

Extra

Across a Feminist-Pacifist Divide Baroness Bertha von Suttner's Tour of the United States in 1912

Laurie R. Cohen*

Introduction

In late May 1912, 69-year-old Austrian-Hungarian Baroness Bertha von Suttner left her home in Vienna and headed for New York. Although she had been in the United States eight years earlier, spending three weeks in and around the East Coast, this present visit would be more rigorous. Six months of coast-to-coast lectures in front of a variety of women's groups and peace groups – sometimes separate, sometimes joined – awaited her. The general focus was mutual international exchange – an opportunity for Suttner to become better acquainted with “the land of unlimited possibilities” and for working and middle-class Americans to experience firsthand this female European icon and pioneer pacifist: author of the internationally acclaimed 1889 antiwar novel “Die Waffen nieder!” (Lay Down Your Arms!), first woman „Nobel Peace Prize“ laureate (1905), and author of “The Records of an Eventful Life”, the English translation of Suttner's memoirs, documenting her autodidactic education, her marriage to a man seven years her junior, her writing career, and her leadership in the international peace movement.¹

* I would like to thank Ingrid Bauer, Nikola Langreiter and the anonymous peer reviewers for their critical readings, as well as the *Austrian Research Fund* (FWF) for its support (Project V34-G14).

1 Memoirs of Bertha von Suttner. *The Records of an Eventful Life*. Authorized Translation, 2 vols., Boston/London 1910. The autobiography concludes with the death of Suttner's husband in Dec. 1902.

During her trip, Suttner spoke in 16 states, appearing at colleges, universities, churches, clubs, and organizations (e. g. peace, labour, business, socialist, suffrage): some 1,220 engagements in all. She also raised about 5,500 dollars.² Suttner's appearances and speeches were widely accessible to the general public through regular reports in major American dailies: "The New York Times", "The Washington Post", Boston's "Christian Science Monitor", "The Atlanta Constitution", the "Chicago Daily Tribune", and the "Los Angeles Times". She was also featured in several local newspapers and specialized journals. This eventful tour, however, which ended 18 months before Suttner's death, is little known today on either side of the Atlantic.³

In revisiting this journey, I have two aims. First, to examine the technicalities and anticipations of this unusual tour: Who made the trip possible? Were Suttner's expectations the same as those of her differing American co-sponsors? Which issues did Suttner introduce, what did she observe, and what was she blind to? Second, to position Suttner and her lecture tour as a meeting – at times a confrontation, at times an intersection – not only of Americans and a representative European, but also of feminists and pacifists in the United States. What manner of difficulties did this female Austrian aristocrat and self-declared peace advocate face? As I will argue, this exchange or dialogue allows us to observe Suttner's late feminist position,⁴ which she prompted by accepting the invitation to speak before the *General Federation of Women's Clubs* (GFWC) in San Francisco in June 1912. Indeed, by October she advocated women's suffrage alongside universal peace. Throughout her tour, Suttner can be seen promoting a two-pronged strategy: to encourage feminists to direct their energies to the peace movement, and to urge mainstream peace activists to recognize feminist women's talents in promoting peace.

2 Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago Peace Society records (hereafter CHMRC, CPS), Box 3; cf. Charles E. Beals, The Baroness von Suttner's Tour, "Advocate of Peace", Jan. 1913, 9f; Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 28, 1912, 24. Based on the Consumer Price Index, \$ 5,500 in 1912 would be about \$ 121,000 in 2007; cf. <<http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/result.php>>; accessed Oct. 30, 2008.

3 Suttner began a diary of her trip, but it has not been published; cf. Swarthmore College Peace Collection [SCPC], CDGB Austria, Suttner, Baroness Bertha von, Box 3. Her main biographers only mention the trip in passing; cf. Beatrix Kempf, Bertha von Suttner. Das Leben einer großen Frau. Schriftstellerin – Politikerin – Journalistin, Wien 1964; Brigitte Hamann, Bertha von Suttner. Ein Leben für den Frieden, München/Zürich 1986.

4 I believe Suttner's peace work encouraged a socio-political transformation of the type integrated into the broad understanding of feminism: "The concept of feminism (viewed historically and comparatively) encompasses both a system of ideas and a movement for socio-political change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination with any given society"; Karen Offen, Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach, in: Fiona Montgomery and Christine Collette eds., The European Women's History Reader, London et al. 2002, 24ff, 24f (Orig. 1988). Offen sees two categories of feminists, relational and individualist; both may be at work in the same person at different times.

Part 1 briefly contextualizes Bertha von Suttner's feminist engagements, prior to and during 1912. Part 2 briefly addresses Suttner's purpose in accepting the *GFWC* invitation and who provided the required funds. Part 3 examines Suttner's lecture themes, and Part 4 focuses on the extent to which Suttner was able to listen to the concerns of the American women's movement, especially that of suffrage, and vice versa. In the United States, Suttner encountered feminists with multifaceted and at times fractious priorities:⁵ for universal suffrage, equal citizenship, equal opportunity and pay, and peace.⁶ By contrast, feminists in Austria by 1912 had prioritized the phasing out of legal restrictions on women's education and employment, not least subsequent to the defeat of the universal suffrage reform of 1907.⁷ I conclude by arguing that Suttner began to understand the priorities of her suffrage-oriented American women audience, who for their part began to better understand Suttner's engagement in universal peace. Not coincidentally, at the outset of the First World War, a wing of the American suffragist movement would adopt much of the program laid out by female (and male) pacifists with whom Suttner had so intensely collaborated.⁸

1. Bertha von Suttner's Feminism and Her Relationship to Feminists in the United States

Suttner, as is well-known, preferred to publicly highlight her primary commitment to pacifism; she claimed she did not have "time" for feminism – as if one must choose to be either a feminist or a pacifist, but could not be both –, and her critics largely adopted

5 These priorities, however, rarely surmounted divisions of ethnicity, class and race.

6 The breadth of American local and national women's movements of the pre-war period cannot be illuminated in full here. The more important associations include: 1) the Women's Clubs, under the umbrella *General Federation of Women's Clubs*, which represented 800,000 women, and allied with the *International Council of Women* (ICW). The vast majority of *Club* women were white middle-class social reformers or socialists, the former making them comparable to members of the *League of Austrian Women's Associations* (BÖFV); 2) the *National American Woman Suffrage Association* (NAWSA), allied with the *International Women's Suffrage Alliance* (IWSA); 3) the *Women's Christian Temperance Union* (WCTU), which by 1900 had many "peace and arbitration" branches; and 4) the *Women's Trade Union League* (WTUL). Suttner's rhetoric suggests her thoughts might also have appealed to progressive American women missionaries. I thank Elizabeth Rohan for this insight.

7 The Austrian women's movement at the turn of the twentieth century comprised three main groups (loosely aligned with three political parties), respectively: proletariat (socialist); conservative (Christian-social); and bourgeois (liberal).

8 I refer, e.g., to the 3,000 women in the United States, all members of a broad spectrum of progressive organizations, who met on Jan. 10–11, 1915 and formed the organizational conference of the *Women's Peace Party*, a forerunner of the 1919 American Section of the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF). Cf. the 'pacifist turn' of the international suffragist newsletter "Jus Suffragii" during the war.

this position. And yet, Suttner promoted women's political action in writing and deeds, as two examples among many indicate: her 1899 article "Universal Peace – From a Woman's Standpoint"⁹ and her written reply to an anonymous young woman, where she underlined the important "four F's": Friede, Freiheit, Freude und Frauenrecht (peace, freedom, happiness, and women's rights).¹⁰ On an institutional level, in 1903 Suttner accepted to head the Women's Peace Section in Marianne Hainisch's newly constituted *Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine* (the league of Austrian women's associations). She also participated as Austrian representative in the *International Council of Women* (ICW)'s Peace and Arbitration Section.¹¹

In part, Suttner's lacking legacy of actual commitment to women's rights must also be contextualized in class terms. Due to her aristocratic parentage and up-bringing, Baroness Suttner (née Countess Kinsky) was excluded from the Austrian middle-class and working-class feminist movements – a position that feminist historians of these movements have also adopted¹² – despite her feminist adult lifestyle and emancipated social and political choices. As a writer and journalist Suttner earned wages that supported her family and upon which they depended; she remained childless; she specifically supported women's education; she was long-term president of a national non-governmental organization (the Austrian Peace Society); she wrote and spoke out about women being men's equals; she was a committed internationalist. Simply put, Suttner was well aware and critical of the patriarchal culture of her time, and she actively challenged it.

Equally overlooked in her autobiography and not taken up by Suttner scholars is the fact that she maintained contact with a number of leading so-called western European feminist radicals (including Anita Augspurg, Minna Cauer, Auguste Fickert, Camille Flammarion, Leopoldine Kulka, Rosika Schwimmer, Helene Stöcker and Marie Stritt). True, she did not join their organizations, but she did support them, such as contributing an article to the German feminist journal "Die Frauenbewegung"¹³ and to Schwimmer's edited 1905 volume "Ehe-Ideale und Ideal-Ehen".¹⁴ A committed

9 Bertha von Suttner, Universal Peace – From a Woman's Standpoint, in: North American Review, July 1899, 50–61.

10 Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Manuscripts Division, 124-4-2.

11 In 1899 Lady Ishbel Aberdeen actually considered Suttner an appropriate ICW president; cf. Landesarchiv Berlin, B 235-01, MF 3203. The "ICW was the most conservative of the major international bodies of women" at that time; Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement*, Princeton 1997, 20.

12 In Harriet Anderson's masterful survey of feminism in late nineteenth-century Austria, for example, Suttner makes only a brief appearance, as part of the "feminist fringe": Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism. Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna*, New Haven/London 1992, 111f, 125, 143.

13 Cf. Bertha von Suttner, *Frei, selbständig, mild*, in: *Die Frauenbewegung. Revue für die Interessen der Frau*, 3, 1 (1895), 3f. This journal was conceived with the aim of uniting feminist opinion, although it leaned towards so-called radical German feminists.

14 Rosika Schwimmer ed., *Ehe-Ideale und Ideal-Ehen. Äusserungen moderner Frauen, auf Grund einer Rundfrage*, Berlin [1905].

feminist on her own terms, Suttner appeared not to require membership in contemporary feminist organizations or the feeling of belonging that they offered. Suttner founded the Austrian Peace Society (Gesellschaft der Friedensfreunde) as a mixed-gender organization, because it supported her progressive ideal of modern, or in her dictum “new” women and men working together rather than apart.¹⁵ As she wrote in 1889 in “Maschinenzeitalter” (The Machine Age), it was only a matter of time before human civilization would cease the unjust treatment of “women” as lesser citizens, as dependent, defenseless children, or slaves.¹⁶ For the moment, according to Suttner prior to her arrival in the United States, the most urgent political issue of the day was universal peace. What made the democratic United States particularly appealing to her was its steady progress in using arbitration courts to settle international disputes.

Likewise, until 1912, although she had met several leading American feminists, such as Jane Addams,¹⁷ Fannie Fern Andrews,¹⁸ Lucia Ames Mead,¹⁹ May Wright Sewall,²⁰ and Frances Willard,²¹ Suttner had expressed little interest in the growing American women’s suffrage and social reform movements. And yet, during her 1912 trip, Suttner repeatedly expressed her high esteem for progressive American women – characteristically without distinguishing their differences as suffragists, club women reformers, socialists, radicals, or spiritualists. Her enthusiasm reached its peak in her outburst to the American press shortly before embarking on her return voyage to Vienna: “In my next incarnation I shall hope to have earned the right to be an American woman.”²²

15 Other leading feminists who supported mixed-gender organizations include Jane Addams and *ICW* president Lady Aberdeen, who remarked that women’s organizations were a “temporary expedient to a temporary need”; cited in Leila J. Rupp, *Sexuality and Politics in the Early Twentieth Century. The Case of the International Women’s Movement*, in: *Feminist Studies*, 23 (1997), 577–605.

16 Jemand [= Bertha von Suttner], *Maschinenalter*, Leipzig 1889; reprinted in 1899 under her true name, with a slightly altered title: *Maschinenzeitalter*, esp. Chapter 4.

17 Suttner had first met social reformer and pacifist Jane Addams at a woman’s peace meeting in Boston in October 1904; cf. *Advocate of Peace*, Dec. 1904, 244f.

18 One of Fannie Fern Andrews (1867–1950) early publications was “The Living Wage of College Women” (1906). She joined the *American Peace Society* in 1907 and remained active for two decades. In 1908 she founded the *American School Citizenship League*. In 1915 she joined Jane Addams and Emily G. Balch’s *International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace*, a forerunner of the *WILPF*, of which she was also a member.

19 Lucia Ames Mead (1856–1936) served as president of the *Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association* (1903–1909) and chair of the *NAWSA’s* Peace and Arbitration Committee. Later she became a member of the (American) *Women’s Peace Party* and a delegate at the 1919 *WILPF* conference in Zurich.

20 May Wright Sewall (1844–1920) helped organize the *Indianapolis Women’s Club*, became president of the *National Council of Women* and *ICW* chair.

21 Frances Willard (1839–1898) was founder and president of the *Women’s Christian Temperance Union*, the largest women’s organization in the United States. Unlike many *WCTU* members, Willard also supported women’s suffrage and participated at annual “Universal Peace Congresses”; cf. Jean H. Baker, *Sisters. The Lives of America’s Suffragists*, New York 2005, 142–181.

22 Bertha von Suttner, in: *Washington Post*, Dec. 6, 1912, 4.

2. Practicalities

For their part, progressive North American women also praised Suttner.²³ In 1912, therefore, it was not entirely surprising that it was *Women's Club* members who initially invited her to the United States – and not her mostly male colleagues in the American peace movement:

The Movement to bring the Baroness von Suttner to America ... began with the publication of an open letter in "Unity" on January 4, 1912, inspired by the Baroness, appealing to the club women of America to take a stronger stand in behalf of peace in view of the Italian-Turkish war. On the [following] day ... at the invitation of ... the president of the Chicago Woman's Club, a small group of persons lunched together at the Woman's Club [and discussed] the advisability of inviting the Baroness.²⁴

Within a month, Suttner received an invitation to attend the Eleventh Biennial Convention of the *General Federation of Women's Clubs* in San Francisco (June 25–July 5). She had been an honorary member of this largely white middle- to upper class women's Federation since 1896, but they had yet to invite her to a convention. This invitation seemed to confirm leading *Club* women's earnestness about including pacifism and international affairs in their main agenda.

That members of the peace movement had not taken such an initiative points to the fact that a male chauvinist culture existed within its (otherwise liberal) walls, one more willing and eager, for instance, to invite a diplomat, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, for a tour, as they had one year previously. Indeed, these two American movements – feminist and pacifist – upheld their independence, although many members belonged to both. Exemplifying this separation, Suttner's friend and director of the *World Peace Foundation* in Boston, Edwin Mead, responding in April 1912 to reporters' questions about Suttner's forthcoming trip, revealed a curious aloofness: "Her coming is 'news to me'."²⁵ Thereafter, however, he helped plan her touring schedule.

2.1. Initial Expectations and Positionings

At the beginning of her transatlantic trip, Suttner stopped in Paris and enthusiastically addressed the first (mostly male) European section meeting of the Carnegie Peace Foundation. There she expressed one main expectation she had for the journey: "I shall

23 Cf. e.g. Susanne Wilcox, *The Hague Conference from a Woman's Point of View*, in: *The Independent*, Mar. 12, 1908.

24 CHMRC, CPS, Box 3, Minutes of Dec. 5, 1912, 285.

25 Edwin Mead, in: *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 24, 1912, 13.

try to put in motion a new and great force in the uplifting to good all mankind, and that force is found in the federated American women.”²⁶ Standing beside her and accompanying her for the entire US trip as full-time secretary and companion was one such woman: Andrea Hofer Proudfoot, member of the *Chicago Woman's Club*.²⁷

For the suffragist contingent of the *GFWC*, the year 1912 was particularly awash with political excitement. Six states, California being the latest (in 1911), had legalized full women's suffrage (partial suffrage was already allowed in 26 states), and five states had full suffrage on the ballot that autumn.²⁸ Moreover, it was a Presidential-election year, and Theodore Roosevelt²⁹ was running again and had advocated national female enfranchisement. Proponents of women's suffrage within the Federation expected the July Convention in liberal, woman-voting San Francisco, with 5,000 in attendance, to spark positive debate and endorse a pro-suffrage position.³⁰ The prominence of “Baroness Suttner” was likely to – and did – garner additional public attention to the convention and implicitly and explicitly promote women's suffrage in the United States.³¹

For her part, Suttner appeared most concerned to inform her American audiences about worrisome European developments, such as the mounting social unrest after years of German, Austrian-Hungarian, French, Belgian, British and Dutch colonialism (e. g., the 1905/06 and 1911 Morocco crises; the 1908 Greek, Bosnian, and Congo crises), the growing European anarchist and workers' movements and, as a result, rising militarism:

26 Bertha von Suttner, quoted in: *The New York Times*, May 29, 1912, 4.

27 Andrea Hofer Proudfoot (1865–1949) had lived in Vienna prior to this trip. In 1913 she founded the *League of International Amity*. In July 1915 she, along with Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, and others spoke in San Francisco at the “International Conference of Women Workers to Promote Permanent Peace.” After World War I, Proudfoot, as Secretary of the *American Committee for Vienna Relief* in Chicago, was awarded the “Eiserne Salvator-Medaille” (Iron Salvator Medal) from the City of Vienna; cf. *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien*, Nov. 2, 1921, 1347; and the “silbernes Ehrenzeichen” (Silver Insignia of Honour) from the Republic of Austria; cf. Austrian State Archives [ÖStA], AA/AdR/Orden und Ehrenzeichen, 1918–1938, K 45, Folder 1/I/2-24.

28 For a description of the unusual cooperation between (Ohio) suffragists, trade unionists and the Socialist Party, cf. Cynthia Wilkey, *Diversity and Woman Suffrage: A Case Study of the Dayton Woman Suffrage Association in the 1912 Referendum Campaign*, in: *Ohio History*, 112 (2003), 27–37. Most white male Americans had been eligible to vote since 1828; women would gain the vote nationally in 1920.

29 Roosevelt, a Republican, was President of the United States from 1901–1909. In 1906 he was awarded the “Nobel Peace Prize” for his efforts to end the Russian-Japanese War of 1904/05; his is among the more controversial of “Nobel Peace Prize” awards. In 1912 Roosevelt ran as a Presidential candidate for the *Progressive Party*, and lost, along with Republican incumbent president William Howard Taft, to Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

30 Cf., among other accounts, Nellie Peters Black's article in: *The Atlantic Constitution*, July 28, 1912, C4. It took until 1914, however, for the Federation to add universal women's suffrage to its program.

31 A curious and direct, if erroneous, link between Suttner and suffrage was reported in the media: According to Leopoldine Barber, president of the *Equal Suffrage Association*, women in Austria “are following the Baroness von Suttner, the well-known peace advocate, who has taken the lead to fight for equal suffrage in Austria”; *Washington Post*, Mar. 31, 1912, ES1.

a great European war [was] imminent, because of ‘the rapidly growing spirit of militarism in Europe and the unprecedented arming and preparations for war.’ ... The powers, though having a terrible fear of war, seem hopelessly drifting toward a conflagration that will set back our culture and civilization for a century.³²

European women, too, women of the ‘better’ classes were to blame for their

intoxicat[ion] with military splendour, fame, glory, and position. ... They see too often only the opportunity for fame and glory and promotion for their men. The plight of the lower classes, their suffering in war, the horrors and desolation, they do not seem to appreciate it.³³

Suttner apparently expected *Club* women to agree with her. She believed that her audiences in the United States would provide “enthusiasm, advice, and action”. Suttner praised the country’s leading humanitarian role and warned the American public of bellicose dangers in Europe. She even – ironically or naively – thought she might “return with instructions”.³⁴ She also wanted America to intervene pre-emptively, to provide a key weight in preventing, as she perceived, a probable European war. As it happened, the overwhelming majority of North Americans supported the French and British war effort in 1914. And yet, a small but loud minority, led by foremost international suffragists, transferred their priority from enfranchisement first to peace soon (for some immediately) once the war started.³⁵ These women included Rosika Schwimmer and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, rallying and campaigning in the United States, and Jane Addams, who co-founded the *American Women’s Peace Party* in January 1915. They too hoped that as a neutral country, the United States would be able to forge a cease-fire or at least engage the belligerent countries in continuous mediation.

32 Advocate of Peace, May 1912, 111, citing a United Press dispatch of Apr. 20, 1912.

33 Advocate of Peace, May 1912, 111; cf. Bertha von Suttner’s address in Lincoln, Nebraska, as reported in: Nebraska State Journal, Sept. 21, 1912, 9.

34 Bertha von Suttner, Briefe aus Amerika, collected in: Alfred H. Fried ed., Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs. Randglossen aus zwei Jahrzehnten zu den Zeitereignissen vor der Katastrophe, vol. 2, Zürich 1917, 423. Suttner does not explain what she meant by instructions. Perhaps it was an allusion to ‘steps to democracy’ or her (abandoned) desire for American ‘missionaries’ (see below). For a short time she also tried to raise support for a new European anti-war journal; cf. San Francisco Chronicle, July 3, 1912, 2.

35 E. g., the “International Women’s Congress” at The Hague (1915). Before attending, delegates had to agree with two principles: 1) the peaceful means of settling international disputes and 2) a parliamentary franchise. In the congress’s May 1st resolutions, suffrage was not abandoned, but it was demoted to point nine, after “Peace Settlement”, “Continuous Mediation”, “Respect for Nationality” etc.; cf. International Women’s Congress at The Hague, Apr. 28 – May 1, 1915, Report and Minutes, Preamble and Resolutions Adopted, 34–43.

2.2. Organizers, Financers and Itinerary

The “*Chicago Woman’s Club*” formed a “Baroness von Suttner Joint Committee”, which included Mari Ruef Hofer (Andrea Proudfoot’s sister)³⁶ and members of the *New York Peace Association*. Of primary concern was covering the travel costs. Philanthropist and World Peace Foundation president Edwin Ginn was approached first. His instinct was to reject sponsorship: “these clubs worth so many thousands and millions, making me to take on this burden for them”.³⁷ Soon, however, 500 dollars was donated by his Foundation. Another 1,000 dollars was provided by the (male-led) *American Association for International Conciliation*. These initial funds – by the (male) peace movement leadership – covered Bertha von Suttner’s entire travel expenses. The money she raised where she spoke generally went to the benefit of that local woman’s or peace organization.

Suttner set out from Vienna on May 24, catching on June 9 a transatlantic steamer from London. After spending a few hours onshore in Manhattan (June 17), she proceeded by train to California. Highlights of her trip were Los Angeles (June 24) and meetings with Caroline M. Severance³⁸ and Refugia Drozco (who spoke on behalf of Mexican freedom-fighters); the “GFWC Convention” and additional activities in the San Francisco Bay Area (including meetings with Berkeley’s Socialist mayor and with philanthropist Phoebe Hearst); the 50th annual convention of the *National Education Association* in Chicago (July 8–12), a visit to Jane Addams’ *Chicago Hull House* (July 25) as well as a talk in front of the *Chicago Labor Union* workers (November 3); meeting President Taft and lecturing at the *Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government* (early October), and at Wellesley and Mount Holyoke Colleges (mid October); the “National Woman Suffrage Convention” in Philadelphia (November 21–26), where Suttner shared the podium with Carrie Chapman Catt;³⁹ a banquet sponsored by the *Carnegie Endowment* in Washington, D.C. (December 6), and a New York ‘farewell’ dinner (December 9). On December 14, 1912, almost six months to the day of her arrival, Suttner embarked, arriving in Vienna on Christmas Day.

36 Cf. *Chicago Peace Society’s* praise of Mari Ruef Hofer for her engagement: “Miss Hofer served entirely without pay, gave up her summer vacation in order to make the undertaking a success, and for months, in no small measure, bare the responsibilities and did the clerical work”; CHMRC, CPS, Box 3, 147.

37 SCPC, Edwin and Lucia Mead Papers, Correspondence, Mar. 29, 1912.

38 Caroline Severance (1820–1914) helped found the “*Ohio Woman’s Suffrage Association*” in 1851 and, with Susan B. Anthony, the “*Equal Rights Association*”. In 1878 she founded the “*Los Angeles Woman’s Club*”. It is said she was the first Californian woman to register to vote.

39 Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947) became involved in the suffrage movement in 1887 and was president of the “*NAWSA*” (1900–1904, 1915–1920) as well as president of the “*IWSA*” (1904–1923). Although a founder of the “*Women’s Peace Party*”, Catt supported Woodrow Wilson’s call to war in 1917.

3. The Focus of Bertha von Suttner's Talks⁴⁰

On July 2, 1912, Suttner addressed the organization that had invited her to the United States:

“Dear ladies”, she began, her quaint accent serving only to add to the informality of her remarks. “I have come from a very distant country to be with you this week, but I do not feel as a stranger and I hope you will not accept me as a stranger, for I am also a member of your splendid federation and a regular reader of its reports. I have heard your deliberations and I have formed a strong idea of the work and ideals of you American club women. The thing about this which has struck me most prominently is that your work is not locally centered, or even confined to your own country, but extends to the remotest of your sister countries.”⁴¹

In other words, Suttner here expressed her openness to and interest in a transatlantic dialogue among women she considered politically likeminded. This was a question of faith, for there is little documentation to suggest she understood the often complex local, regional, and national workings of the various women's movements affiliated with this federation. What mattered to Suttner, recognizing her cultural foreignness or ‘otherness’ as an Austrian and European, was to reciprocate the *Club* women's generosity and solidarity. What motivated her to speak to members of these clubs was ultimately to promote what we might generally call today a feminist-humanist agenda, encouraging primarily women's efforts – legal, educational, political, and economic – to advance universal disarmament.

3.1. *Women against War*

Suttner's most typical refrains were hard-hitting condemnations of war. In San Francisco, for instance, she began one of her seven talks by quoting former Union General William T. Sherman: “All war is hell.”⁴² She then continued: “Your Secretary of

40 Several important topics that Suttner raised, e. g., the role of the press, will not be addressed due to space limits.

41 San Francisco Chronicle, July 3, 1912.

42 American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in an editorial entitled “World Peace and Sex Combat,” also quoted this line from Sherman in: *Woman's Journal*, Oct. 8, 1904. In 1910 the “Journal” was renamed and became an official bulletin of the *NAWSA*.

War is a secretary of hell, and your War Department is a department of hell. Your great generals and military men are hell lords, perpetuating barbarism."⁴³ According to Suttner, universal peace – the promotion of life, respect, and dignity for women and men – was the inevitable future, yet needed to be strived for now.

Already upon landing in New York, Suttner had asked women in general and American women in particular to actively promote universal disarmament. As she said, "The [m]ission of America and especially American women [is] to end war throughout the world."⁴⁴ According to Suttner, "women create life in their agony, so they know the full costs. More keenly than any man they realize the utter wastefulness of war."⁴⁵ This explanation was by then a standard (and often also pacifist male) one for why women were against war. Her assigning "a mission" to the American women's movement likely triggered vast appeal. The writings of diverse American feminist campaigns (temperance, social reform, suffrage, etc.) are full of such language. However, Suttner came close to applying the idea of a mission too far: that is, to quite uncharacteristically participating in colonialist rhetoric. In the draft of a speech she made in Pasadena, California, she had written that "the United States must missionise [sic.] darkest mid-Europe as they have Africa, for in the former the greater dangers are looming".⁴⁶ Apart from the unusual, disturbing colonialist aspect, this deleted sentence may suggest the state of Suttner's desperation. As we have seen, in 1912 Suttner thought that Europe stood ready to plunge into a devastating war. American humanitarian missionaries may have seemed to her at this point a needed counter-balance to European militarists.

Suttner continued urging women – the universal sisterhood, as she sometimes addressed her women audiences – to stop supporting war. Women had to protest, she suggested in Los Angeles: "Unite the woman of the world against war, and there'll never be another battle. ... Make mothers understand that it is *not* patriotism to yield their sons up for cannon targets."⁴⁷ Suttner's advice to women workers, especially those in armament factories, was even more radical:

Make them understand that wars are fostered for selfish purposes, that there is no just war, that the armament maker is the bitterest foe of peace and the only person whom the cruelties of war leave unearthed. ... I want the women of California, and particularly of Los Angeles to sit wisely with regard to their

43 Address of the Baroness von Suttner before 1500 *Clubwomen* in the *First Congregational Church*, San Francisco, on July 2, 1912, in: *Advocate of Peace*, Aug. 1912, 187.

44 *New York Eye*, June 18, 1912, no page, copy at SCPC, CDGB Austria, Suttner, Baroness Bertha von, Box 1.

45 *New York Eye*, see note 44.

46 SCPC, CDGB Austria. Suttner, Baroness Bertha, Box 1.

47 *Tribune*, June [23], 1912, copy at SCPC. CDGB Austria, Suttner, Baroness Bertha von, Box 1 (italics added).

harbor. Do not let the cry of the jingoes influence you into permitting a waste of vast sums on guns and defenses.⁴⁸

Wake up, she continued, and recognize “that the gun merchants are lobbying to sell their wares for sheer profit, and are always busy in working up scares to rush through the appropriations they covet”.⁴⁹ Suttner did not suggest that working American women should go home and procreate. Rather, apart from standing there and soliciting peace society membership, Suttner implicitly encouraged the working women of her audience to use their skills to make products that benefited society. This matches the kind of anti-war speech that Marxist theoretician Rosa Luxemburg, or Russian-American anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman would make as of July 1914.⁵⁰

A few months later, Suttner qualified the basis of women’s opposition to war. It was not because of a woman’s “nature”. Rather, it was their gender:

Women are opposed to war by tradition and necessity. They have ever been on the side of peace. For many years their attitude has been passive. Now many of them are active. ... My ambition [is] to arouse the apathetic and to cause them to rise and use their influence to banish war from the face of the earth for all time ...⁵¹

In other words, women no longer needed to submissively accept (male political) ‘traditions.’ Nor was their attitude towards war sentimental. Suttner celebrated the fact that many women had finally started re-evaluating (male) politics, and in so doing, she assumed the arguments of American feminist social reformers, such as *Chicago Hull House* founders and associates. In a speech in Boston decrying the Balkan War, Suttner said:

Since the most ancient times women have hated war, but they had not the power or even the will to speak of this hatred, because they felt sure war was a necessity ... Even today, many women believe war is necessary and though they hate it in their hearts, do not join a peace movement, believing it useless. But while the sentiment was general in ancient times, today it is the exception. ... War must be recognized as a social crime.⁵²

48 Los Angeles Times, June 26, 1912, 17; cf. Suttner’s speech in Milwaukee as reported in: Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 6, 1912, 3.

49 Los Angeles Times, see note 48. Nationalizing the arms industry was a key demand of the international peace movement.

50 Cf. a remarkably positive assessment of Suttner herself by prominent Austrian anarchist Rudolf Grossman (= Pierre Ramus), in: Wohlstand für Alle, July 29, 1914, 6.

51 Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 3, 1912, 4.

52 Peace Advocate Denounces Balkans, in: Boston Daily Globe, Nov. 30, 1912, 6.

Suttner's social reformist feminism becomes even clearer in her next point:

Men say, "Your place is in the home." Certainly, but home is not merely a space between four walls with a family living in it. It is a place where harmony, thrift, and cleanliness reign – that is home, and if women have the opportunity to speak about the order of governments they will endeavour to put these home-like qualities into governments.⁵³

By adjusting her reflections to the question of 'necessity' and 'tradition,' to 'active' women making political choices versus remaining passively on the sidelines, and to seeing war as a social crime, Suttner was exploring and redefining the purported nature of women and the powers women had to prevent war.⁵⁴ Thus, she claimed, it was not in the inherent makeup of women to be pacifists; it was a conscious choice.⁵⁵ Suttner looked perhaps at her own life story: from governess to writer to founder and president of the Austrian Peace Society.

Naturally, similar appeals to women and for disarmament had often been made in the United States. At least since the Civil War, leading feminists had often opposed war within the framework of women's causes.⁵⁶ Eva Perry Moore, the outgoing *GFWC* president, in her opening speech at the 1912 "San Francisco Convention", stated a most rational and non-gendered approach for actively overcoming the institution of war:

The mere love of peace and hatred of war avail little to accomplish results. There should be in some educational form a knowledge of conditions and expense induced by war, a study of international relations, and when war might be necessary if ever. The subject should be treated in an eminently practical manner and should react upon intelligent public sentiment.⁵⁷

53 Peace Advocate, see note 52. This recalls journalist and suffragist Rheta Childe Dorr, who wrote in 1910: "Woman's place is in the home. But Home is not contained within the four walls of an individual home. Home is the community", in: Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want*, New York 1910, Chapter 11, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12226/12226-h/12226-h.htm>>; accessed July 14, 2008.

54 Similarly, in a German-language publication of 1912, Suttner took male religious authorities to task for their sermons on the mild, gentle, peaceful (*friedfertig*) 'nature' of women and their affirmations that the world peace movement was strongly influenced by these 'feminine' qualities and basic convictions; Bertha von Suttner, *Die Mütter und der Weltfrieden*, in: Adele Schreiber ed., *Mutterschaft. Ein Sammelwerk für die Probleme des Weibes als Mutter*, München 1912, 704–708, 704.

55 Jane Addams echoed Suttner when she wrote: "The belief that a woman is against war simply because she is a woman and not a man cannot of course be substantiated": Jane Addams, Emily Green Balch, and Alice Hamilton eds., *Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results*, Amherst 1916 [2003], 217.

56 Cf. Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars. Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1997, 179.

57 Mrs George O. Welch ed., *Official Report of the General Federation of Women's Clubs Convention in San Francisco*, Newark, NJ 1912, 67.

3.2. Women's Suffrage

Prior to 1912, Bertha von Suttner basically conceived woman suffrage in the narrow context of how best to promote disarmament. Moreover, she did not consider it her place, as a European, as 'an outsider', to take a stand on American domestic issues. And yet she was invited to San Francisco precisely because she was such an inspiration to leading *Club* women, and for many of them the question of suffrage filled the political air. Indeed, these two issues – universal peace and women's suffrage – appeared intertwined from the very moment Suttner's tour took shape. As noticed by one American at Suttner's very first sponsored meal in the United States, a "peace luncheon" hosted by the Ladies Social Committee of the *New York Peace Society*, "[u]nconsciously the question of woman suffrage [in the speeches] assumed a part almost as prominent as the cause of peace."⁵⁸

Did Suttner hear this "unconscious" communication? The following week she lightly spoke of "the army of women, possessed of the vote, as they are now in happy California", who were "predestined to win the battle which this generation has begun against the systematic massacre called war".⁵⁹ Asking herself rhetorically what women can do to serve the cause of peace, she answered: "I have to say that the women of today can do much, indeed, in the States of America where they have the right to vote; they can do as much as, or more than men."⁶⁰ But this comment points to her enthusiasm rather than to any concrete analysis. After all, even without the vote, Suttner herself had done more for universal peace than most voting men by this point.

By October, Suttner seemed to have grasped the ranking significance of the suffrage issue for American women activists since (now in Boston), she not only praised American suffragist icons Julia Ward Howe and Susan B. Anthony, but declared pacifism and women's suffrage "the two great movements for the betterment of humanity".⁶¹ She hoped, she continued, that "the cause of peace between nations will receive an impetus from the votes of women, as business women, working women and mothers all realized that the welfare of their respective classes and the hopes of civilization are bound up in the triumph of this cause". She pleaded to the women gathered: "When you get the vote in America, as you surely will, because you get here whatever you ask for and really want, then I hope you will work for universal peace."⁶² Later that month, according to

⁵⁸ Anonymous, *Advocate of Peace*, July 1912, 7.

⁵⁹ *Advocate of Peace*, Aug. 1912, 187.

⁶⁰ Address of the Baroness, see note 43.

⁶¹ *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 5, 1912, 27.

⁶² *Boston Daily Globe*, Oct. 5, 1912, 11. Notice here, too, Suttner's feminist reformulation: from women "predestined to win the vote" (June 1914) to women winning the vote politically (October 1914).

the “Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News”, Suttner promoted suffrage in St. Louis, declaring “when [women] have the vote they will bring the feminine qualities of mildness and graciousness, upbuilding [sic.] qualities rather than destructive [ones] into politics, and eventually into international relations.”⁶³ A few days later, in Chicago, Suttner “urged women ... to use their ballots in behalf of peace when they are allowed to vote”.⁶⁴ Here she called pacifism a science, not a feminine quality. Thus although we see Suttner’s views on a woman’s “nature” fluctuating in Boston, St. Louis and Chicago (or orienting themselves towards regional convictions), she was keen on American women’s enfranchisement.

4. Did a Fruitful Exchange Take Place? The Suttner Pacifist-Feminist Legacy

In the course of the tour, Suttner redefined her understanding of a woman’s objection to war and took a stand for women’s suffrage. Likewise, more and more American women took up the issue of antimilitarism. Thus Suttner experienced a broad acceptance from the peace-oriented (not only feminist) public, notwithstanding some ridicule as the *Friedens-Bertha* (Peace Bertha).⁶⁵ Most journalists that identified her as a spokeswoman for peace admired her.⁶⁶ Even “Washington Post” correspondent Marquis de Fontenoy admitted grudgingly, male-chauvinistically, that Suttner’s visit to the United States was mildly positive: She was coming “not as a [militant] suffragette, but simply in the interests of peace, a pardonable object in a womanly woman”.⁶⁷ Individual members of the mainstream peace movement, represented by Edwin Mead, seemed delighted, expressing themselves in (unconsciously?) male chauvinistic ways: “I believe that Baroness von Suttner has done more than any other individual during recent years to popularize the subject of international peace. Those who have heard her agree that she presented an unassailable argument in favor of world harmony.”⁶⁸ Similarly, Charles Beals, Secretary of the *Chicago Peace Society*, honoured her unequivocally:

63 Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News, Oct. 26, 1912, 346.

64 Chicago Daily Tribune, Oct. 31, 1912, 13. On April 5, 1917 Jeanette Rankin, the first and only American woman in the *United States Congress*, voted (with 49 colleagues) against Wilson’s appeal to engage the United States in war. For this she lost her Montana seat in the next election.

65 Tutti-Frutti, in: New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, June 19, 1912, 6.

66 Cf., e. g., An International Woman, in: Nebraska State Journal, Sept. 19, 1912, 6; New York Morgen Journal, June 18, 1912 (in the Swarthmore Peace Collection. CDGB Austria, Suttner, Baroness Bertha von, Box 1).

67 Washington Post, May 26, 1912, B4.

In simple justice to this sincere eloquent self-sacrificing prophetess of peace, it should be said that, although Chicago has enjoyed visits from distinguished men like Baron d'Estornelles, [Hungarian parliamentarian] Count Apponyi and others, no single visiting pacifist ever has made so deep an impression and rendered such effective service to organized pacifism in this city as has the illustrious author of *Lay Down Your Arms*.⁶⁹

As far as the leadership of the American peace movement was concerned, Suttner's visit exceeded expectations. Her appearances were quite well attended, and she assisted in the foundations of the Missouri and the Wisconsin peace societies. Another of Suttner's great admirers wrote (also chauvinistically): "The Baroness von Suttner possesses a nimble, rousing wit and logic of the optimistic turn: a magnificent vigor of speech and manner, and an imagination rich and far reaching. Her reason is so illuminated with heart that they have melted into one."⁷⁰

How the gamut of American feminists reacted is less apparent, due to lacking documentation.⁷¹ The Federation's bulletin made announcements, especially for the San Francisco convention, but without commentary. Similarly, although Suttner's exploration of suffrage intensified during her tour, the suffrage movement journals mentioned her only within the framework of their own events. I have found, for instance, only three short reports on Suttner's tour in the "Woman's Journal and Suffrage News";⁷² fewer reports, that is, than its predecessor, the "Woman's Journal", published on Suttner's 1904 visit. For regional and local Club women, recorded interest in Suttner seems primarily to rest in her public-relations-value: having a 'star' command attention and facilitate domestic fund-raising and Club profile. Interest in her views on European politics and militarism appear limited. "Mme X" well articulated it in the framework of an American-European divide:

[Suttner] is one ideaed. She can think and talk of nothing else than the horrors of war, and I doubt if she has looked at us Americans and our United States as being anything except a battleground for her peace propaganda. Our customs, problems, national characteristics are all matters of indifference to her. She asks no questions about us and we are used to so much attention. She expresses no interest in us – and

68 Mead quoted in: Peace Cause Popularized by Baroness von Suttner, in: Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 28, 1912, 24; cf. Letter from Mead to Jordan, Sept. 30, 1912, and his equally enthusiastic reply dated Oct. 7, 1912, Hoover Institution, David Starr Jordan Papers.

69 CHMRC, CPS, Box 3, 288.

70 Nebraska State Journal, Sept. 15, 1912, B12.

71 A systematic examination of reactions to Suttner in private correspondence remains to be undertaken.

72 Cf. Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, Oct. 12, Oct. 26, and Nov. 9, 1912.

we are unaccustomed to that. We are like the little boy who anxiously called out in a group of older people: "Why isn't anybody talking about me any more?"⁷³

There were, in other words, two parties to blame for the limited dialogue. Many Americans (male and female, feminist or not), feeling slighted and perhaps not terribly interested in the 'old World' after all – not even in the then current Balkan War – appeared indifferent to the threat of war in someone else's backyard. Nor did they appear to hear Suttner's new positioning on suffrage.

Of course it is also true that not all of Suttner's public comments in the course of the long six months, especially as regards to the United States, were sophisticated enough for an increasingly university-educated public. For example, her reflections on the United States as a melting-pot: "It is wonderful. People come over here from every country and then they are Americans. If I stayed a few weeks longer I should be an American myself."⁷⁴ Just as some may have found it tactically preferable for Suttner to express her interest in American politics, others may have wished she kept quiet.⁷⁵

Another reason for American specifically feminist guardedness towards Suttner may be on account of the hard struggle taking place on whether feminists should openly declare themselves partisans of political parties. A symptom of this emerged in August, noticeably before Suttner's decisive pro-suffrage swing. Noticeably because the event also intersected a peace-first or suffrage-first positioning. Suttner initiated it, by writing an open letter to the press criticizing Jane Addams for allying herself with Roosevelt's presidential campaign; Addams was a member of his *Progressive Party's Platform Committee*.⁷⁶ For the media it was a sensation: one woman celebrity duelling with another. The "Los Angeles Times" published a portion of Suttner's letter, and added its own commentary:

"I know my dear Miss Addams, that among your other achievements you have won a prominent place in the peace programme, and upon its platform; therefore I have been puzzled by the support you have recently given to a platform that stands for the fortifying of the Panama Canal, for the building of battleships, as the best means of securing peace and whose leaders protest against the reinstatement of the arbitration treaties between this country and France and Eng-

73 Mme X, Political Shift Sends Back Noted People to Chicago, in: Chicago Daily Tribune, Nov. 24, 1912, H2.

74 Nebraska State Journal, Sept. 15, 1912, B12.

75 Suttner's harshest critique of American life seemed to be that local newspapers avoided news about Europe. This in itself may have given her pause to reflect more on American nationalism and on the extent of its impact on this otherwise progressive culture. If she did, however, it has not been documented. Nor does she appear to have commented either on (blatant) racism or on the strong social stratification in the United States.

76 For Addams' support of the Progressive Party, cf. The New York Times, Aug. 8, 1912. Addams had been involved in Chicago and Illinois suffrage campaigns since 1893.

land.” Bertha von Suttner then proceeds to request that Miss Addams give her an explanation “of what seems to be a distressing contradiction”. The Baroness goes on to ask Miss Addams if her joining the third term party is an open espousal of the cause of war. She concludes by saying that Miss Addams’s action, while it may have lifted her in the eyes of many men, has certainly shaken her from “the pedestal on which the women of the United States had placed her”.⁷⁷

One wonders what motivated Suttner to act in this way, deriding Addams’ prioritizing of suffrage over peace. On the other hand, her argument also identified valid conservatism in Addams’ political thinking: Roosevelt’s “Rough Riders” approach to international relations greatly contrasted incumbent President Taft’s liberal and democratic approach.⁷⁸ Since it is the only known personal attack of this kind by Suttner, one wonders whether she was (naively?) drawn in by the peace camp backing Taft.⁷⁹ Suttner’s public criticism certainly did not prevent Addams from continuing to campaign for Roosevelt. She was also mistaken in thinking that leading progressive women’s esteem for Addams would be lowered. In fact, Addams, despite Roosevelt’s defeat, was re-elected *NAWSA*’s vice president a few weeks later. A local consequence of the letter, however, seems to be that the long-planned second annual *Chicago Peace Society* banquet that was to take place in October to pay tribute to Addams and Suttner together (as that year’s honorary life members) was substituted, on Suttner’s personal request, for a public reception, which Addams ultimately could not attend.⁸⁰ Because or in spite of that incident, Suttner began promoting women’s suffrage more forcefully. For her part, Addams, by winter 1914, would co-found a proactive and historic international women’s peace movement.

Naturally, some feminists – international peace women in Suttner’s mould – were highly inspired by Suttner’s visit. Fannie Fern Andrews, for example, reported with

⁷⁷ Los Angeles Times, Aug. 18, 1912, 11; cf. St Louis Daily Globe-Democrat, Oct. 18, 1912, 4. Suttner announced to her followers in Austria of her intention to write such a letter; cf. Suttner, Briefe, see note 34, 433.

⁷⁸ Cf. note 29.

⁷⁹ According to Charles Beals’ personal opinion, Suttner was “the victim of a mischievous newspaper and unwise counsellors. ... I think she was ‘coached’ to do it for publicity’s sake.” Beals added: “However, ‘there’s no use crying over spilt milk.’ She has ‘gone and done it’ though I can’t help feeling that like so many visiting foreigners, she ‘butted in’ or ‘rushed in where angels fear to t[r]ead’” in: Jane Addams Papers, Reel 7 (Oct. 2, 1912). It is also possible that there were some short-term local antagonisms between members of the Chicago Club Women and the Chicago Peace Society: Addams held prominent positions in both. By early 1915, however, the Woman’s Peace Party (with headquarters in Chicago and headed by Jane Addams), shared a rental lease with the Society.

⁸⁰ That evening Addams chose instead to represent the *Progressive Party* at a political function. They did appear together, however, at a joint *Chicago Club Women* and *Chicago Peace Society* luncheon on Nov. 8; the President of the *Club Women* sat between them; CHMRC, CPS, Box 3, 248-285.

praise that “Baroness von Suttner spoke directly and to the point” at the *National Educational Association* convention in Chicago (which drew up to 1,500 people).⁸¹ Sewall, too, praised Suttner, writing in the 1913 *ICW* report: “I take the liberty in this connection of paying my tribute of gratitude for the work of the Baroness in my own country during the past year. It is not an extravagant appreciation of the value of her visit to the United States to say that it heartened every worker and won hundreds of new adherents to the cause.”⁸² Most radical suffragists, such as Alice Paul, and war enthusiasts, however, appear to have ignored Suttner.

Moreover, it appears that although Suttner received a great deal of public acclaim during her six months, her ‘presence’ did not linger. Once Suttner left the United States, the attention addressed to her from the media and peace and women’s organizations sharply declined.⁸³ Fundamentally, this relates to the not unproblematic challenge of uniting women pacifists and feminists, a great effort still. The autonomous and pro-empowerment feminist movement as a whole still distances itself from any identification with a “passive [read peaceful] womanly nature”. And the person who tries to bridge this ‘either/or’ binary often slips into deep waters. Suttner, however, had indicated what the two movements had in common in her speech at the “National Woman Suffrage Convention” in Philadelphia: “There is a tie between the suffragist and the pacifist. Both are working for more justice, more liberty, and more happiness in this world. We have the same friends, we have the same enemies.”⁸⁴ But with more attention focused at that convention on inner power struggles within the *NAWSA*, these words may not have registered. Speaking from experience, however, Suttner had a point. Jane Addams, Rosika Schwimmer, Mary Sheepshanks (editor of “*Jus Suffragii*”) and other suffragists would discover for themselves between 1914 and 1918 that their choosing antiwar activism over continued suffrage activism tended to evoke from many colleagues hostility and resentment.

81 Schlesinger Library, Fannie Fern Andrews Papers, Box 33, letter to Benjamin Trueblood, July 20, 1912.

82 May Wright Sewall, Fourth Annual Report of the ICW, 1912–1913, 113–120.

83 I have located only four articles in US dailies referring to Suttner in 1913. And barring a photograph of her in its 1913 Report, after 1912 she does not appear in the *Chicago Peace Society* records – the Society which after all had greatly participated in arranging her entire tour –, not even to announce her death in June 1914. In March 1914, however, in the “*Washington Post*”, Suttner was counted one of the “Six Greatest Women” alive, with Maria Montessori, Evangeline Booth, Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Julia Lathrop; The Six Greatest Women, in: *Washington Post*, Mar. 14, 1914, 2. Evangeline Booth was a leader of the Salvation Army; Julia Lathrop was an associate of Addams at *Hull House* and appointed by President Taft in 1912 to head the first *U. S. Children’s Bureau*.

84 *The Crisis in the Woman Suffrage Party*, in: *Outlook*, Dec. 28, 1912, 931.

In one of her last speeches, given at the *Brooklyn Academy of Music* in front of *New York Women's Club* members, Suttner again underlined feminist solidarity. As she explained, cooperation between those striving for women's enfranchisement and those for world peace should be seen as intimate: they move, she said, even if mostly unconsciously, hand-in-hand.⁸⁵ Suttner sent a similar message to German suffragist Frida Perlen and her newly-founded German Women's Peace Society: "Receive my greetings and congratulations, honoured combatants, for that is what you must continue to be; it will not be easy for you to come forward for pacifist ideals."⁸⁶ And indeed, some of the women activists at The Hague in late April 1915 referred to Suttner's engagement and influence and were proud to "belong with her", which is evidence of lingering traces of Suttner's more long-term pioneering pacifist work, yet also of her 1912 tour.⁸⁷

Suttner was a rare Western political icon, whose public persona was filtered through progressive and conservative as well as feminist and male chauvinist lenses of her time. She herself provided audience-targeted, if not ambiguous messages on feminist issues. Some (male and female) pacifists could adore her during her tour, hearing only her "sentimental" arguments against war. An inspired group of feminists could admire her for representing women as participants in political arenas. In Austria, Suttner's "spiritual daughter" Ernestine von Fürth anticipated a milestone of suffragist and pacifist cooperation at the 21st "World Peace Congress".⁸⁸ It is without doubt that Suttner and her "spiritual American sisters and daughters" have directly contributed to current international pacifist and feminist discussions, even if today the name Baroness Bertha von Suttner generally draws a blank face in the United States.

85 *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, Dec. 11, 1912, 16; cf. Rosika Schwimmer, *The Bankruptcy of the Man-Made World-War*, in: *Jus Suffragii*, 8, 12, Aug. 1914, 2.

86 Frida Perlen, *In a Grave Hour*, in: *Jus Suffragii*, 9, 3, Dec. 1914, 201. Perlen's activities were vital in the realization of the "International Women's Congress" in The Hague, Apr. 1915.

87 Cf., e. g., protocols of "The Hague Congress" and numerous articles in *Jus Suffragii* (1913–1920). The case of Ada Lois James (1876–1952) is also interesting. James, president of the Political Equality League, was basically ousted by her suffragist colleagues because of her awakening pacifist leanings; *Ada Lois James Papers, Correspondence, Wisconsin Manuscript Division, Box 19*.

88 *Jus Suffragii*, 8, 12, Aug. 1914, 4f. The outbreak of war, however, made the holding of this Congress (planned for September 1914 in Vienna) impossible.