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Chrystal Macmillan

From Edinburgh Woman to Global Citizen

di

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Abstract: What inspired a rich well-educated Edinburgh woman to become a suffragist and peace activist? This paper explores the connection between feminism and pacifism through the private and published writings of Chrystal Macmillan during the first half of the 20th century. Throughout her life, Chrystal Macmillan was conscious of a necessary connection between the gendered nature of the struggle for full citizenship and women's work for the peaceful resolution of international disputes. In 1915, during World War One, she joined a small group of women to organise an International Congress of Women at The Hague to talk about the sufferings caused by war, to analyse the causes of war and to suggest how war could be avoided in future. Drawing on the archives of women's international organisations, the article assesses the implications and relevance of her work for women today.

Do we know what inspired a rich well-educated Edinburgh woman to become a suffragist and peace activist in the early part of the 20th century? Miss Chrystal Macmillan was a passionate campaigner for women's suffrage, initially in her native land of Scotland but gradually her work reached out to women at European and international levels. She wrote, she campaigned, she took part in public debates, she lobbied, she organised conferences in Great Britain and in Europe: in all, she spent her life working for political and economic liberty for women. In all her work and writing, she was opposed to the use of force and was committed, almost to the point of obsession, to pursuing the legal means to achieve political ends.

> Politicians speak of our democracy, all parties assume the justice of a representative government, yet here, today, in the beginning of the twentieth century, we have no true democracy, nor any real representative government, so long as one half of the people are denied a voice in the choosing of their lawmakers [Macmillan 1914, p. 30].

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As a young woman, Miss Macmillan became a celebrity as the second woman to speak in the House of Lords; she was called "the Scottish Portia" by the popular press. She later campaigned for women's entry to the legal profession and in 1924 she became one of the first female barristers in London. But the focus of her work was constantly driven by her commitment that women should have equality with men under the law, and if the law was not sufficient to support this, then she worked assiduously, in cooperation with other women, to change the law.

Her conception of citizenship was based on equality between women and men [Macmillan 1909, p15], and her work to achieve full citizenship for women was not limited by national boundaries. She was one of that group of women at the start of the 20th century who discovered the powerfulness of women working together at an international level [Rupp 1997]. As a committee member of the three international women's organisations which dominated women's movement at the start of the 20th century, The International Council of Women (IWC), the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Miss Macmillan was one of the group of women who developed a new view of the world best described as 'transnationalism' [Vellacott 1993, p. 32].

This article will explore how elements of feminism and pacifism influenced Miss Macmillan's work and how in turn her work influenced the organisations she worked with from 1906 to the1930s. The article does not focus on the individuality of Miss Macmillan's experience as feminist and peace activist: rather it shows how membership of three women's organisations contributed to Miss Macmillan's activism.

What were the early Influences on Miss Chrystal Macmillan?

There is no doubt that Chrystal Macmillan was a feminist from her youth. While still a student at Edinburgh University she was involved in women's political action and indeed she herself stated that she thought that she "had been born a suffragist" (quoted in Daily Chronicle, Nov. 4, 1908).

Jessie Chrystal Macmillan, who was born in 1872 in Edinburgh, attended St Leonards School for Girls in St Andrews from the age of sixteen years. The boarding school, set up in 1877, had established a reputation in Scotland for excellent education. The ethos of the school with the emphasis on education for responsible citizenship had a profound and lasting impact on the young Miss Macmillan.

The founding headmistress of St Leonards, Miss Lumsden was in no doubt about the responsibilities of the school in encouraging women to become independent human beings, to earn their own living by finding paths into the professions, many of which at that time were closed to women.

> The mistake is to regard paid work as derogatory to the dignity of a lady. Why should it be less honourable for her to live by her own labour, than by that of her father, not to speak of being dependent on a brother or other relation? [...] It should be an everyday thing to enter a

> profession, and that to be capable of entering it should be considered honourable and desirable [Lumsden nd, p. 14].

Miss Lumsden was not only concerned with women's equal rights to a place in the workforce but she also promoted the vision of woman as an equal and responsible citizen.

> Democracy may have been chary of granting opportunity to women but […] women are coming into view [...]. New independence of women will be good both for Home and State. For demoralisation always begins by contracting the outlook, and concentrating the powers of service upon self, or at best on the family circle – a limitation which must result not in the growth of public spirit and service but in a doubled or tripled selfishness, and such an atmosphere of mere self-interest is no place for the upbringing of good citizens [Lumsden 1911, p. 61].

By the time Chrystal entered the school in 1888 there was a new headmistress, Miss Dove, who held very specific views on the education of girls and the importance of a balanced curriculum to assist the development of intellectual, emotional and physical competence of the schoolgirls.

> Games […] is a splendid field for the development of powers of organisation, of good temper under trying circumstances, courage and determination to play up and do your best even in a losing game, rapidity of thought and action, judgement and self reliance, and, above all things, unselfishness, and a knowledge of corporate action, learning to sink individual preferences in the effort of loyally working with others for the common good [Dove 1898, p. 400].

She taught her pupils that it was important that women learn to be good citizens. In contrast to the contemporary ideology which promoted the benefits of domesticity for women and laid the emphasis in the education of girls on the importance of being a caring wife and mother, Miss Dove had expectations that her pupils would look to a wider group of people than her own family.

> It is true that the family is the unit which lies at the base of all national existence, and which forms the foundation stone for all teaching, moral and spiritual, but it is essential to remember that it is only a unit, and that an aggregation of such families or units forms a community, a nation, and that the members of a family are likewise citizens of kingdoms, political and spiritual. The woman who indulges in family citizenship is a bad citizen. To be a good citizen, it is essential that she should have wide interests, a sense of discipline and organisation, esprit de corps, a power of corporate action [Dove 1898, p. 401].

Unusually for that era, the headmistress was aware not only of the importance of developing individual personal skills of young women, but also the importance of teaching women how to work successfully in organisations.

> Men acquire corporate virtues, not only at school and at college, but almost in every walk of life: whereas comparatively few women ever find themselves members of an organised profession, and the proportion even of those who have the advantage of a college life, is exceedingly small. It remains therefore for the school to teach them almost all that they will ever have the opportunity of acquiring of the power of working with others, and sinking their own individuality for the common good [Dove 1898, p. 401].

Miss Macmillan responded well to this radical education, and in 1892, she became one of the first female students to enter Edinburgh University. We have no record of how her fellow students in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, who were all men, reacted to having one woman in their class but if her reception was in

any way similar to that of the early medical students then we can surmise that she did not receive a warm welcome.

Although she achieved a first class honours degree in Mathematics, winning prizes in Chemistry and Astronomy, she was also involved in the student life of female undergraduates at Edinburgh University. It is recorded in the minutes of the Women's Representative Committee that Miss Macmillan attended the first meeting on 6 February 1895 and thereafter was frequently elected to chair meetings. She participated in lobbying the Scottish university authorities to permit women students to have equal access with male students to scholarships and bursaries.

When Miss Macmillan graduated in 1900 with a double degree, First Class Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from the Science Faculty and Second Class Honours in Moral Philosophy and Logic from the Arts Faculty, she was the only woman to graduate in the ceremony that day. It is reported that her professors wanted her to become an academic mathematician but history shows that she chose to travel to study in Berlin.

After the sudden and unexpected death of her father in 1901, Miss Macmillan was recalled to Edinburgh, and despite her educational achievements and her commitment to women's struggle for equality, the family asked her to manage the large and comfortable family home where her eight brothers were still in residence. Like many other single women in that generation, she was expected to put the needs of family before her own interests [for similar struggles, see Sybil Oldfield's descriptions of Flora Mayor in *Spinsters of this Parish*].

Over the next five years Miss Macmillan combined her responsibilities for managing the family household with suffrage work throughout Scotland. In the early 1900s suffrage organisations regularly shared platforms and Miss Macmillan was an active member and campaigner with several suffrage organisations, but principally the Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union (SUWSSU) and the Scottish Federation of National Union of Women Workers (NUWW).

In 1906, Miss Macmillan was one of five Scottish women graduates who applied to the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews for voting papers under the University Franchise for the 1906 British General Election. Under legislation of 1868, the Scottish Universities had four MPs whose electorate comprised the General Councils of the Universities, which included all their graduates. The five women – Dr. Elsie Inglis, Frances Melville, Margaret Nairn, Frances Simson, and Chrystal Macmillan – argued that as they were registered graduates of the universities, they were entitled to a vote. The Edinburgh University Registrar refused to issue voting papers and the women took their case to the Court of Sessions in Edinburgh. On behalf of all the Scottish universities, Edinburgh University Court took the lead in appointing legal advisers and barristers to defend vigorously their decision to refuse to issue voting papers to the women.

After the women lost the case in the Edinburgh Court they were encouraged by other women graduates to test the decision by taking an appeal to the House of Lords. Although Counsel had advised the women against proceeding as it was thought that the women were unlikely to win the case, Miss Macmillan and her colleagues believed that they had a case. In a letter to Millicent Fawcett, Miss

Macmillan wrote that "we are of the opinion that even if it were hopeless, the political effect of raising the question is worth the effort".

At the two hearings in 1908, in front of three Judges and a full public gallery, Miss Macmillan presented the women's argument carefully in terms of the legal statutes and the historical precedents [Leneman 1991, p. 109]. Several daily newspapers carried the story and reporters were so impressed by her capable presentation that Miss Macmillan became known as the "Scottish Portia" [Daily Chronicle & Glasgow Herald 1908]. In a letter to her friend Sylvia Murray, Miss Macmillan wrote modestly, "I don't know how I did so well. It is the special providence which looks after suffragists."

It took the Law Lords one month to make a decision and when it came it was no surprise that they had found that "the Parliamentary Franchise has always been confined to men and therefore the word 'person' referred to a 'male person' and did not include 'woman'. However the graduate women had taken the opportunity to show their capabilities in compiling and presenting a well-argued case. "It was a dramatic new gesture, without use of violence, in the fight for women's franchise" [Watson 1968, p. 233].

Throughout this period, the records of the Scottish branch of NUWW show Miss Macmillan was an active campaigner, attending meetings of the Scottish Federation in Edinburgh and the Committee of Great Britain and Ireland in London. Working with Mrs Maria Ogilvie Gordon of NUWW in 1906, Miss Macmillan undertook a survey of employers in Edinburgh and Leith [Gordon 1908]. The findings from this survey provided data for an NUWW enquiry into training and employment for young people but working on the survey also provided an opportunity for Miss Macmillan to use her mathematical expertise to organise data, practising skills that she would later use in the survey of woman suffrage, undertaken by International Women's Suffrage Alliance. However it was not only her organisational ability that gave excitement to her work for suffrage organisations; she brought a clear understanding of the bigger issues involved in the struggle to obtain the vote:

> I believe that the most important practical result of the political recognition of the citizenship of women is in the change in the point of view of the whole nation, once it has placed on record in its statutes its recognition of the value of their opinion in directing its affairs [Macmillan, 1913, p. XII].

Women and the Peace Question in the ICW

Over the years, readers have sometimes been left with the impression that the International Council of Women (ICW) was a conservative organisation which held back on women's rights; but when Miss Macmillan joined this international organisation in 1908, it was committed to women's equality and to peace. It had been established in 1888 by a group of internationally minded women in America: the older women in the group wanted the organisation to focus exclusively on advocacy for women's political rights but it was agreed that the organisation should involve all women working for civic progress and reform.

In 1893 Mrs Avery articulated the vision of an organisation with feminist and peace-promoting goals; she saw ICW as working for

> […] better conditions for humanity, greater educational opportunities for the world's children and in favour of that equality between man and woman which shall give to man the high privilege of living, not with his social and political inferiors, but with his social and political equals, which shall lend its influence towards peace and the healing of nations [Genesis, p. 63, quoted in ICW 1966, p. 18].

There were the difficulties for ICW in keeping both suffragists and anti-suffragists affiliated to the organisation, especially in Great Britain where both Mrs Millicent Fawcett, leader of the suffragist movement and Mrs Humphry Ward, a leading anti-suffragist were honorary Vice Presidents. However Lady Aberdeen, the International President of the organisation from 1899 held steadfastly to her view that the ICW should be inclusive and should welcome affiliation from all women's organisations.

This did not mean that the organisation was anti-suffrage: the ICW was one of the first women's organisations to make a public statement that women should have the vote. At their Congress in Berlin in 1904, women passed the resolution which was re-affirmed at the International Council meeting in 1909 and again in 1914:

> That, as without the firm foundation of the Parliamentary Franchise for Women, there is no permanence for any advance gained by them, this Council advocates that strenuous efforts be made to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative Governments exists [ICW 1909, p. 176].

Turning to the organisation's commitment to peace, this was displayed in the first Standing Committee on International Arbitration, established at the ICW Congress in London in 1899, with each National Committee being asked to appoint one member, and with Lady Aberdeen as Committee Chairman and Baroness Bertha von Suttner as Secretary. This Committee hosted one of the major events of the 1899 conference at the Queen's Hall in London on the subject of International Arbitration.

> An immense concourse of people, a large proportion of which were women, assembled in the great hall, filling it in every part to show their sympathy with the International Council of Women in its advocacy of International Arbitration [ICW 1900, p. 213].

In opening the meeting, Lady Aberdeen said:

> We women of this day are learning a new kind of patriotism – we are learning to covet for our countries that they shall emulate one another as to which can do the most for the good of the world, and as to which can do the most to maintain the peace of the world […]. The voice of women from all over the world has made itself heard in welcoming and supporting the Peace Conference now sitting at the Hague [ICW 1900, p. 217].

The programme for the evening included singing hymns by choir and audience, the reading of messages of international support and speeches. One message of support came from the national committee of Italy:

> Riconoscendo sempre più che l'energia della difesa non debba estrinsecarsi nella moderna società col primitivo mezzo della uccisione del simile, noi, donne italiane, fedeli agli umani principi di Alberigo Gentili, del Filangeri, del Romagnosi e del Beccaria, confermiamo essere

> l'Arbitrato e il principio della Pace il mezzo dettato della ragione, dal sentimento e dall'utilità sociale per comporre gli inevitabili dissidi nascenti dall'attrito degli interessi. Considerando altresi che la dignità e il valore dell'elemento femminile potrà emergere soltanto in condizioni basate sul progredito sviluppo della razionalità e dell'armonia affettiva sociale. Esprimiamo un voto di solidarietà colle donne delle altre nazioni, riunendoci a loro in questa manifestazione internazionale simultanea e universale per la Pace e l'Arbitrato, all'occasione della Conferenza Internazionale all'Aja. Risoluzioni formulate dal Comitato Centrale Italiano da mandarsi all Conferenza Internazionale per il Disarmo e la Pace che avrà luogo all'Aja il 18 maggio 1899 [ICW 1900, p. 218].

Women attending this meeting were well aware that women, as women, were not to be encouraged to express views on Arbitration. Vice President, Mrs May Wright Sewall noted that:

> We have been told that of all the questions on our programme this is the one which women are least fitted to discuss – one concerning which they should be most modest in the expression of their views: indeed it has been intimated in high quarters that this is a subject in which "women practically have no interest". It will, however, be difficult to divest the minds of women of any interest in the question of peace, so long as wars may be maintained only by feeding the greedy cannon of contending armies with the fruit of their lives [ICW 1900, p. 237].

However the women attending the Council did discuss the issue and the resolution was passed almost unanimously – only the Swedish delegation intimated that they could not vote as they were not free to discuss political questions. "That the ICW do take steps in every country to further and advance by every means in its power the movement toward International Arbitration" [ICW 1900, p. 191].

This resolution was re-affirmed by the Executive Committee meeting in Paris in 1900 and in the following year, 1901, the President Mrs Sewall referring to correspondence received from National Councils, noted that "there is no other one subject of public concern, in which women as a body are so much interested, as in Peace and International Arbitration" [ICW 1909, p. 44]. But over the next two years, the Arbitration Committee lacked a chairman and had great difficulty in defining what actions it should take to promote this policy. National members were finding it difficult to work on peace issues without appearing disloyal to their own governments: some suggested that the work could be better undertaken by Independent Peace societies rather than the National Councils of Women. However some women continued to work with colleagues on the International Committee for Peace and Arbitration and they produced several resolutions on peace education and the use of a Peace flag. The items in the proposed programme of peace education still sound relevant to today.

> 1) That a list of literature on peace, approved by the committee, be printed and sent out to National Councils.
>
> 2) That each National Council be recommended to instruct its own subcommittee on Peace to investigate the histories that are being taught in the schools of its own country, and to endeavour to secure histories which shall expunge or reduce those passages which inculcate hatred and contempt for other peoples, and which make for the stimulation of arrogance instead of true patriotism [ICW 1909, p. 202].

By the time of the next Quinquennial Meeting in Toronto in 1909, Mrs Sewall reported a growing interest in peace aspirations among women despite, and indeed

perhaps because of, the growth in militarism. Noting that members of IWC were committed to the principles of peace and arbitration, she put forward resolutions reaffirming the ICW commitment of the principles of peaceful and just settlement of differences between individuals and nations, and advocating that National Councils undertake activities to educate themselves further on peace issues. These resolutions were passed unanimously [ICW 1910, p. 278].

By 1914, Miss Macmillan had become a member of the delegation from Great Britain to the International Women's Council meeting in Rome. The Council had grown in size across the world and members were discussing an even wider range of issues that mattered to women. The President Lady Aberdeen believed that the expansion of the organisation had "been accompanied by a notable development of the International spirit in almost all the National Councils" [ICW 1915, p. 5].

Poignantly, the Serbian delegate, Mme. Popovitch (Serbia) responded that: "Je viens vous dire an nom du Conseil National Serbe que nous sommes pour la mediation et si vous pouviez maintenir la paix pour la Serbie et les pays Balkaniques, les femmes serbes ne sauraient assez vous remercier" [ICW 1914, p. 208].

Peace and Arbitration was obviously still an important item on the agenda and two resolutions were passed unanimously, one on International Mediation and the other on the Protection of Women in Time of War.

> The International Council of Women supports warmly the effective application of the resolutions passed at the Hague Conferences for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and declares its sympathetic desire for the conclusion of treaties through which the Governments pledge themselves in the case of disputes of every kind to enter into negotiations for mediation. [ICW 1914, p. 207].

> The International Council of Women protesting vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, contrary to international law, desires to appeal to the next Hague Conference to consider how a more effective international protection of women may be secured which will prevent the continuance of the horrible violation of womanhood that attends all wars. [ICW 1914, p. 209]

In her report from the Peace and Arbitration Committee, Mrs May Wright Sewall noted that 24 recommendations had been put forward by National Councils to further the cause of peace. In particular she brought to attention the recommendations to promote peace in education of children in the home and in school:

> 1) Urging upon mothers the banishment from nurseries of toys that teach children the mimicry of warfare.

> 2) Urging upon mothers and teachers of kindergartens and infant schools the exclusion or diminution of stories extolling military and naval heroes, and urging the attention of the children under their care to the heroic services of men and women in the Ordinary Peaceful occupations of life.

The committee report again commended the revision of school histories used by pupils in the advanced grades of high schools and academies to secure the following ends:

> (a) A decreased emphasis upon the military achievements of their respective countries; (b) A larger attention to the progress and development secured by industry, commerce and the arts; (c) An increased attention to existing social wrongs and miseries, and also to sociological progress, as both are manifested by the multiplication of benevolent, philanthropic, social and civil agencies for the promotion of human betterment; (d) To inculcate respect for other peoples and to abate the influence now exerted by the majority of school histories to eulogize vanity and arrogance in the name of patriotism [ICW 1914, p. 409].

Contemporary Context

From 1893 to 1914 there is evidence that the ICW promoted a view that was feminist and peace-seeking, and reading Miss Macmillan's work in 2011 and following her argument for the rights of equality of women, it is often easy to see her as a contemporary colleague. In reality the social world was a very different place in the early 1900s. Class distinctions mattered and there was much more respect for the monarchy and for titled people.

The Ladies and women on the committees of the ICW were all aware of treading a fine line between working for an international women's organisation and showing loyalty to their husbands and families. Mrs May Wright Sewall as President of the ICW made this clear when she spoke of the difficulties being encountered in recruiting members for the ICW Standing Committee on Peace and Arbitration

> One thing we have learned from experience of the last five years in respect to the work of this committee; viz., that it will be unwise for any National Council to place on this committee any woman whose relationships to public life directly or through her family are such that there will be a probable clash between her personal interests or the personal interests of the men of her family, and her duty as a member of this Committee. While women whose families are active politically may be of vast value to the Council in many other lines of work, in this particular line of work we had found it impossible that they should be useful [ICW, 1909, p. 200].

It may be no co-incidence that the leaders of the two main suffrage organisations in Great Britain were led by widows, women who did not have to consider the views of a husband but who were already well known within the British establishment through their social network and the work of their dead husbands.

Moreover, for organisations in Great Britain, royal patronage was still considered an important factor. In 1915 the NUWW asked the NUWSS to withdraw a resolution on women's political disabilities, noting that Her Majesty had recently stated that as she considered the Suffrage to be a political question with which she as Queen Mary, wife of George V, should have nothing to do, she would be obliged to withdraw from being patroness of NUWW, if resolutions either for or against Women's Suffrage were passed by the Council.

This caused turmoil in the ranks of the Executive Committee of NUWW. They earnestly begged the NUWSS to withdraw their proposed resolution, reminding them that at the start of hostilities of the First World War in 1914 the suffrage organisations had agreed a truce with the Government on the subject of women's suffrage. Moreover the Executive Committee feared that this resolution had the

potential to cause division in their ranks at a time when most women were united in working for the common good of the country. NUWSS agreed to withdraw the resolution from the ICW Conference but continued their work by lobbying on women's suffrage and women's representation on public bodies as these issues arose in Parliamentary business.

Despite these limitations of class and family obligation, the organisational rhetoric promoted by ICW encouraged a spirit of cooperation and exchange between the women gathering from different nations. I will argue that Miss Macmillan learned the organisational rhetoric developed by ICW and this influenced in her work with IWSA and WILPF.

Women and the Peace Question in the Suffrage Movement in Great Britain in 1914

Women delegates from national suffrage associations in Europe and America had been meeting regularly under the auspices of The International Women's Suffrage Association (IWSA) since 1902. By 1910, this group formed a well-organised, vibrant international network; in 1913 the IWSA congress in Budapest attracted 2800 participants from all over Europe and America, the international delegates numbering about 500.

Not only did they exchange ideas and build campaigns for obtaining the franchise in their respective countries, they also began to discuss other issues of concern to women. These women were united not only by the desire to gain the vote but a passionate desire to improve the situation for all women and men, and particularly the situation of exploited women.

> It was not merely a dry discussion of ways and means to get the vote, but comprehensive studies of social and moral conditions, and of how women could better them. At almost every session one learned of the White Slave Traffic; of ways to protect young girls; of efforts of women legislators to raise the age of consent; of State insurance for mothers; of solutions of the problem of the illegitimate child; of better laws for working women; of the abolition of sweat shops and child labour ["Jus Suffragii" 1913, p. 6].

However as the women were working in a spirit of cooperation, the political leaders, the men with political power moved toward the declaration of war in Europe. In July 1914, Miss Chrystal Macmillan worked with Mrs Millicent Garrett Fawcett, First Vice President of IWSA and Rosika Schwimmer IWSA Press Officer on an *International Manifesto of Women* which they delivered to the Foreign Office and all the foreign Embassies in London:

> We, the women of the world, view with apprehension and dismay the present situation in Europe, which threatens to involve one continent, if not the whole world, in the disasters and the horrors of war […]. We women of twenty-six countries, having banded ourselves together in the International Women's Suffrage Alliance with the object of obtaining political means of sharing with men the power which shapes the fate of nations, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration for arranging international differences which may help to avert deluging half the civilised world in blood ["Jus Suffragii" 1914, p. 1].

On 4 August 1914, immediately after Britain declared war on Germany, women from NUWSS and IWSA attended a meeting which had been organised by

NUWSS in London before the declaration of war but which became the occasion for women to voice their objection to war: emotions were running high. Several British organisations were represented and speakers came from France, Germany, Hungary, Finland and Switzerland as well as Great Britain.

Mrs St Clair Stobart condemned the double standard of morality, one for women and one for men, one for individuals and one for nations, noting that "until women are included in councils which concerned the morality of nations, this double standard would be maintained which condemns the murder of an individual but even extols the murder when it is wholesale". She deplored the senseless war-driven destruction of 'women's treasures', not pieces of canvas, the icons of art, but each woman's family and her beloved land.

One Swiss member, Mme Thoumaian criticised the message of the inevitability of war in every country of Europe, "everyone is speaking of war as if it were a dispensation from the Almighty, something like measles, that we cannot avoid, and so must accept with patience".

Mrs Barton of the British Women's Cooperative Guild believed it was important for suffragists to continue to campaign as "Women have got to make their voices heard, and in a country like ours, the people should have real representation, because it is the people who have to pay the price. Women must have political power" ["Jus Suffragii", September 1914, p. 160].

The only note of open discord came from the President of the French Association, Mme Schlumberger who wrote that French women could no longer support a feminist demonstration against the war even although many of them believed that women would have prevented the war honourably, if women had the suffrage in all countries. She supported French political leaders who expected French women to accept their duty to work for France, to gather in the harvest and the vintage in the absence of their men who had gone to the front.

The question of women's suffrage and the duty to bear arms in Great Britain

Mrs Henry Fawcett, speaking as Vice President of the IWSA referred to the unparalleled suffering to thousands which would be caused by the war and pointed out that women without the vote were not responsible for the political events that had led up to the war. She did sound a note of caution "Women could not prevent war or permit it, but as citizens they had their duty to perform. The highest and most precious of national and international aspirations and hopes would have to be set aside" ["Jus Suffragii", September 1914, p. 160].

Faced with the practical politics of negotiating women's claim to suffrage in a war situation, Mrs Fawcett was well aware of the historical argument that denied women the vote because they were unfit to bear arms in defence of the country – women cannot fight and therefore cannot have the vote.

> If they must have a vote, are they willing also to shoulder a gun? If not, their whole position is weak and untenable, and they must relinquish it. […] A citizen unable to bear arms in defence of the State, and yet of ripe and proper age, is an anomaly that cannot be tolerated. The State

> has a right to the military service of all its citizens [Broad Arrow: A Paper for the Services 1874, quoted in Brown 2003, p. 19].

Speaking at the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage on 15 March 1901, Miss Louisa Stevenson challenged this view:

> Another argument against Women's Suffrage was that women were disqualified to vote because they could not be soldiers, and yet she was able to state on high authority that some years ago 50 per cent of the men who applied for enlistment were physically disqualified and were not accepted. And were those men deprived of their Votes? Certainly not [Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, p. 14].

Mrs Duncan McLaren President of the Edinburgh Society was unable to attend that meeting but she did send a letter detailing some subtle connections between men, the military and their relationship with women:

> Mr Brodick, the Under Secretary for State for War, may deserve all the praise the papers have given him for the ability with which he introduced his army reform proposals. But alas! for the evils which war brings in its train. The women ought seriously to ponder over what it overshadows for them and their country. They have little power, having no Parliamentary votes, but as things are, let them show an unmistakable front against the threatened conscription, which is plainly contemplated, but spoken of with such subtlety as to make the unwary rest under the words, 'Oh, it will never come'.
>
> But what about the sacredness of home and married life? I felt thankful the Queen, who had such a reverence for both, was not here to read what a Minister of the Crown could suggest, hoping to break up such homes. In his anxiety to get men for the Army, he suggested that newly-married militia men might naturally be tired of matrimony after two or three years' experience of it, and at such a critical moment 'might contemplate a little war in order to get a little peace' – and he would offer them a special money inducement to leave their wives and homes, making special arrangement for them. Of course the House of Commons laughed [Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, p. 18].

Over the years the contradictions within this argument continued to annoy women working for the vote:

> The one argument against granting of woman suffrage upon which Mr. Asquith and his anti-suffrage friends feel that they can always rely is that women cannot fight in war, and that they are therefore incapable of fulfilling all the obligations which men as citizens are called upon to perform, women ought not to be allowed to vote. It is a poor miserable argument, because as we have not got conscription in this country it is only a very few men who are ever called upon to fight: and more than that, soldiers are just the people who are not allowed to vote [Pankhurst, 1909, p. 262].

Writing in a series of articles in *Votes for Women*, Laurence Housman put the case that the physical force argument did not give reasonable grounds to deny women the vote, given that elderly, weak and frail men were not prevented from voting. He argued that in war times the modern soldier relied on being supplied with food and armaments by those "behind the lines": moreover, he noted that the very existence of the State was dependent on women's reproductive powers "to make alive" the next generation rather than on the man's ability to kill.

> Opponents of Woman Suffrage put forward as their final and most irrefutable argument against the admission of women to the franchise that as the State rests in the last resort on physical force, and as women cannot fight, they have therefore no right to share in the making of laws by which the State is governed [Housman 1909, p. 324].

So, when the women present at the IWSA meeting on 4 August 1914, spoke out passionately against the seemingly unstoppable politics of war and mourned the losses that would be inflicted on women and children who had no influence on the policies that promoted the war, it aroused male concerns about women's understanding of the male capacity to the defend the country by force of arms. The possible consequences of criticism of the war effort were brought home to Mrs Fawcett the following day when she received a letter from Lord Robert Cecil, a Conservative Minister but acknowledged supporter of women's suffrage:

> Permit me to express my great regret that you should have thought it right not only to take part in the "peace" meeting last night but also to have allowed the organisation of the National Union to be used for its promotion. Action of that kind will undoubtedly make it very difficult for the friends of Women's Suffrage in both the Unionist and Ministerial parties. Even to me the action seems so unreasonable under the circumstances as to shake my belief in the fitness of women to deal with great Imperial questions and I can only console myself by the belief that in this matter the National Union do not represent the opinions of their fellow countrywomen [quoted in Vellacott 1987, p. 122].

This letter had a crucial effect as it questioned not only women's capacity to use the vote wisely but also women's commitment to the Empire. Historians have argued that for many women and men in this era "conceptions of national identity were closely linked to Britain's status as an imperial power" [Brown, 2003, quoting Burton]. From this point on, Mrs Fawcett avoided any statements which could be construed as undermining support for the war effort. Although the NUWSS continued to monitor Parliament legislative activities and bring to public attention, clauses in legislation, or in the effects of legislation which disadvantaged women, it suspended suffrage campaigning and Mrs Fawcett herself encouraged women to do their duty, "let us show ourselves worthy of citizenship, whether our claim to it be recognised or not". In future work, Mrs Fawcett would discourage all talk of peace [Common Cause, August 1914].

Members of NUWSS and IWSA threw themselves into work to relieve the poverty and distress of women and children caused by the disruptions in the labour market and the departure of men to the war. Chrystal Macmillan assisted by Mary Sheepshanks, both working as members of NUWSS raised the money, organised provisions and, on October 13, 1914, delivered food and clothing to help the Dutch Authorities provide for 80,000 destitute Belgian refugees in Flushing. Miss Macmillan later organised shipments of baby food and clothing for new-born infants. The British accounts show that NUWSS raised £3423 2s 3d by the end of October 1914 for the 'Belgian Refugees in Holland'.

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) took a very different attitude to the outbreak of war. Despite the fact that in June 1914 Christabel Pankhurst was writing that "warfare as developed by man has become a horror unspeakable […] a mechanical and soulless massacre of multitudes of soldiers" [Pankhurst 1914], Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst believed that no form of international diplomacy could stop the war. The leaders of WSPU espoused the patriotic cause to such an extent that they not only dropped their suffrage work but travelled the country promoting the army recruitment campaign. The WSPU publication, "The

Suffragette" was renamed "Britannia" in October 1915 and became devoted to war propaganda.

Throughout Great Britain almost all women's suffrage campaigns, both militant and non-militant, were set aside by the upsurge in patriotic duty in the face of onset of war, although Mrs Fawcett still seemed a little ambivalent about linking women's disenfranchisement and military endeavours:

> If the political citizenship of women in all the countries concerned had become an established fact long enough to secure its organisation into concrete political power, it is impossible to doubt that this power would have been used to ensure such a political reorganisation of Europe as would have rendered it certain that international disputes and grievances should be referred to law and reason, and not to the clumsy and blundering tribunal of brute force ["Jus Suffragii", September 1914, p. 207].

The International Suffrage Movement

Throughout the war, IWSA feminists from both neutral and belligerent countries were able to communicate through the pages of the IWSA journal, "Jus Suffragii". Much to Mrs Fawcett's annoyance, the editor, Mary Sheepshanks, regularly published articles from and about women working for peace as well as articles about suffrage. But by the end of August 1914, Aletta Jacobs wrote from Amsterdam that she could not send her suffrage report to IWSA as "there is no Suffrage work done: our Suffragists are now all engaged in charity work and that kind of thing". By this stage in the war many Dutch women were engaged in relief work with refugees, often with destitute women and children (including British women deported from Britain evicted from their home because they were married to foreign men).

In America there was a call for a great women's peace parade in New York on 29 August 1914: "there will be no music – simply muffled drums – no flags or signs, except the plain white peace flags, banded in black. The marchers are asked to wear black or white with black sleeve bands". Carrie Chapman Catt, President of IWSA noted that women often paid the cost of war, "with none of the inspiration which comes from crowds, from music, from appeals to patriotism, from hero worship, from love of adventure, women bear the burdens as best they might". She noted that by the end of the Boer War, 4000 men had given their lives in the field but 20,000 women and children had died in concentration camps. As American women continued to raise funds for suffrage work, Mrs Catt issued an appeal for peace: "If courts are better than duels, if votes are better than pitched battles to settle national difficulties, so are international courts and international parliaments better than war" ["Jus Suffragii", September 1914, p. 164].

Jane Addams was to remember that "When news came to America of the opening of hostilities which were the beginning of the European Conflict, the reaction against war, as such, was almost instantaneous throughout the country […] newspaper cartoons and comments expressed astonishment that such an archaic institution should be revived in Modern Europe" [Addams 1945].

With the onset of war, the women of the German section of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) felt that they had no alternative but to cancel

the IWSA International Congress which had been due to meet in Berlin in June 1915. In response, Aletta Jacobs wrote on behalf of her national committee to other national organisations in November 1914, suggesting that the Congress could be held in Holland which was a neutral country, "In these dreadful times in which so much hate has been spread among different nations, the women have to show that we at least retain our solidarity and that we are able to maintain mutual friendship" ["Jus Suffragii", December 1914, p. 200].

The following month, Chrystal Macmillan wrote to all 26 suffrage societies in the Alliance urging them to agree to meet in Holland to "discuss the principles on which peace should be made and, if so, to act internationally". She made three suggestions

> the IWSA could have its regular convention with a business meeting afterwards;
>
> the IWSA could call a convention attended by different women's organisations;
>
> or a conference could be summoned by individual women.

Each national suffrage committee discussed and voted on whether to hold the international meeting in Holland. At the executive committee meeting of the NUWSS in London, Miss Macmillan proposed that the NUWSS ask Mrs Catt to summon an IWSA business congress in 1915. This resolution was carried with only two members opposed. One of those who opposed was the President, Mrs Millicent Fawcett, on the grounds that women are "as subject as men to national prepossessions and susceptibilities […] we should then run the risk of the scandal of a PEACE conference disturbed and perhaps broken by violent quarrels" [Wiltsher 1985, p. 69].

As President of NUWSS Mrs Fawcett worked steadfastly against involvement with the proposed congress. Seven women on NUWSS Executive resigned in protest that she had over-ruled the democratic will of the society as expressed at the Council meeting. Miss Macmillan did not resign as she felt she should stay and continue to fight for the minority view [Vellacott 2007, p. 79]. It came to be seen, however that Mrs Fawcett's view reflected that of many international suffragists: by March 1915, the international committee of IWSA had voted by 11 votes to 6 that the IWSA would not call the conference, organise it nor send official delegates.

Taking action between feminism and pacifism: Women at The Hague in 1915, and Zurich in 1919

Amidst all this emotion and disagreement, a small group of suffragist women decided to hold true to their commitment to work internationally. As it looked increasingly unlikely that IWSA would call the conference, Chrystal Macmillan and two other British women travelled to Holland in February 1915 to work with Aletta Jacobs and the Dutch women, to make arrangements for a conference, to be organised by individual women for individual women.

On February 12 and 13, in Amsterdam, women from Belgium, Germany and Great Britain met with the Dutch women and drafted twelve resolutions for the conference. Despite postal disruptions due to the war, invitations were sent out to organisations and individual women, and travel and accommodation arrangements were made. On 1st March, "Jus Suffragii" published an invitation to women of all nations to an International Women's Congress to be held at The Hague from 28 April to 3 May 1915. Women who signed up for voting rights had to subscribe to two principles: "that international disputes should be settled by pacific means and that the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women" [Swanwick 1915, p. 357].

Despite lack of support from the leaders of the British suffrage movement and bitter criticism from the British press, 180 British women applied for passports to attend the gathering. They did this despite the fact that travel across the North Sea and English Channel had become dangerous for all shipping. The German Government had declared the seas around Great Britain to be a war zone and all enemy ships in that area were liable to submarine attack. In retaliation, British Government had started to blockade all ships carrying goods for Germany and its allies: some British merchant ships started to carry neutral flags. The German Government then decreed that its submarines would claim the right to the attack all ships in these waters, even those carrying neutral flags.

The British women who wanted to attend the conference had great difficulty obtaining passports from the Government: after some lobbying by Catherine Marshall and Kathleen Courtney, twenty were granted. The women made their way to the port at Tilbury where they awaited the next ferry to Holland. But, much to the glee of the British press, the British Government issued a new order closing the North Sea to all shipping and the women were unable to make the crossing to Holland. Three British women did reach the conference, Chrystal Macmillan and Kathleen Courtney who had been working in Holland with the Dutch Committee in preparation for the conference since February 1915, and Emmeline Pethwick-Lawrence who travelled with the contingent from USA. Despite knowing of the dangers, the delegation of 42 American women led by Jane Addams set sail from New York on April 13th on the Noordam. They spent the time on board discussing and proposing amendments to the resolutions for the conference. When they reached the English Channel they were stopped by British warships which held them there for four days without explanation, releasing them just in time for them to reach the Congress on the first evening. Approximately 1200 women attended the congress from 12 countries, including women from both belligerent and neutral countries: Austria (6), Belgium (5), Britain (3), Canada (2), Denmark (6), Germany (28), Hungary (9), Italy (1), Netherlands (1000), Norway (12), Sweden (12), and USA (47). French and Russian women were unable to attend.

Although the Congress was not officially a suffrage gathering, many of these women were members of suffrage organisations who had been campaigning for years to obtain the vote for women, working together at national and international level. The press in Britain and America were critical of the women's efforts to continue international discussion in time of war: some encouraged their readers to laugh at the women and tried to belittle their efforts, calling them 'peacettes' and

'crankettes', terms reminiscent of previous efforts to disparage the women's campaign to gain the vote.

The women worked through three days with a programme of debates and discussions, some in public, some in committee. Speeches were short and inspirational, delivered in English, French and German and meetings were competently chaired. Women from twelve countries worked in groups, some women acting as translators and interpreters, to overcome language barriers and different interpretations of correct committee procedure, to reach agreement on twenty resolutions. Mary Sheepshanks, editor of "Jus Suffragii" described the dynamics of the international meeting. The Resolutions Committee consisting of two representatives from each country with Miss Macmillan as convener met "before, throughout and after the Congress, and considered amendments and new resolutions and drafted the programme and final arrangements of resolutions" ["Jus Suffragii", June 1, 1915].

Many of the resolutions from the 1915 Congress have a vibrancy that continues to resonate today. The women passed the twenty resolutions under seven headings: Women and war, Action towards peace, Principles of Permanent Peace, International Cooperation, The Education of Children, Women and the Peace settlement Conference, Action to be taken.

Women's Sufferings in War

The horror of the war which had started in August 1914 was the first item tackled by the women and led to their "protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up".

> This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war [ICWPP 1915, p. 35].

The women then went on to make proposals on how action might be undertaken to move towards peace. They steered clear of apportioning blame noting that "the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence: there can be no irreconcilable differences, between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established". They clearly defined the actions they expected governments to undertake, avoiding prescriptions based on political assessments of the balance of power, and focusing on international justice.

The Peace Settlement

The Congress urged the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demanded that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognised;

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people;

That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation, and to bring social, moral, and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms;

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control; and

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

The women wanted to take a full part in the peace settlement and fully supported the creation of an organisation for continuous mediation and permanent peace. They defined the principles of a permanent peace and these principles, laid out in the six resolutions under 'International Cooperation', still stand as the bedrock of the activities undertaken by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom today:

Respect for nationality

This International Congress of Women recognising the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

Arbitration and Conciliation

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilisation, urges the Governments of all nations to come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

International Pressure

This International Congress of Women urges the Governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral, and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

Democratic Control of Foreign Policy

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that Foreign Politics shall be subject to Democratic Control; and declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

The Enfranchisement of Women

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

The women recommended several actions to establish international organisations to resolve conflicts between nations without recourse to killing. They advocated the development of the Society of Nations which would support a permanent International Court of Justice and regular meetings of a permanent International Conference, in all of which women would participate. This Conference would "formulate and enforce those principles of justice equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognised and the interests and rights not only of the great Powers and small Nations but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under enlightened international public opinion". The women also recommended the establishment of an international body to study the principles and conditions necessary for permanent peace.

Furthermore, the women recommended that a Council of Conciliation be set up to settle international differences which arise from "economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards". Although the women recommended freedom of trade they were aware of power differentials; they set out their beliefs that trade routes should be open and on equal terms to shipping of all nations; and they were aware, even in 1915, of the some of the challenges to fair trading conditions:

> Inasmuch as the investment of capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complication, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government [ICWPP 1915, p. 40].

As they studied the international political situation, the women were appalled to find that diplomats were trained to act solely in self-interest for their country and frequently participated in making international treaties which remained secret. They demanded that all future treaties should be open to the scrutiny of each country's legislature.

Supporting this radical programme was the women's declaration that it was essential that women were included in all these activities so that they might share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

One evening the topic of "Woman Suffrage and the War" was the subject of a public debate which was chaired by Chrystal Macmillan. Kathleen Courtney of Great Britain, one of the speakers moved the resolution for women's equal political rights:

> We call upon all women who feel their responsibility for war in the world and are not able to make their influence effective, we call upon all these women to work as they have never worked, so that women may obtain their full political enfranchisement and make their will effective in the world [ICWPP 1915, p. 82].

After passing several resolutions on international cooperation and the principles of Permanent Peace, the women focused on the long term striving toward peace and advocated a revision in the education of children, similar to the programme advocated by the ICW. Resolution 16 "urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace":

> Too much emphasis is given by men in the education of children to the advocacy of force and violence, and women should see that this state of things is altered, and that children are taught to admire not only their own great men but also to admire the heroes of the world and the women who sacrificed themselves to others. It is surely desirable that children should have an international outlook, and that art, music and poetry should be enlisted for the cause of peace ["Jus Suffragii", June 1, 1915, p. 302].

In the more immediate future, the delegates made it clear that they expected women to take on an active role in national and international affairs. They proposed that the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women in all countries: and urged that women should participate in the peace settlement at the end of the war, to ensure that women's claims be included. The women, being realists, feared that women would not be represented in the negotiations of the peace settlement. To ensure that women's voices were heard and their post-war needs addressed, they proposed that an international meeting of women would take place at the same time and in the same place as the Conference of Powers which would frame the peace settlement after the war, for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that conference.

Nearly at the end of the conference, Rosika Schwimmer gave an impassioned speech, urging the women to do more to bring about an end to the war raging around Europe. The women had shown they could work together internationally in the face of national criticisms but could they not do more? Miss Schwimmer proposed that a delegation of women from the Congress should carry the message expressed in the resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of United States. She asked that women urge all governments to put an end to the bloodshed and begin peace negotiations.

Several delegates, including Jane Addams, Chrystal Macmillan and Kathleen Courtney, expressed doubts as to whether the proposal was practicable, was it sensible to propose that a group of women travel around Europe in the midst of war? The counter argument was summed up by one delegate who said "I hope that the resolutions passed by this international congress be not only words, words, words but that they may be translated into actions". This, the last resolution of Congress was carried after a re-count.

When the International Women's Congress in The Hague drew to a close on 1 May 1915, the envoys delegated by Congress made arrangements to travel around Europe to meet with Heads of State of all belligerent and neutral countries. The President of the Congress, Jane Addams, accompanied by Dr Aletta Jacobs and two companions set out to visit political leaders in the warring nations. Chrystal Macmillan, Emily Balch, Rosika Schwimmer and two companions set off northwards to make contact with Heads of State in the neutral and Scandinavian Countries.

These two groups of women travelled back and forward across Europe for two months, meeting face-to-face with all the Heads of State, presenting their proposals for summoning a neutral conference for continuous mediation to bring the war to an end. They laid out the details of their proposals and invited the statesmen to respond. The women took notes of the conversations, and checked their understandings with each other and with the politician to confirm or clarify

meanings. They also asked the political leaders to sign a written statement outlining initiatives that would be acceptable to them and their governments.

The women worked with diplomats and civil servants to set up formal meetings with political leaders, but in each country they were also received by sympathetic politicians and academics, and addressed public meetings to promote peaceful resolution of the conflict. In Sweden the delegates attended massive peace meetings organised by women and men to encourage their government to initiate peace mediations. In Great Britain they met with women setting up the branch organisations to promote the resolutions passed at the International Congress of Women, which had taken place at The Hague only a few weeks previously.

The women advocated that a conference should be called by the neutral nations of Europe. Initially not one of the neutral countries in Europe would agree to call a conference for fear that this would bring into question their neutrality. But the women persisted in their diplomatic work, suggesting that invitations be issued not by one country but "by a group of five neutrals, namely Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland".

The envoys also procured agreement from leaders in the belligerent countries that they would not oppose the calling of such a conference even though they could not call for such a meeting themselves. The envoys acknowledged that "if the side in the strong position were to ask for peace, the weaker side would resent mediation because it would be thought that the stronger wanted to dictate terms; while, were the weaker side to ask for peace, it would be considered as a confession of defeat". Von Jagow of Germany supported this analysis in July 1915, adding that "at this moment neither side is strong enough to dictate terms and neither side is so weakened that it has to sue for peace". He said that Germany would not oppose a conference organised by Neutrals. Similarly in a letter to Chrystal Macmillan, the Foreign Office stated that Lord Crewe had set forth the British position that the Government would not place any obstacle in the way of the formation of a League of Neutrals to prepare the ground.

Initially the envoys expected that US President Wilson would be a good person to act as mediator but they found that German leaders did not consider him to be neutral as US industrial corporations were supplying munitions to Britain. Moreover several leaders in European countries gave notice that they did not consider President Wilson suitable as they believed he knew little of European political issues or European ways of working.

The women had agreed to meet in Amsterdam in August to review their progress but without consulting her colleagues Jane Addams sailed for America. Dr Jacobs, followed by Miss Macmillan and Miss Schwimmer travelled to the US, hoping for an interview with President Wilson and his backing for a conference organised by the neutral nations. Unfortunately President Wilson reserved his judgement on the proposal, privately informing his colleagues that he would only offer his support when mediation could be guaranteed success.

On October 15, 1915 the women envoys issued a Manifesto to the press in America, giving a brief description of their findings, emphasising that they had heard much the same words "in Downing Street as in Wilhelmstrasse, in Vienna as in Petrograd, in Budapest as in the Havre". They had shown that there was room

for mediation if the political leaders willed it, and concluded with an appeal for all political leaders to find a way to stop the war

> The excruciating burden of responsibility for the hopeless continuance of this war no longer rests on the wills of the belligerent nations alone. It rests also on the wills of those neutral governments and people who have been spared its shock but cannot, if they would, absolve themselves from their full share of responsibility for the continuance of war [Addams *et al.* 1915, p. 134].

The Manifesto was welcomed by the press who acknowledged that the calling of a neutral conference for mediation had become a matter of serious discussion by government officials, the press and public opinion in all countries concerned. Sadly, however, no action was taken by any Head of State and the war continued unabated. Women who had attended the Congress were heavily criticised on their return to their own country and some in Germany were temporarily imprisoned.

Undaunted, Miss Macmillan who undertook the task of writing up the report of the Congress noted the formation of the new organisation which would look to the future:

> The Congress founded an International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace to organise international support for the Resolutions and to ensure that a Congress of Women be held in the same time and at the same place as the Conference of the powers which shall frame the peace-settlement after the war. Believing that women must take their full share of responsibility in all national and international questions it asks that in this Conference women shall be included and that the Conference shall pass a Resolution advocating the extension of the parliamentary vote to women in all countries […]. The Congress has made a beginning. Let us now each in our own country carry on this international work to ensure that a just and lasting peace shall soon be established [ICWPP 1915, p. XXIII].

At the end of the war in 1919, Miss Macmillan worked with colleagues to organise the ICWPP Congress in Zurich, the meeting planned to take place side by side with the official Peace Conference at Versailles. It could not take place as planned, however, as women delegates from Central Powers were not permitted to enter France and ICWPP refused to go along with this exclusionary tactic. The Treaty of Versailles was published as the women gathered: they were so appalled by the terms of the Treaty that they sent off a telegram to members of the Peace Conference:

> This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the terms of peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept. By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the terms of peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination, recognise the rights of the victors to spoils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities which can only lead to future wars [quoted in Bussey & Tims 1960, p. 31].

The three main committees of the Congress – the Political, the Feminist and the Educational Ethical Committees – were then asked to consider practical proposals to put to the Peace Conference. Miss Macmillan was one of four women elected by Congress to take these messages in person to Versailles, where they presented copies of the 1919 Congress Resolutions relating to the famine and blockade, the continuing military action in Russia and Hungary, amnesty for war prisoners and including their criticism of the peace treaty, their comments on the League of

Nations, and their proposals for a Women's Charter and women's employment. In her report of the deputation, Miss Macmillan noted that they had been received by several members of the Peace Conference, and that Lord Robert Cecil had stated very definitely that women would be certainly eligible for every position of the League [Towards Peace and Freedom 1919, p. 17].

As the national sections of the ICWPP were showing much vitality, it was agreed that the formation of permanent organisation was now necessary, The name was changed to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, with the aims of "organising support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and Zurich in 1919, and of supporting movements to further peace, internationalism and the freedom of women" [Towards Peace and Freedom 1919, p. 17]. Miss Macmillan took on the chair of the WILPF Committee on the Nationality of Married Women, work which she continued for the rest of her life, later being elected chair of a joint committee of IWSA and the ICW on this issue. She felt strongly that a woman should not lose her nationality by marriage when a man in the same situation could not: it struck at the heart of her understanding of the rights of citizenship and she believed that this had to be remedied by reform of international law.

Despite her continuing commitment to WILPF, she resigned from the International Committee in 1920 to make more time available to undertake further work with the ICW and IWSA. This included organising the IWSA Congress in Rome in 1923 and advising both these organisations, and many other women's organisations, on legislative matters. An enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations, she proposed a plan for an International Women's Office shortly after its formation but this proposal was rejected [Rupp 1997, p. 215]. She continued to work with the women's international organisations, presenting papers to ILO on women in the labour market and acting as Chair of the Nationality of Married Women Committee which reported to the First Codification Conference of the League of Nations in 1930.

Discussion

Tracing the link between feminism and pacifism varies in complexity as political movements react to situations. During World War I, we have seen the connections between 'feminism' and 'pacifism' being challenged by questions about patriotism: and that question might explain the split in the NUWSS committee in 1914 when some women became so angry that they felt they had no option but to resign. For some women, their understanding of patriotism meant supporting the decision of the politicians to go to war, a situation where the decisions of the 'British government' became the decisions of 'Britain'. Therefore for them, supporting the war effort in general and the soldiers in practice became the duty of every British person.

Some women, like Miss Macmillan and Miss Addams, did not see patriotism in this way:

> Perhaps the one point at which this undertaking is most needed is in regard to our conception of patriotism, which, although as genuine as before, is too much dressed in the trappings of

> the past and continually carries us back to its beginnings in military prowess and defence [Addams 1907, p. 131].

Miss Macmillan did not resign from NUWSS: she continued to work with Mrs Fawcett on NUWSS and IWSA business even although she was one of the main organisers of the Hague Congress. Throughout World War I she worked for ICWPP based in Amsterdam and the ICW and IWSA in London. For her, transnationalism was more important than nationalism.

In contrast Mrs Fawcett, seeing herself as a loyal citizen of Great Britain (even if lacking full citizenship rights), felt she must support the efforts to defend the country and win the war. Moreover she wanted to avoid any action which would allow the government an excuse to further deny women the vote.

A similar feeling of patriotism compelled Mrs George Cadbury, chair of the IWC Peace & Arbitration Committee to withdraw her application to attend the Congress at The Hague when she read the programme that contained a draft resolution, "to call an immediate truce". For her, it was more important to be credited as a loyal member of established society in England than to be an active participant in the search for peace in 1915. Grayzel argues that identification with the war effort was positively encouraged by British and French Governments to the point where women's dissent was not to be tolerated [Grayzel 1999].

However women's energies were not totally and only dedicated to war relief efforts. News of women's suffrage movement, both in Great Britain and internationally, continued to be published in Jus Suffragii. The British section of ICWPP, known as the Women's International League (WIL), existed throughout the war with 2450 members in 34 branches: the London branch continued with its weekly educational lectures. At international level, Miss Macmillan worked with Aletta Jacobs and Rosa Manus in Amsterdam to publish an ICWPP quarterly newsletter *Internationaal* with letters and articles in English, French and German, giving news of international suffrage and peace activities.

After the war was ended the women's international organisations resumed campaigning for issues considered important by women. In 1922, Miss Macmillan, as Vice President of IWSA wrote to WILPF and the ICW proposing a joint meeting of the committees of the three international organisations to increase mutual support. This followed a letter written two months previously from the IWSA President Mrs Chapman Catt to her friend Miss Addams which spoke of an overlap of campaigns leading to strife between organisations as well as a difference of opinion within the IWSA:

> I proposed that at our next Congress which is to be in Rome […] that a half-day should be expended in the general discussion of what women could do to eliminate war, and my innocent suggestion aroused such an uproar of protest from several European countries as to quite fill me with despair. The Italian women seem united in the opinion that it would be very harmful to their suffrage campaign to have the question of war discussed in Rome [IWSA papers, Boulder].

Here we have echoes of Mrs Fawcett's concerns back in 1914 that any association with peace activism would give men an excuse to deny women the vote. We might consider whether the corollary of this concern is to consider the association between men, power and militarism.

Conclusion

For some women, there is a logical connection between feminism and pacifism, some inherent and inevitable logic that binds them ultimately together between women's demand for the equal citizenship and women's work for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

> Feminism and peace share an important conceptual connection: Both are critical of, and committed to the elimination of, coercive power-over privilege systems of domination as a basis of interaction between individuals and groups. A feminist critique and development of any peace politics therefore ultimately is a critique of systems of unjustified domination [Warren & Cady 1996, p. 3].

But many women who consider themselves feminist do not see an essential connection between feminism and pacifism, nor do they consider peace an issue for discussion. Popular books that claim a feminist agenda do not even consider peace as an issue [Moran, 2011] and academic texts whilst acknowledging that "feminism is intrinsically controversial" barely give peace a mention [Walby 2011, p. 14].

However the importance of the connection cannot be overemphasised in terms of women's participation in political dialogue. Reviewing the history of WILPF Sharer notes that

> The WILPF […] critiques of partisan politics and diplomacy and the reforms that they promoted remain frighteningly appropriate today. […] Scholar of feminist citizenship Rian Voet has noted that women in the twenty-first century still face exclusion from political participation and decision-making. Before women can be active citizens, Voet argues, they must have the ability to act as full citizens: 'a full citizen in its most complete sense is someone who participates in legislation or decision-making in public affairs' [Sharer 2004, p. 166].

Miss Macmillan would have no quarrel with such statements.

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Abbreviations

ICW	International Council of Women
IWSA	International Woman Suffrage Alliance renamed IAWSEC in 1926
IAWSEC	International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship
ICWPP	International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, renamed WILPF in 1919
NUSEC	National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies renamed NUSEC in 1919
NUWW	National Union of Women Workers renamed National Council of Women, which was national committee of ICW
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom