, the conflict opened up new opportunities and new demands for cross-border pooling of scientific discoveries and advances in knowledge that were carried over into the transnational scope and priorities of the Medical Women's International Association (MWIA), formed after the war. This shared professional identity allowed them to sidestep some controversial issues in national and international politics – for instance that of defining themselves in relation to pacifism or the campaign for women's enfranchisement across the globe – but not others – for instance, the question of whether women from former enemy countries (German, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey) should be invited to participate.

Although the MWIA was not overtly feminist in its goals, its members were bound together by a gendered political cause as well as a professional identity. However, as David Hudson's contribution

shows, there were also women who, while demonstrating in their own lives and actions the possibility for independent action at an international level, distanced themselves explicitly from feminist goals and organisations. Eleanor Franklin Egan, travel reporter and feature writer for the Saturday Evening Post, was no feminist, nor was she an internationalist. She wrote from a consciously pro-American perspective for middle-brow, politically-conservative American audiences. Nevertheless, her articles on the famine in post-civil war Russia bear witness to the suffering of the population in a highly personal and thus unavoidably gendered manner. In this way they draw attention to the contradictions facing those conservative women in the 1920s who were highly visible in the public sphere but whose international activism did not lead them to challenge their own or their readers' conservative-nationalist leanings.

Nation-building itself could take on many diverse, and gendered, forms in the aftermath of war, with the role of women's cross-border activism often being shaped by a variety of factors. Alongside the enthusiasm for international projects and the rise of international women's groups evidenced by Rupp and others, the post-war national contexts could be intensely hostile to communism, pacifism and other forms of international activism that were seen as incompatible with patriotism and national self-interest.[21] In many nations, the aftermath of war brought with it a highly conservative reaction against both feminist and internationalist goals that complicated the situation for those female activists with aspirations to re-join the international women's organisations, especially in defeated nations smarting under the harsh terms of the peace settlement. Ingrid Sharp's contribution explores the internal and external barriers facing Gertrud Bäumer, nationally-minded German women's leader, in her slow return to international activism in the early to late 1920s. Sharp argues that the strategy of integration within the international women's organisations enabled Bäumer to gradually dismantle her wartime mentality and move towards an acceptance of the need for greater international understanding in the 1920s and peace through recognition of equal rights for (the women of) all nations.

The call for integration did not, however, include Hungarian-born Jewish international peace campaigner Rosika Schwimmer, who, as Dagmar Wernitznig shows, was not welcome after 1919 in the cross-border women's pacifist organisation that she helped to set up at The Hague in 1915. Wernitznig offers an account of why Schwimmer's uncompromising internationalism and overriding commitment to feminist anti-war activism could not be accommodated even in the internationalist and

pacifist WILPF in the changed post-war environment. Schwimmer's new-found isolation, when before the war she had been at the centre of the international women's movement, might indeed be seen as emblematic of a broader antipathy towards cosmopolitanism and anything that could be linked to communism after 1917, although Schwimmer herself was a firm opponent of the latter. She was in fact an outcast even among the outcast, forced to leave Hungary in 1920, shunned by many former friends and colleagues in the WILPF, and unable to win a naturalisation case in the US in the late 1920s.

By contrast, Zornitsa Keremidchieva's contribution argues that a female form of progressive internationalism could be practiced at a more local level without provoking the same degree of hostility or accusations of national and domestic subversion. She analyses the YWCA's application of internationalist insights and woman-centric peace-building techniques to solve problems of cultural integration within the cosmopolitan national context of 1920s America, showing how the Y trained liaison workers to target women and girls from diverse immigrant groups living in the United States and encourage their integration into existing society in culturally non-hegemonic ways. The result was a growing entanglement between national and international goals, and the promotion of new 'communicative opportunities' between 'native-born' and 'migrant' women which challenged gendered assumptions about the global order as much as they countered the growth of nativist sentiment in America itself. Migration and integration, it seemed, did not necessarily involve returning women to the domestic sphere or allowing men to be the sole determiners of community identity and social belonging. On the other hand, unlike the transnational approach of the MWIA, the engagement of the YWCA was international in that it accepted state borders and politically-bounded territories as a given. Operationally, it sought to position and co-join its global peace-building objectives and its female-centred, localised efforts towards 'inter-cultural understanding' through 'inter-action with difference' within, rather than above or across, pre-existing national frameworks of migratory relations.

Meanwhile, the granting of female suffrage in some but not all countries after 1918 caused its own tensions within the realm of women's cross-border activism. Emily Machen, in her article, shows how progressive Catholic women's organisations in France could exploit both their contacts in international networks of Catholic women and the on-going interest of French statesmen in upholding their country's power-political status in the world in order to meet specific national goals: the granting of votes for women and gender equality in education and the professions. She also demonstrates how

they struggled to maintain the interest of international women's organisations which were keener to move on to other campaigns now that the battle for suffrage had seemingly been won in at least some parts of Europe and the wider world. Or as Rupp puts it, after 1918 'the common bond of political powerlessness dissipated' – even though new bonds, at national and international level, were being forged.[22]

Finally, the ambiguities inherent in women's international activism during the years between the two world wars are again brought to life in Julie Gottlieb and Matthew Stibbe's account of the little-known visit of the German women's leader Gertrud Scholtz-Klink to London in March 1939, on the eve of the Nazi occupation of Prague. Scholtz-Klink was neither a feminist nor an internationalist, but a loyal Nazi who despised the Versailles peace settlement and firmly supported Hitler's high-risk annexations of Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938. Nevertheless her visit as leader of an organisation that claimed to represent over thirty million German women deserves attention for what it reveals about a shared conservative vision among women's groups in both countries, particularly in regard to opinions about women's 'nature' and the way to improve women's lives and the health of the nation through greater attention to hygiene and fitness. The fact that British reports on the visit should focus more on Scholtz-Klink's appearance and style of dress than on her potential to further or hinder the cause of peace, is also revealing of the continuing trivialisation of women's activism in the sphere of international relations, even as war again appeared on the horizon.

Many of the female activists discussed in this special issue were not internationalists by political conviction or inclination, even if they were willing to work across international boundaries in the interests of peace and /or of specific national goals. Some had a very narrow conception of peace: peace between particular nations rather than peace between all nations; peace between the 'civilised' or capitalist or 'Germanic' nations but not peace with the 'Reds' or the Soviet Union; peace at home but not peace abroad. Some also had quite an essentialist view of women's role as 'natural' peacemakers, whether in the political or the cultural realms, while others avoided the question of gender altogether, and others still saw no contradiction in espousing women's 'natural' affinity with peace while supporting the war aims or revisionist demands of highly militarised societies. Nonetheless, it is possible to find examples of a much more expansive vision, one which incorporated the need to challenge male power and assumptions, even within peace and internationalist movements, as well as tackling class and racial prejudices and building new communities irrespective

of cultural or ideological boundaries. All of this bears testimony to the need for a more differentiated account of women's international activism in the long aftermath of the First World War.

Notes

[1] On the divisions within, and disrupted communications between, international women's groups during the First World War, see Annika Wilmers (2008) Pazifismus in der internationalen Frauenbewegung 1914-1920: Handlungsspielräume, politische Konzeptionen und gesellschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen (Essen: Klartext Verlag).

[2] Erika Kuhlman (2007) The 'Women's International League for Peace and Freedom' and Reconciliation After the Great War, in Alison S. Fell and Ingrid Sharp (Eds.) *The Women's Movement* in Wartime: International Perspectives, 1914-19 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 227-243 (here esp. pp. 228-232).

[3] Leila J. Rupp (1997) *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 138-139.

[4] Internationaler Frauenbund/Conseil International des Femmes/International Council of Women (1930) *Bericht über die Generalversammlung/Rapport de l'Assemblée* Quinquennale/Report on the Quinquennial Meeting (Vienna: Tarland), p. viii.

[5] Glenda Sluga (2013) Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press), p. 51.

[6] See also Gisela Bock (2000) Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart (Munich: C. H. Beck), pp. 248-259.

[7] E. J. Hobsbawm (1992 [1990]) Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 133. See also Glenda Sluga (2000) Female and National Self-Determination: A Gendered Re-Reading of the 'Apogee of Nationalism', Nations and Nationalism, 6(4), pp. 495-521.

[8] Kuhlman, The 'Women's International League for Peace and Freedom', pp. 230-231.

[9] See, for example, the many excellent contributions in Kevin Passmore (Eds.) (2003) Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919-45 (Manchester: Manchester University Press). Also Johanna Gehmacher (1998) *'Völkische Frauenbewegung': Deutschnationale und nationalsozialistische*

Frauenpolitik in Österreich (Vienna: Döcker Verlag); Raffael Scheck (2002) Mothers of the Nation: Right-Wing Women in Weimar Germany (Oxford and New York: Berg); and Julie V. Gottlieb (2015) 'Guilty Women', Foreign Policy, and Appeasement in Inter-War Britain (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

[10] This position is most forcefully articulated by Susan Kingsley Kent (1993) Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), p. 143. See also Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann and Marion A. Kaplan (Eds.) (1984) When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany (New York: Monthly Review Press); Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield (1987) *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (London: Pandora), pp. 115-132; Deidre Beddoe (1989) Back to Home and Duty: Women Between the Wars (London: Pandora), esp. pp. 3-5; Martin Pugh (1990) Domesticity and the Decline of Feminism, in Harold L. Smith (Ed.) British Feminism in the Twentieth Century (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press), pp. 144-164; Alison Oram (1996) Women Teachers and Feminist Politics, 1900-1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 11; Francisca de Haan (1998) Gender and the Politics of Office Work: The Netherlands, 1860-1940 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), pp. 98-125; Sonya O. Rose (2003) *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in* Wartime Britain, 1939-1945 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 113.

[11] Ann Taylor Allen (2008) Women in Twentieth-Century Europe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 22. For examples of recent studies focusing on particular domestic, national or regional contexts see, for instance, Alison Light (1991) Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars (London: Routledge), esp. pp. 8-11; Mary Louise Roberts (1994) Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Post-War France, 1917-27 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press); Billie Melman (Ed.) (1998) Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930 (Routledge: London and New York); Susan R. Grayzel (1999) *Women's Identities at War:* Gender, Motherhood and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press); Belinda J. Davis (2000) Food, Politics and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press); Janet S. K. Watson (2004) Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War in Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Nicoletta F. Gullace (2002) The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women and the

Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the First World War (New York: Palgrave Macmillan); Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Eds.) (2002) Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany (Oxford and New York: Berg); Maureen Healy (2004) Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur (Eds.) (2006) Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press); Alison S. Fell and Ingrid Sharp (Eds.) (2007) *The Women's Movement in Wartime: International* Perspectives, 1914-19 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); Ana Carden-Coyne (Ed.) (2013) Gender and Conflict since 1914: Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); Christa Hämmerle (2014) Heimat/Front: Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag); Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger and Birgitta Bader-Zaar (Eds.) (2014) Gender and the First World War (Basingstoke: Palgrave). Also Krieg und Geschlecht/Guerra e Genere: Special issue of Geschichte und Region/Storia e Regione, 23(2) (2014); and Birgitta Bader-Zaar (2016) Women's Citizenship and the First World War: General Remarks and a Case Study of Women's Enfranchisement in Austria and Germany, *Women's History* Review, 25(2), pp. 274-295.

[12] See, for instance, the various contributions to Daniel Laqua (Ed.) (2011) Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Movements and Ideas between the Wars (London: I. B. Tauris). Also Rupp, Worlds of Women; Sluga, Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism; Daniel Gorman (2012) The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); and Julie V. Gottlieb (Ed.) Feminism and Feminists after Suffrage: Special Issue of *Women's History* Review, 23(3) (2014).

[13] Rupp, Worlds of Women, p. 34.

[14] Bock, Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte, pp. 242-243. On intellectually-engaged women in particular, see also Christine von Oertzen (2014 [2012]) Science, Gender and Internationalism: *Women's Academic Networks, 1917*-1955 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

[15] See Sluga, Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism, esp. pp. 153-155. Also Benedict Anderson (1991 [1983]) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, revised edition (London: Verso)

[16] Internationaler Frauenbund, Bericht, pp. vii-viii.

[17] See Susan R. Grayzel (2014) The Baby in the Gas Mask: Motherhood, Wartime Technology and the Gendered Division Between the Fronts During and After the First World War, in Hämmerle, Überegger and Bader-Zaar (Eds.) Gender and the First World War, pp. 127-143. Also Alison S. Fell and Susan R. Grayzel (forthcoming) Women's Movements, War and the Body, in Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Eds.) Women Activists Between War and Peace: Europe, 1918-1923 (London: Bloomsbury).

[18] Rupp, Worlds of Women, p. 34. Carol Miller also emphasises that in the 1930s there was an often overlooked equal rights strand to women's international campaigning through the League of Nations, with some activists placing demands for universal legal and civic equality alongside or above other issues of feminist concern, such as the promotion of world peace and social justice. See Miller (1994) Geneva – the Key to Equality: Inter-War Feminism and the League of Nations, *Women's History* Review, 3(2) (1994), pp. 219-245.

[19] Patricia Clavin (2011) Introduction: Conceptualising Internationalism between the World Wars, in Laqua (Ed.) Internationalism Reconfigured, pp. 1-14 (here p. 9).

[20] Figure of forty million in George Dallas (2000) 1918: War and Peace (London: Pimlico), pp. 198-199.

[21] For the British case, see, for example, Mary Hilson (2001) Women Voters and the Rhetoric of Patriotism in the British General Election of 1918, *Women's History Review*, 10(2), pp. 325-347; for the German case, Matthew Stibbe (2001) Nationalism, Anti-Feminism and the German Right, 1914-1920. A Reappraisal, German History, 20(2), pp. 185-210; and for the Hungarian case, Judith Szapor (2011) Who Represents Hungarian Women? The Demise of the Liberal Bourgeois Women's Movement and the Rise of the Right-Wing Women's Movement in the Aftermath of World War I, and Judit Acsády (2011) Diverse Constructions: Feminist and Conservative Movements and their Contribution to the (Re-)Construction of Gender Relations in Hungary After the First World War, both in Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Eds.) Aftermaths of War; *Women's Movements and Female* Activists, 1918-1923 (Leiden: Brill), pp. 245-263 and 309-332.

[22] Rupp, Worlds of Women, p. 12.