For the Many

AMERICAN FEMINISTS AND THE GLOBAL FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC EQUALITY

DOROTHY SUE COBBLE

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON & OXFORD

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 3 25/11/20 2:10 PM

Copyright © 2021 by Princeton University Press

Princeton University Press is committed to the protection of copyright and the intellectual property our authors entrust to us. Copyright promotes the progress and integrity of knowledge. Thank you for supporting free speech and the global exchange of ideas by purchasing an authorized edition of this book. If you wish to reproduce or distribute any part of it in any form, please obtain permission.

Requests for permission to reproduce material from this work should be sent to permissions@press.princeton.edu

Published by Princeton University Press
41 William Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540
6 Oxford Street, Woodstock, Oxfordshire OX20 1TR

press.princeton.edu

All Rights Reserved
ISBN 9780691156873
ISBN 9780691220598

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available

Editorial: Priya Nelson and Thalia Leaf
Jacket Design: Layla Mac Rory
Production: Danielle Amatucci
Publicity: Alyssa Sanford and Amy Stewart
Copyeditor: Gail Naron Chalew

Jacket/Cover Credit: {to come?}

This book has been composed in Classic Arno

Printed on acid-free paper. ∞

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

For Florika, and her gifts from afar

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 5 25/11/20 2:10 PM

For there can be neither freedom, peace, true democracy, or real development without justice.

Mary McLeod Bethune,
from her speech "Closed Doors," 1936

It takes all the brains that humanity can muster to operate a democracy.

Mary Ritter Beard,
letter to Ethel Wood, August 9, 1950

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 7 25/11/20 2:10 PM

CONTENTS

Prologue: From Equal Rights to Full Rights 1

PART I. CITIZENS OF THE WORLD

1 Sitting at the "Common Table" 15

2 A Higher "Standard of Life" for the World 51

PART II. DREAMS DEFERRED

3 A "Parliament of Working Women" 77

4 Social Justice under Siege 102

5 Pan-Internationalisms 124

PART III. NEW DEALS

6 Social Democracy, American Style 155

7 A Women's "New Deal for the World" 189

PART IV. UNIVERSAL DECLARATIONS

8 Wartime Journeys 223

9 Intertwined Freedoms 255

10 Cold War Advances 294

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 9 25/11/20 2:10 PM

PART V. REDREAMINGS

11 The Pivotal Sixties 339

12 Sisters and Resisters 380

Epilogue: Of the Many, By the Many, For the Many 415

Acknowledgments 427

Abbreviations 435

Notes 445

Index 000

-1—
0—
+1—

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 10 25/11/20 2:10 PM

PROLOGUE

From Equal Rights to Full Rights

Leonora O'Reilly. Pencil on paper, 1912, by Wallace Morgan. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 1 25/11/20 2:10 PM

For the Many is a story of how women changed American politics and moved the United States and the world in a more egalitarian, social democratic direction. A politics for the many, not the few, predominated among politically active US women for much of the twentieth century. Understanding how they and their global allies created a more just and inclusive democracy changes the way we think about the past and future of American politics and America's relation to the world. Over the course of the last century and against great odds, the women profiled in *For the Many* articulated a transforming social vision, moved into positions of economic and political power at home and abroad, and enacted reforms of lasting value.

For the Many tells the story of individual women. Yet it is not a book celebrating individual heroism or the deeds of great women. It is what might be called a collective biography. Famous women—Jane Addams, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Frances Perkins, to name a few—grace these pages and were indispensable to the intellectual and political revolutions of their day. But just as much attention is given to other women, many from less privileged backgrounds, who traveled alongside them. The courage, inventiveness, and stamina of women like Rose Schneiderman, Mary McLeod Bethune, Frieda Miller, Maida Springer, Esther Peterson, and countless others propelled the struggle for democratic equality. This is a story of women, famous and not so famous, who acted together to change the world.

I began my research thinking the egalitarian, social democratic traditions of American women, little understood and often underestimated, worthy of reconsideration. After more than a decade I feel that way even more strongly. Today, much of what the women in *For the Many* believed and accomplished is under assault. Yet as writer Zadie Smith insisted in 2016, as she accepted a literary prize a few days after Donald Trump's election to the US presidency, "history is not erased by change, and the examples of the past still hold out new possibilities for all of us."[1]

The women at the heart of this book sought women's rights in a fairer, more democratic world. They were feminists because they believed women faced disadvantages as a sex—a perspective not widely shared in their day—and they sought to end those disadvantages. Yet they

wanted *more* than equality between men and women. They wanted a world where all women and men could thrive. To capture their multi-stranded politics, I refer to them throughout the text as "full rights" or "social democratic" feminists. I adopt the modifier "full rights," their phrase, to foreground their desire for the full array of rights and their belief that civil and political rights are intertwined with social and economic. Real equality, they judged, must be substantive, universal, and multidimensional. I place them in the social democratic tradition because they held fast to economic and political democracy, sought to curb the power of elites, and believed progress must be social.[2]

Yet full rights feminists and their social democratic politics turn up under different labels as *For the Many* moves through the twentieth century: "socialist" or "progressive" in the early decades, "New Deal liberal" or "social democrat" in the middle decades, and "left-liberal Democrat" or "democratic socialist" in the 1960s and after. Some labels persist; others drop by the wayside. I adopt these and other labels when appropriate, but not without trepidation. Our political labels, past and present, are frustratingly imprecise and change meaning over time.[3] Nor do such labels adequately convey the complexity, contradictions, or dynamism of the politics of individual people or of the communities in which they lived and worked. But whatever their label, the central figures in *For the Many* shared a desire for a more egalitarian, democratic world, and they fashioned institutions, laws, and social policies in the United States and abroad to realize those aspirations.

This is a book about women's politics, but it is not just about women. Men too advanced the ideas recounted here and at times proved indispensable allies. The women in *For the Many* organized alongside men in grassroots movements for democracy and social justice. They also joined with like-minded men in various political parties. Before the 1930s, full rights feminists could be found as often in the Progressive, Socialist, or Republican Parties as in the Democratic. But after the transformation of the Democratic Party in the 1920s—a revolution led by women—they operated largely within the New Deal framework and saw the Democratic Party as the principal political vehicle carrying forward their broad egalitarian aspirations. From the 1930s to the 1970s,

coterminous with the heyday of American social democracy, they pursued their aims in the elite governing spaces usually reserved for men, serving as cabinet officers, members of Congress, high-ranking diplomats, and delegates to intergovernmental assemblies. At the same time, they continued to bolster democratic labor and civic organizations outside of government, believing pressure from "below" kept states responsive to the majority.

Full rights feminists were not always at home in male-dominated political realms or movements. Nor were they always welcomed. Men were adversaries as well as allies. Women were denied political rights both before and after the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment prohibiting voting restrictions on the basis of sex. Equally frustrating, male-led parties and movements ignored women's voices, underplayed the disadvantages women faced as a sex, and mistook masculine norms and aspirations as universal. In response, female activists organized separately from men, even as they continued to participate in predominantly male organizations. They constructed women's committees, caucuses, and divisions inside grassroots movements and political parties. They established independent organizations and created all-female networks. This tradition of female political separatism was strongest in the early twentieth century and reemerged in the 1970s, but it never wholly disappeared. Women from different classes, cultures, religions, and racial groups participated in this female world, and a surprising number of immigrant and working-class women held positions of political and intellectual leadership in it.

Still, some of the stiffest opposition faced by full rights feminists came from other women, including other feminists. Divisions among US feminists intensified after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and for the next half-century American feminism split into warring camps. From the 1920s to the 1970s, full rights feminists joined with others in a "social feminist" coalition to oppose the National Woman's Party and its allies.[4] Full rights feminists judged the National Woman's Party, with its unwavering single focus on "equal rights," or formal legal equality between the sexes, as narrow, individualistic, and elitist. In their view, the pursuit of women's rights in tandem with other broad social

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 4 25/11/20 2:10 PM

reforms was necessary for the majority of women to advance. Only by confronting multiple and intertwined injustices, they argued, could the problems of the many, men as well as women, be solved. The war between the two camps, symbolized by conflict over the Equal Rights Amendment, subsided in the 1970s, but US feminism has continued into the twenty-first century as a contentious, multifaceted movement.

Full rights feminists also battled with conservatives—men and women, feminists and non-feminists—on some of the great social and economic issues of the day. They clashed with conservatives over the desirability of social welfare and labor legislation; the role of the state in constraining corporate power and ensuring shared prosperity; and the rights due workers, immigrants, and people of color. Because they wanted greater democracy and more socialized markets, they disagreed with those who found authoritarian workplaces or unregulated cutthroat capitalism acceptable. They parted ways too with isolationists and go-it-alone nationalists—and not so amicably—over the extent and nature of America's responsibilities in the world, its relation to international institutions and alliances, and how best to achieve global stability and peace.

At the same time, they took issue with those on the left who espoused revolutionary violence, or who, after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, conflated socialism with Soviet-style Communism. They rejected authoritarianism from the left and right, opposing the dictatorship of any person or class. They pursued egalitarian reforms through democratic means: popular education, the ballot box, democratic trade unionism, and legislative policy making. They chose nonviolent direct action: marches, strikes, sit-ins, and boycotts. Physical force was a last resort, and for some, never justified. Armed struggle and one-party rule, they believed, were weapons of the arrogant and the unimaginative—better to change hearts and minds through moral suasion and democratic debate.

For the Many is a global story. American politics has never been "American-made." It sprang from the foreign born and the native born, from noncitizen and citizen, from those who visited the United States

for days or stayed years, and from those who never set foot on US soil. The world made America, as Eric Rauchway once put it, and to study American politics one must see its borders as porous and its history affected by global ideas, peoples, and events.[5] *For the Many* foregrounds the cross-class, multicultural, and multiracial character of social democratic women's movements inside the United States and sees activists outside it as crucial shapers of US women's politics. Social democratic women forged alliances across geographical borders and built international institutions to move forward their reforms. They learned from women and men in other countries. They believed America's problems could not be solved apart from the world.

In writing this book, I followed the thread of US women's social democratic politics over time and across place, surprised by where it led, heartened by what I found. I picked up the thread as it sprang into view in the years before the First World War. I held on as it crossed borders of nation and culture and into places I had only, and at times wrongly, imagined. I crisscrossed the globe, daunted by the difficulties of international travel and cross-cultural communication. I visited immaculately restored castles and overgrown empty fields, searching for where American full rights feminists and their allies had gathered. I found traces in archival folders delivered by mistake and in mislabeled boxes I opened as an afterthought. Some of my most important discoveries happened when I visited the wrong archive or took the wrong elevator to rooms rarely frequented. I found out more about the "famous" in the untouched letters of the "obscure" than from many days sorting through the voluminous, carefully arranged papers of the "notable." I lived in countries not my own for long stretches, experiencing some of the fear, disorientation, loneliness, and exhilaration uprooting can bring. How much more intense were those feelings for the women in this book, American born and otherwise, whose sojourns in nations not their own extended for years or lasted a lifetime.

In the end, I returned home to an America much in need of the wisdoms of its social-democratic foremothers. They too lived in a world of stark inequality and diminishing democracy. They too despaired at the cruelty of political tyrants and the selfishness of capitalist elites. And

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 6 25/11/20 2:10 PM

they too pondered the seemingly intractable hierarchies of race, nation, sex, and culture. Their solutions to these problems, though partial, bear revisiting.

Today, few dispute the great chasm separating rich and poor nations. But it has taken longer to recognize the severity of economic inequality *within* nations, including within wealthy nations like the United States, where the maldistribution of income and wealth ranks among the worst in the world.[6] The full rights feminists in *For the Many* made solving economic inequality a top priority, and to their credit they sought a fairer distribution of the world's wealth both *within* and *between* nations. Diminishing the stark inequalities in US society meant thinking seriously about America's role abroad and how its international policies affected others. US prosperity rested on global prosperity, which in turn depended on flourishing economies in other nations and raising income and standards of life worldwide.

Economic reform, they determined, could not happen without an intellectual revolution. Full rights feminists began their assault on economic inequality in the early twentieth century by attacking the social Darwinist beliefs that justified it. Extreme inequality and mass poverty were not the inevitable result of hereditary differences between the poor and the rich, they insisted. Nor were such problems the product of "natural" market laws, as conventional economic theories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held. Economic stratification as well as class and race hierarchies were man made, they proclaimed, and therefore could be unmade. The intellectual revolution they pushed forward enabled the social transformations of the 1930s and later. Today's resurgent social Darwinism, with its fictional gospel of unalterable market dynamics, engrained racism, and class condescension, must again be dislodged if we are to move toward economic fairness and shared prosperity.

Their proposals for lessening economic inequality varied as economic circumstances and political opportunities shifted over the course of the century. Yet some premises did not change: the US economy could not be walled off from the world, and no single remedy would suffice. To tackle inequality at home and abroad, they pressed for a

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 7 25/11/20 2:10 PM

package of reforms. They called for the rights of workers to organize and bargain in the United States and other countries; regulation of domestic and global economies; higher international social and labor standards; and fairer, more democratic systems for determining the rules of state and workplace governance. They believed in the economic benefits of regulated trade and immigration. They defended workers' freedom of movement across borders and argued for the full rights of men and women of all races, religions, and nationalities. Poverty and oppression anywhere, they insisted, threatened living standards and freedoms everywhere.

Ensuring democracy in all realms of society—in government, at work, at home, and in the community—loomed just as large in their politics as fixing the economy.[7] They looked to states, intergovernmental bodies, and international organizations as crucial vehicles for economic and social reform and demanded that they be democratized. Yet they never stopped encouraging organization from below. They sought democratic decision-making at work and the freedoms—the right to vote, to free speech, to freely assemble, and to a free press—necessary for civil society to flourish. They created socially inclusive grassroots organizations within and across national boundaries to sustain democracy and promote the full representation of all people.

At times, their democratic experiments languished, and authoritarianism gained the upper hand, claiming to be the better route to redistributing wealth and providing economic security. Yet the full rights feminists in *For the Many* refused to abandon democracy, as messy and frustrating as it was. They believed democratic states, if guided by and beholden to democratic labor and community organizations, could do much to ensure a fair share of wealth and power to the world's many.

As fascism spread in the 1930s, the struggle for human rights took on added urgency among social reformers. Yet for many full rights feminists, defending the rights of all people, regardless of race, religion, nationality, or citizenship status, had always been a priority. For some, deeply held religious beliefs in the sanctity of each person motivated their human rights advocacy. Support for human rights flowed as well from secular beliefs in fairness and social justice and from personal,

painful experiences of exclusion and persecution. From early in the twentieth century, full rights feminists conceived of human rights broadly to encompass economic and social guarantees as well as civil and political rights. And by mid-century, as women of color moved into positions of leadership in the movement, human rights came to mean ending the global color line and extending self-government to colonized peoples.

None of the goals of full rights feminists—economic justice, democracy, or human rights—could be achieved apart from education. Educating the mind and cultivating the spirit were not afterthoughts. Democratic workplaces and governments required an educated citizenry. A fairer world rested on expanding human capacities for compassion, empathy, and tolerance. Without that, politics—whether left, right or center—could dehumanize and demean. Social democratic feminists pioneered urban settlement houses such as Chicago's Hull House where rich and poor, native-born and immigrant, engaged in sustained cross-cultural learning. They also created emancipatory education programs for women workers in community centers, workplaces, and college campuses across the country. The most famous of these experiments in democratic pedagogy and social solidarity, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, lasted from 1921 to 1938. A multiracial group of participants from the eight-week residential Bryn Mawr school look back at us from the cover of *For the Many*. Taken after students voted in 1925—with the Second Ku Klux Klan at its peak nationwide—to open the school to all women, the image evokes the school's egalitarian spirit and its dedication to resisting prejudice and hate. Bryn Mawr—and the many other education programs encouraged by full rights feminists—proved pivotal in fostering a liberatory, inclusive women's movement.

To be sure, the women in *For the Many* did not always live up to the democratic and inclusive ideals they espoused, nor did their actions always have the desired effects. They could be ethnocentric and misguided, endorsing policies that sustained rather than dismantled inequities. Power imbalances and hierarchical notions of nations and peoples affected their choices and at times blinded them to the needs and realities

—-1
—0
—+1

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 9 25/11/20 2:10 PM

of others. How to reconcile the competing demands of near and far, of local and global, was hardly self-evident. Still, many rejected the dominant imperial, racist, and elitist presumptions of their day.[8] Immigrant women and women of color tended to see peoples beyond US borders not as "them" but as "us." Religious and moral values also nourished cosmopolitan proclivities and propelled many toward more egalitarian alliances. They traveled, they learned, they changed. They navigated differences within their own ranks over how to address the deep and abiding tensions of social class, religion, and race. They adopted ideas from those they admired and understood, as well as from those they underestimated and misunderstood. Mutually beneficial outcomes could and did occur.[9]

The story of US women's social democratic politics over the last century was not one of ever upward progress. It moved in fits and starts, with tragic detours and dispiriting defeats alongside celebrations and gains. *For the Many* opens with the rise of US women's organizing for political inclusion and economic justice in the early twentieth century—a pivotal era for working women's politics at home and abroad. In the wake of World War I, US full rights feminists deepened their transnational connections with labor and social democratic women outside the United States and won surprising victories on the global stage. Political advance slowed in the 1920s in the face of resurgent conservatism at home and thwarted alliances abroad. Yet as American women remade the US Democratic Party in the late 1920s and built dynamic multiracial left-leaning movements from below in the 1930s, democratic egalitarianism revived in the United States, even as much of the world slipped into authoritarianism. From the 1930s to the 1970s, social democratic feminists secured far-sighted and consequential reform. In an oft-repeated and troubling pattern, however, some of the policies closest to their heart, especially those boosting social and economic guarantees, won more adherents abroad than at home. The late twentieth century witnessed widening inequalities among women as well as men, and a feminism for the many remained in the wings, waiting for its next entry onto the stage.

Authoritarian regimes have ascendancy in many regions and nations in the twenty-first century, spewing forth their messages of hate and

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 10 25/11/20 2:10 PM

fear. Yet a new politics of the many has also emerged. There is a new openness to egalitarian and social democratic ideas among a wide swath of Americans. Women, especially women of color and young women, are energized politically and are shifting the conversation about how the US government treats its own citizens and how it interacts with the rest of the world. An alternative politics, premised on social solidarity, inclusion, and equity, is vying to take back parliaments and presidencies. *For the Many* seeks to enrich our understandings of these lost egalitarian traditions and argues for their potential in navigating a way forward.

NOTES

Prologue

1. Zadie Smith, "On Optimism and Despair," *New York Review of Books,* http://nybooks.com/articles/2016/12/22/on-optimism-and-despair.

2. For a helpful introduction to the history of social democratic thought and its variations over time and place, see James T. Kloppenberg and John Gee, "Social and Economic Democracy," in *A Cultural History of Democracy in the Modern Age,* ed. Eugenio Biagini and Gary Gerstle (London, forthcoming).

3. "Liberalism," for example, is sometimes reduced to its nineteenth-century conservative individualistic variant or conflated with neoliberalism, tendencies I reject here. On the multi-stranded discourse of liberalism, see Helena Rosenblatt, *Lost History of Liberalism: From Ancient Rome to the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, 2018); James T. Kloppenberg, *The Virtues of Liberalism* (NY, 1998); Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, 1998); and Howard Brick, *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought* (Ithaca, 2006). Similarly, socialism comes in many varieties and is not synonymous with Marxism or with a belief in "state socialism." See, among others, Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century* (NY, 2006); Jack Ross, *The Socialist Party of America: A Complete History* (Lincoln, 2015); and Gary Dorrien, *Social Democracy in the Making: Political and Religious Roots of European Socialism* (New Haven, 2019).

4. William L. O'Neill popularized the term "social feminism" in *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago, 1969). The "social feminist" coalition brought together a broad cross section of women, including some who held more conservative political views than those espoused by full rights feminists. For elaboration on the conflict between social feminists and the National Woman's Party, see, among others, J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana,1973); Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, 1987); Susan Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment: American Feminism between the Wars* (Westport, 1981); Amy E. Butler, *Two Paths to Equality: Alice Paul and Ethel M. Smith in the ERA Debate, 1921–1929* (Albany, 2002); Christine Lunardini, *Alice Paul: Equality for Women* (Boulder, 2013), ch. 9; and Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Social Rights and Workplace Justice in Modern America* (Princeton, 2004).

5. Rauchway, *Blessed among Nations: How the World Made America* (NY, 2006). I am indebted to Thomas Bender and other pioneering American historians of the early 1990s who insisted US history cannot be understood as exceptional or isolated from global forces. See,

among others, Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, 2002) and Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History* (NY, 2006). The explosion of writing on international organizations, networks, and cross-border exchange proved equally inspiring. Classic early interventions include Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, 1997); Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, 1998); and Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, 2002). For a sampling of the immense range and richness of more recent work, consult Daniel T. Rodgers, Bhavani Rama, and Helmut Reimitz, eds., *Cultures in Motion* (Princeton, 2014); Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, eds., *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (NY, 2017); Andrew Preston and Doug Rossinow, ed. *Outside In: The Transnational Circuitry of US History* (NY, 2017); Kristen Ghodsee, *Second World, Second Sex: Socialist Women's Activism and Global Solidarity during the Cold War* (Durham, 2019); Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, eds., *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (Urbana, 2019); Eileen Boris, *Making the Woman Worker: Precarious Labor and the Fight for Global Standards, 1919–2009* (NY, 2019); Katherine M. Marino, *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, 2019); Mona Siegel, *Peace on Our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War* (NY, 2020); and Lisa Levenstein, *They Didn't See Us Coming: The Hidden History of Feminism in the Nineties* (NY, 2020). Despite this global turn, synthetic accounts of twentieth-century US feminism still concentrate on domestic developments and rely on nation-centered explanatory frameworks. In contrast, *For the Many* emphasizes US women's international engagements and sees global forces as crucial shapers of US women's history.

6. For national and global inequalities of income and wealth, see Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, 2014) and Branko Milanovic, *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization* (Cambridge, 2016).

7. How social democratic feminists defined and practiced democracy will be further elaborated in the text. Suffice it to say at the onset that although "democracy" can be cynically deployed to cloak illiberal practices, not all who sought it for themselves or others did so disingenuously. Nor did all those who espoused "democracy" see it as a singular "American" construct or a superior belief that justified its imposition on others.

8. On the racial, cultural, and imperial prejudices of US and Western women internationalists, see, among others, Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, 1994); Chandra Mohanty, *Feminisms without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, 2003); Christine Bolt, *Sisterhood Questioned: Race, Class, and Internationalism in the American and British Women's Movements, 1880–1970s* (London, 2004); and Laura Briggs, "Gender and U.S. Imperialism in U.S. Women's History," in *The Practice of Women's History*, ed. S. Jay Kleinberg et al. (New Brunswick, 2007). The uses and limits of the imperial frame for US history are detailed in Patricia Schechter, "Feminist Historiography, Anti-imperialism, and the De-Colonial," in *Empire's Twin: U.S. Anti-Imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism*, ed. Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton (Ithaca, 2015), 153–66, and in Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *AHR* 116 (December 2011), 1348–91.

9. In *For the Many* I am concerned to explore how transnational encounters shaped US women, as well as how they affected others. Given the multiple vectors of power along lines of class, race, nationality, and other differences, one cannot always assume "American" women held the upper hand in cross-border relationships. On the inadequacy of frameworks assuming the "unidirectional exercise of power," see "Introduction," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*, ed. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham, 2010), 1–16.

525-92226_Cobble_FortheMany_1aP.indd 447 25/11/20 2:11 PM