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HISTORY AS STRATEGY

Imagining universal feminism in the women's movement

Sophie van den Elzen and Berteke Waaldijk

Introduction

Anna Julia Cooper was one of six African American women invited to speak at the World Congress of Representative Women, which gathered over 2,000 women at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893.¹ In her speech, she gave a short history of the progress of African American women since the abolition of slavery in the US in 1865, which linked their enforced silence under slavery to their continued absence from historical narratives of women's emancipation:

[A]ll through the darkest period of the colored women's oppression in this country her yet unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds [...] The painful, patient, and silent toil of mothers to gain a free simple title to the bodies of their daughters, the despairing fight, as of an entrapped tigress, to keep hallowed their own persons, would furnish material for epics. That more went down under the flood than stemmed the current is not extraordinary. The majority of our women are not heroines but I do not know that a majority of any race of women are heroines. [...] The white woman could at least plead for her own emancipation; the black woman, doubly enslaved, could but suffer and struggle and be silent.²

Cooper, a scholar and activist who would obtain her PhD in history from the Sorbonne in 1925, was one of the early theorists of Black feminism. Her comments beautifully introduce several questions which our chapter seeks to explore: how do emancipation movements remember 'their' histories? Who are remembered as hero(in)es, and whose histories remain 'unwritten'? How are 'movement histories' connected to political debates? Who are included, and in what ways can

historical silences and exclusions be remedied? With our opening we pay tribute to bell hooks who, 90 years later, quoted Cooper's words at the beginning of her now classic work *Ain't I a Woman*, in which she celebrates Black women's feminist voices and criticizes the exclusion of black women's perspectives from feminism and women's movements.³

Historical references are omnipresent in social and political movements, taking the shape of popular celebrations of anniversaries, honorific naming, veneration of a 'pantheon' of selected movement leaders, and the reverent preservation of material objects, as the introduction points out.⁴ Scholarly historiographical work about the origins of a movement and struggles from the past plays a role in this collective remembrance. Across social movements, scholarly or well-researched histories, whether book-length studies or shorter articles, facilitate activists' imagined relation to the past and help them to decide what is worthy of being remembered.⁵ Historical perspectives legitimize causes and courses of action, construct historical continuities, and enable identification with and affection for those identified as significant historical actors, within the movement or from other contexts.

Within cultural memory studies, forms of popular remembrance often attract more attention than the production and reception of historiographical works. The relative paucity of scholarly analysis of the memory dynamics of historical writing might be the result of a perceived opposition between history and memory: where memory is considered personal, history is imagined to be more objective; where memory is democratic and accessible, history is more institutional and hierarchical; memories seem to make the voices of victims heard, where histories are supposedly written by the victors. There has been an increasing recognition, both within academic history and within cultural memory studies, that this opposition is artificial, as the rise of oral history and new historicism within literary studies indicate.⁶ With this chapter we want to contribute to such efforts to strengthen links between historiographical research and cultural memory studies.

In their introduction, the editors have rightly emphasized the need for more historical perspectives on social movements. In our contribution, we hope to show that attention to historical perspectives of activists deepens the understanding of social movements. Our chapter considers the roles that the production of historical knowledge plays in a key debate of women's organized contention: the debate about whom women's movements represent. We focus on a main question in this debate: that of the possibility of a 'universal' women's movement spanning the globe. As we will show, this universalism was a dream which motivated a substantial body of feminist 'movement histories' at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷ However, through this 'universalism' these actors also produced exclusions which were continued for decades. At the turn of the twentieth century, feminist scholars deployed a range of approaches in their historiographical work to unsettle the universal and make space for the excluded. We will conclude that strategies to include what is excluded in historical and political narratives blur

the traditional boundaries between grass roots and academy, and scholarly and vulgar knowledge, and ultimately allow us to rethink the opposition between memory and history.

As the example of hooks' citation shows, references to the past continued to play a role in political debates about the character of women's movements in the twentieth century. hooks uses Cooper's words to address the silencing of Black women in women's movements in the late twentieth century. Because we cannot give a complete overview of the role of historical narratives in women's movements and feminist activism since its beginnings, we have decided on a focus on historical writings that address the possibility of a universal, global, or 'all-inclusive' feminism. Imagining this possibility, in response to the central claim that gender plays a role everywhere, has been a crucial element of feminism as a social movement.

We contrast six histories from the international campaign for suffrage in 1880–914, a period later historically interpreted the 'First Wave' of feminism, with a diverse range of recent (1980–present) well-known historiographical interventions that address racial exclusion within feminist movements. We study these texts from a memory perspective; we approach how they operated in their social lives, reflecting on and intervening in political debates of their times, by asking what 'strategies' their authors employed.⁸ From this perspective, self-historicization in books and articles emerges as a 'mnemonic practice' of social movements, that operates with distinct dynamics of authorization, exclusion, and power, in complex conjunction with others, like the erection of monuments or the singing of songs.⁹

In our analysis, we ask what strategies authors who wrote as experts and as activists employed to imagine, affirm, criticize, or deconstruct the idea of a 'universal' women's movement that would include all women, all over the world. These strategies encompass choices for particular forms and media; narrative structures, authorization strategies; and research designs. In the first-wave movement histories we distinguish two 'origin stories' of feminist agitation which accomplish the imagination of a 'universal' feminism that transcends national boundaries by excluding non-Western, underprivileged perspectives; a gesture of inclusion at the price of exclusion. They are the 'European' narrative of the role of middle-class women in charity and philanthropy, and the 'American' narrative of white women's 'betrayal' by abolitionists. In the post-1980 texts that reject these exclusions and develop alternative modes of engaging with history, we distinguish three trends. One is the effort for full and diverse transnational overviews, and another includes works that suggest that the inclusion of excluded voices not only completes the historical picture, but actually changes what can be considered feminism. The final strategies we identify are in some ways 'beyond history'; even though many contemporary inclusive arguments about feminism and women's movements do still refer to the past and continue to employ historical narratives, they transgress boundaries between 'history' and 'memory' by proposing alternative relations to the 'archive,' time and representations of the past.

1880–914: creating the history of a ‘global’ women’s movement

The tendency of women agitators to conceptualize their activities as part of a large transnational, or even global, movement significantly increased around the turn of the century (1880–914). Following the first international women’s congress in Paris in 1878, members of organizations like the International Council of Women (1888) and the International Alliance of Women (1904; originally International Woman Suffrage Association) created and promoted a ‘feminist internationalist’ collective consciousness.¹⁰ One, perhaps surprising, vehicle for this was their self-historicization.

During this period, a wave of movement histories appeared, which took the shape of transnational overviews and were interconnected through citations and the authors’ personal networks. In the following, we survey six; three reference works, which claimed scientific validity; and three more programmatic, partisan suffragist histories. We discuss these in their respective ideological contexts, but ultimately show that they promoted the idea of a unified transnational women’s movement through similar exclusions of stories from non-white and underprivileged women. Moreover, both types of histories employed two central narratives which were instrumental to this exclusion.

Reference works

Theodore Stanton’s *The Woman Question in Europe* (1884), Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer’s *Geschichte der Frauen in den Kulturländern* (1901) and Käthe Schirrmacher’s *Féminisme aux États-Unis, en France, dans la Grande Bretagne, en Suède et en Russie* (1898) were presented as reliable reference works which could serve as information sources for readers who were, as Lange and Bäumer worried, too busy to study their movement’s history individually.¹¹ A closer look, however, reveals the underlying operations of exclusion by which they achieved semblances of transnational coherence. The ideas of transnational coherence these volumes presented were legitimated and authorized by various formal and compositional strategies: their contributors were authoritative scholarly or veteran voices, they presented statistical information, and/or they directed readers to further readings.

Theodore Stanton, famous American feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s son, published *The Woman Question in Europe* in 1884. Mainly intended for American audiences,¹² it contains a collection of contributions on the history of the women’s movement in various European countries, written by prominent movement actors such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and accompanied by an introduction by well-known Anglo-Irish reformist author Frances Power Cobbe. The eminent activist standing of all the contributors within the women’s movement is emphasized not only in the introduction, but also in a lengthy biographical note opening each chapter.

The Woman Question in Europe shows a tension between the desire to conceptualize the women’s movement as transnational and multi-vocal, and the

suffrage-organizational need to keep tight control over the definition of women's progress, defined as an outgrowth of Western liberal progress. In her introduction, Frances Cobbe suggests that women's political awakening should be seen on a global scale, characterizing it as a 'uniform impetus' which 'has taken place within living memory among the women of almost every race on the globe [and] has stirred an entire sex, even half the human race.' She posits that political franchise is the single 'crown and completion of the progress,' discerning the same shape in the mobilization of each national context.¹³ Cobbe's narrowing of the impulse to think globally to a specific white Western narrative is especially apparent when she suggests that feminists should not ally themselves with what she considers 'experiments fraught with difficulty and danger;' the extension of suffrage to men of 'alien races,' supposedly untrained in civil liberty.¹⁴

This reterritorialization can be observed throughout the collection. Stanton groups his chapters in an 'ethnological order,'¹⁵ beginning with England and ending with a single chapter on the 'Orient.' This last chapter is itself again 'hierarchically' divided; Athens-educated, fiercely Greek-nationalist contributor Kalliope Kehaya distinguishes between Greek women in Greece, Christian Greek women under a 'foreign yoke,' and 'Oriental' women, including Ottomans and Jews.¹⁶ Whereas Europe is presented as increasingly rich in liberal women activists, Oriental women are presented as not just irrelevant to this history, but to history in general: 'I shall say but little concerning these latter races, for their women are in a state of lamentable inactivity which offers almost nothing worthy of record.'¹⁷ *The Woman Question in Europe* claims to describe a universal movement that 'unites' all women. However, it does so by using imperialistic and racialized categories of civic, political, and economic progress as emanating from Europe. Its ambition to make the women's movement universal was based on the exclusion of women's experiences that did not conform to this model.

Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer's *Geschichte der Frauen in den Kulturländern* was published in 1901, as the first part of a four-volume *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*.

The editors collected contributions detailing the history of the movement in 15 European countries, as well as Russia and the US. They professed the hope that, by providing a handbook, they could unite women's individual efforts into a larger movement:

So many work industriously on little tasks, without connecting these to the grand goal, which they too help achieve, and some stand at the rudder without having a compass, exploring opportunities for development, where they haven't learned, from the history of the movement, its developmental laws.¹⁸

They explain that they privileged coherence over detail since they wanted their readers to grasp the broader developmental narrative: 'The expanded propaganda is more prone to lead one astray, than to orient her.'¹⁹ This coherent narrative

aimed to demonstrate that the women's movement was not a simple side-effect of economic progress, but originated in women's rising awareness, which the editors, with a Whiggish perception of history, deemed inevitable.²⁰ The political context the authors imagined for their book becomes clear from remarks about the hope they feel that their arguments will support moderate, but persistent work toward making all women aware of their position, over 'noisy agitation.'²¹ Lange and Bäumer belonged to the more moderate women's movement in Germany and were in their writing and publishing keenly aware of the socialist and radical competition.²²

Käthe Schirmacher's comparative study, *Féminisme aux États-Unis, en France [etc.]* (1898) sought to portray the women's movement as a phenomenon that could be sociologically explained. Schirmacher argued that different degrees of feminist mobilization could be explained by societal difference, looking at population, economic strengths, and political differences. Her introduction stressed the importance of factual and statistical accuracy, as well as detailed contextualization, over reading pleasure.²³

Though making the universalist argument that 'feminism is an international movement which is [...] born from the same intellectual, moral and economic causes,'²⁴ Schirmacher stressed the diversity of the feminist impulse in each European country by ending her chapters with a note on the specific praiseworthy characteristics of women's mobilization in that country. This way, she conceptualized national differences as a source of inspiration for a unified cause.²⁵ However, this generous view of difference is limited to Western middle-class traditions. Schirmacher is not interested in working classes, contending that, with the exception of France, no socialist feminism exists.²⁶ Nor do non-Western contexts pique her interest; she presents Russia as a victim of 'certain Oriental influences' to explain its supposed developmental lag.²⁷

Schirmacher had visited the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, at which various 'congresses' and 'parliaments' gathered representatives and visitors from all over the world.²⁸ She had spoken at the World's Congress of Representative Women, at which Anna Cooper also spoke. Yet aside from a statistic on African American women's literacy rates,²⁹ her analysis does not mention Black or Asian women, and her explanatory schemes are not interested in non-Western contexts. It is apparent that these 'reference works' of international feminism, which ostensibly aimed to facilitate, for their readers, a more objective and scholarly engagement with the past, encouraged major blindnesses.

Partisan views of the past

We now turn to some examples of shorter and more provocative historiographical interventions, which explicitly allied themselves with the political campaign for female suffrage.

Käthe Schirmacher wrote her *Die Moderne Frauenbewegung: ein geschichtlicher Überblick* (1905) after her conversion to German nationalism.³⁰ It quickly became

a quasi-official handbook of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), together with Alice Zimmern's work, discussed below. It was endorsed by IWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt, reprinted in 1909,³¹ and translated into English in 1912.³²

Die Moderne Frauenbewegung presents a grand narrative of embattled Western enlightened values. Schirmacher describes the oppression of women as a universal phenomenon: 'In the greater part of the world, woman is a pack animal or slave [...] even in a large number of countries that have European civilization, woman remains mute and unfree.'³³ The resistance against this oppression, however, is a Western prerogative, which is only spread through education.

Like Stanton, Schirmacher orders her chapters into ethnic groupings, beginning with an 86-page section on 'Germanic' countries, which include her favored example of the US as well as the UK, and concluding with the 'Orient and Outer Orient,' a section taking up only nine pages. Schirmacher explains that the women's movement has been most successful in 'Germanic' countries in part because of the superior values of their Protestant heritage. The women's movement in Slavic countries, discussed in the second to last section, however, have had little success as these countries 'lack an old and deep Western European culture. Everywhere have oriental conceptions of women's character left persistent traces.'³⁴

About the Orient, she writes:

Here woman, nearly without exception, is a mere toy or pack animal, to the extent that it viscerally affects us Europeans. Of course analogies may be found with us, and these unfortunate backslides into barbarity cannot be reprimanded and despised enough.³⁵

She further attributes women's rights activity outside Europe to individual praiseworthy Western initiatives.³⁶ Too brief to provide any real insights, the last section merely casts the Orient as Europe's timeless and menacing Other.³⁷ Schirmacher rouses her Western readers by encouraging pride in their exceptional shared modernity, supposedly derived from their Protestant culture which encouraged 'a stronger education for self-sufficiency and responsibility,' and provides them with the image of a barbaric enemy at the gates.³⁸

Alice Zimmern's booklet *Women's Suffrage in Many Lands...* appeared in 1909, in time for the fourth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in London. It received a second edition within a year. The work starts with the US and ends with chapters on South Africa and 'Australia and New Zealand.' Zimmern explains that she had to confine herself to only those countries where there was sufficient organized effort, which meant her selection 'are for the most part members of the [IWSA].'³⁹

Zimmern's account was also meant to extend to readers outside the women's movement. In her foreword, Chapman Catt writes that after a long period of quiet suffrage efforts, 'now all the world is talking of it, and is asking questions

concerning its past, its present, and its future aims. This little book will answer those questions.⁴⁰ Considering Zimmern's account as an extension of the IW-SA's propaganda efforts explains its insistence throughout on the vote as feminism's ultimate goal, with suffrage activities and internationalization rounding out most chapters. Catt's foreword makes this conformity explicit: 'The history, with change of scene and personality of advocates, is practically the same in all lands; a struggle against similar customs and traditions which have held women in universal tutelage.'⁴¹ Like Schirmacher's 1905 account, which was a main source for the book,⁴² Catt casts backwardness and tradition as the main adversaries of women's emancipation. Zimmern's chapters orchestrate national histories in such a way that the achievement of suffrage and international organizing appear as the highest stadium of feminist development.

In her popular *Wegbereidsters* [Pathbreakers] (1909), Johanna Naber described the lives of four English reformers, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, and Priscilla Bright McLaren. According to Naber, a prolific Dutch historian and prominent women's rights advocate, these four cases all illustrated a universal principle of women's agitation; through philanthropic work, women awakened to their social and political limitations, and these individual awakenings were followed by a period of association.⁴³ Naber ultimately suggests that female suffrage is the 'lever' by which more philanthropy can be achieved, and explains that she selected these British cases as the most pronounced examples of a universal development: 'This process is international. It is how matters developed here, and how they developed elsewhere.'⁴⁴

In her attempt to articulate universal characteristics of the women's movement, Naber's account of powerful female reformers prunes the possibilities of female agitation down to a very specific shape, leaving no space for alternative trajectories of political awakening. Protagonists such as Josephine Butler and Elizabeth Fry famously improved the lot of other women, in brothels and prisons. These women in need, however, formed the terrain, the passive background, on which the English middle- and upper-class women worked. Only the philanthropists could be heroines and feminists; they united and formed the associations, and they were the vanguard of the movement that educated and lifted others.⁴⁵

Two origin stories

Both the reference works and the partisan histories sought to contribute to a feminism that looked across borders, and supply it with a sense of historical continuity. However, all works ultimately mobilized the colonial and imperialist view of the world as divided in modern enlightened nations and 'Oriental,' backward or undeveloped countries. They promoted as the vanguard of a global women's movement, a fundamentally Western organized suffragism, which started in the US and was understood as based on European Enlightenment ideals of equality. Across the corpus, two recurrent origin stories of feminism can be identified

which were used to underwrite this conception. One, more Europe-oriented, storyline positions women's involvement in philanthropy and charity as a starting point; the other 'American' historical narrative focuses on white women's involvement in abolitionism.

The European account almost ritualistically narrates how suffrage activism developed among philanthropic 'heroines.' Bäumer and Lange's collection is full of philanthropic efforts, such as Anna Pappritz's account of the Versailles conference.⁴⁶ Johanna Naber's pantheon of philanthropic suffragists connected women's political activation fundamentally to their social work. Theodore Stanton's decision to have philanthropist Frances Cobbe, who suggested that woman suffrage would bring about the 'happiest Peace the world has ever seen,'⁴⁷ introduce his volume, was crucial to create a sense of an overarching 'European' perspective. This philanthropic genealogy of feminism was useful in the broader imagining of a 'custodial citizenship' in which traditionally feminine virtues were valorized while addressing middle- and upper-class women at the same time in their professional positions, as teachers, social workers, doctors, and lawyers.⁴⁸

This historical narrative, inspiring as it was to middle-class female philanthropists and the first women in professions around 1900, was based on an exclusionary perspective that silenced and marginalized the many for the benefit of select actors. Organized charity and philanthropy was represented as a white middle-class activity, ignoring voluntary association by working-class women and women of color, whose stories of civil activism were not integrated and hence became marginal in construction of universal feminism. This process was based on decisions about what to hear, what to repeat, and what not to hear and exclude.⁴⁹

The 'American' storyline about the origin of feminism in women's participation in the abolitionist movement was central to all accounts of American feminism. The authors wrote sympathetically about white women's outrage at their 'betrayals' by male abolitionists: first when female delegates were barred from participating in the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840; again when the abolitionists supported the 15th Amendment, which gave Black men the right to vote but withheld the vote from women. This origin story located the beginnings of feminism in white women's outrage at these exclusions, and their perception of an analogy between their own position and that of slaves. Schirmacher's comment is representative of the tone with which this narrative is rendered: 'Heavily and deeply the American women felt it, that in the eyes of their lawmakers a member of a lowly race, just for being a man, was valued over any woman, no matter how well educated.'⁵⁰

This narrative was reproduced from the highly influential American *History of Woman Suffrage* by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Gage (1881–922). It offered several rhetorical advantages to European feminists; it legitimated feminists' contentious action, as it suggested that, like in the US, European women's philanthropy would not yield suffrage without agitation. Moreover, it was an opportunity to further consolidate the opposition between

the interests of white women and non-white men, rousing the fears of non-white threats to white women's emancipation on which arguments like those of Cobbe and Schirmacher depended.

The histories leaned on these American and European narratives about the history of the women's movement for their constructions of a coherent 'universal' feminism. As this discussion has shown, these constructions had a price. The centralization of white middle-class perspectives depended on the exclusion of other women's perspectives.

1980–2018: new strategies for inclusions

After 1920, transnational and national feminist contention became less visible. Suffrage having been granted in many countries, many within and outside the movements believed gradual improvement in the position of women could be expected. With new forms of feminist activism in the 1960s, feminists identified their activism as a 'second' wave. While recalling the late nineteenth-century struggle for the right to vote and to get an education, they also began to make more radical demands regarding their bodily autonomy, women's health care, changing sexual norms, and full and equal access to the labor market. In doing so they discovered radical predecessors.

Second-wave feminists forged a relationship between their demands and those of the nineteenth-century suffrage activists. An example of this self-conscious establishment of historical connection is the 1970s Dutch group, the 'Dolle Mina's' (Wild Mina's), who named themselves after the Dutch radical first-wave feminist Wilhelmina Drucker. Writing 'women's history' and histories of feminism was again an important aspect of second wave agitation, as feminist publishing collectives and journals focused on women's history, and feminist historians followed the adage 'to restore women to history and restore our history to women.'⁵¹

Just as texts written by first-wave feminists, these texts had a social life and connected research and activism. However, there was an important difference: these studies could now also become institutional, when they were produced within academic contexts, conferences, and scholarly journals. In the late nineteenth century, women were nearly invariably excluded from practicing academic history. Despite the efforts to legitimize their work that we discussed above, those women writing histories in the nineteenth century operated in the margins of the professional field. Gender historians have explored how women writing history in the nineteenth century changed the character of historical writing, by exploring historical fiction and including more social and 'personal' themes in their writing.⁵² While most first-wave movement histories were written by 'amateurs,' women who were not part of the academic culture of historical writing, now, in the last decades of the twentieth century, there were feminist activists who were trained and socialized as academic historians.

The historiographical interventions that we identify as addressing the (im) possibility of a global, universal feminist movement from 1980 onwards are in

dialog with a different present and past than their ancestors. A globalized public sphere had come into being and academic scholarly work was no longer the prerogative of white upper-class men.⁵³ In the years between 1880 and 1920 the women's movement had competed for attention with socialist and labor movements, and with nationalism in different forms. The struggle for the right to vote increasingly came to unite the movement. In the last decades of the twentieth century, however, feminist movements shared public attention with civil rights movements, sexuality-focused movements, environmental activism, and post- and decolonial anti-globalization activism. The demands of feminists in the twentieth and twenty-first century were often formulated at the intersections with these other social movements and became more diverse.

In this second part of our chapter, we focus on feminist authors who, in the decades around 2000, intervened in the memory and mnemonic practices of feminism by subverting the century-long heritage of racial exclusion and colonial thinking that the canonization of first-wave history writing reinforced. Inclusive histories of feminism and women's movements had by no means become the norm. There are many examples of women's histories that are in fact histories of white Western women, repeating patterns of exclusion and marginalization that are eerily similar to those of the expansive monographs of the early period. Examples like the 'Gender and Race' chapter of 1977s *Becoming Visible* wrote only about non-Western women from the perspective of the white protagonists.⁵⁴ However, these now suffered a sustained challenge and critique from both activists and academic scholars, categories that could now overlap.

This section considers some influential examples of works which re-tilled the grounds for any possibility of a global feminism by centralizing in their analyses those images of enslaved, colonized and racialized 'Other' women which were produced in the pursuit of a unified concept of women's emancipation. Different strategies can be distinguished through which these contestations sought to achieve more inclusive histories to serve as the basis of a conception of global feminism. The first two that we describe share a belief in the possibility and relevance of historical knowledge as part of political engagement; the third approach problematizes historiographical activity altogether and might be called an alternative for writing histories.

Restoring women of color to the history of feminism

From the 1970s on there have been authors who want to make marginalized voices heard within histories of feminism. These authors do more than just add women of color to the narrative. Their historical interventions contribute to the debates about what it means to be part of a feminist movement that, in the words of bell hooks, 'has as its fundamental goal the liberation of all people.'⁵⁵

In her *Ain't I a Woman* (1981), titled after Black feminist Sojourner Truth's famous speech for the Akron women's Convention in 1851, bell hooks explores Black women's experiences by examining, as the cover indicates, 'the impact

of sexism on the black woman during slavery, the devaluation of black womanhood, black male sexism, racism with the recent feminist movement, and the black woman's involvement with feminism.' hooks re-examines 'forgotten' feminists and points to historical connections between the struggle against slavery and the struggle against the oppression of women, and between sexism in slavery and contemporary sexism. Instead of the established narrative of white women joining white men in pursuit of abolitionism and coming to understand their own position through observing slavery, she foregrounds how black women experienced and theorized the connection between the two systems of oppression.

What makes hooks' text remarkable is the constant shift between sexism and racism in present and in past, and her systematic attention to historical work, especially when produced by Black women such as Anna Cooper and twentieth-century Black radical thinker Angela Davis. hooks also debunked the notion of solidarity between white and Black women, referring to an early article by Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, which showed that many white suffragists did not accept Black women as their equal in struggles.⁵⁶ Her political intervention cannot be imagined without the rich tapestry of historical references; references, we might add, that do not follow the pattern of enlightenment-inspired 'awareness' of oppression that dominated so many earlier histories of feminism. On the contrary, the historical references address the experiences of being enslaved, Black women's experiences with sexual violence, and the disregard for their love for partners and children. hooks describes the feminism of Sojourner Truth surviving and emerging triumphant from persecution, abuse, torture, and rape.⁵⁷ In contrast to the nineteenth-century conception, she suggests that nineteenth-century Black American women were more aware of sexist oppression 'than any other group.'⁵⁸

The strategy of recuperating alternative historical facts is also very clear in one of the most frequently quoted critiques of Western feminist myopia and prejudice: Chandra Mohanty's 'Under Western Eyes' (1988). We do not want to repeat or summarize her extensive argument here, but think it is important to point out that in Mohanty's argument, attention to history and respect for historical specificity are crucial elements. While hooks focuses on Black American women, Mohanty's frame of reference is the colonial division between women in the Western world and 'Third World women.'

Mohanty addresses descriptions of women outside the West that conceive of them as a homogenous group of victims of both imperialist colonialism and 'traditional' religions, cultures, and practices such as Islam and Purdah. These histories, she argues, do not problematize the difference between Woman as an ideological concept and women as different, living, historical beings. This distinction, so fruitfully applied by feminists who discuss the position of women in the West, suddenly disappears when women in Africa, Asia, or other non-Western parts of the world are described.⁵⁹ This results, as Mohanty contends, in an unproductive return to the notion of biological features as uniting all women's experience.

Mohanty's essay takes the form of a critical description of histories of 'Third World women,' published by authors who seek to include non-Western women by portraying them as powerless victims. Many of these studies start from a universal definition of gender, which presumes that women are oppressed by men. For Third World women, this male oppression is supposedly sometimes aggravated, sometimes slightly relieved by colonial interventions, but the bottom line remains that all women suffer from the same male oppression. The authors of these histories, many of them Western themselves, tend to ignore different histories, different ways of organizing society.

For Mohanty, attention to the 'contradictions inherent in women's location' is crucial to understanding political action. She proposes historically precise narratives as an antidote to 'methodological universalism' that postulates women's oppression as key to understanding women outside the West. Women's resistance and agency are much more diverse; women are not only victims, but also agents that transform the structures that assign meaning to their lives and acts. With her call for other forms of understanding global feminism, Mohanty criticizes 'rescue-narratives' about non-Western women. Although she does not explicitly refer to first-wave narratives about feminism, she offers an alternative for Schir-macher's descriptions of women as 'pack animals'; she proposes to consider all women as agents and subjects who have a past, and have historical agency.

Mohanty and hooks' arguments are contributions to feminist debates; they are about the political future of feminism as a social movement.⁶⁰ They point out that historical marginalization is not only about the past, but also characterizes the contemporary women's movement and its continuing patterns of exclusion. It is instructive to read these texts not only as historical revisions, but also as texts that played a crucial role in expanding the cultural memory of feminism and women's movements. Like the examples from the turn of the century, they had a 'social life' far beyond academic discussions. They are quoted, referenced, and canonized in a wide range of discussions, even years after they were published. Mohanty captured this powerful potential of texts when she mused in 2003 that her essay has 'been widely cited, sometimes seriously engaged with, sometimes misread, and sometimes used as an enabling framework for cross-cultural feminist projects.'⁶¹ A recent example of this enabling function is the use of hooks' and Mohanty's ideas in publications supporting the American activist group *Black Lives Matter*.⁶²

Arguments such as those of hooks and Mohanty also impacted historical studies, as they inspired feminist historians to formulate new research questions. Unpublished or forgotten texts by Black women were recovered, published, read, and discussed. Scholars rewrote histories of feminism, paying attention to racism and colonial condescension. These instances were no longer excused as regrettable mistakes, as behavior that could be explained and in a way accepted. New analyses instead pointed out that the image of the autonomous enlightened Western feminists was predicated on the othering of those of another race, class, or culture.

This approach required new, non-heroic narratives about feminism. A pioneer of this revision of feminism was Antoinette Burton (1994). She described how British feminists were inspired by imperialism: Victorian feminists' admiration for empire and their identification with its racial and cultural ideals shaped a nineteenth-century women's movement with recognizably imperial concerns and sympathies. In other countries, similar revised histories of women's movements revealed the deeply colonial or fascist standpoints of feminist authors. Ann Stoler, another scholar of gender and colonialism, critically expanded the ways in which the 'colonial archive' is investigated, arguing for a move from 'archive-as-source to archive-as-subject.'⁶³ Maria Grever and Berteke Waaldijk's *Transforming the Public Sphere* analyzed the interaction of the colonial and the philanthropic impulses in the Dutch women's movement.⁶⁴ This rejection of heroism was a strategy to come to terms with the heritage of exclusion of the nineteenth-century women's movement. With these new histories, the tradition of heroic histories celebrating victories and hoping for the gradual arrival of a better future was replaced with movement histories that tried to be more sophisticated, both scholarly and politically.

The social life of this critical work went beyond re-imagining historical research. Knowledge about exclusion became part of popular knowledge about feminism. When, in January 2017, a Woman's March was planned in Washington, newspapers and social media reported widespread skeptical reactions. 'Decades of exclusion leave black women sceptical,' read one article, which made detailed references to statements by Susan B. Antony to illustrate the story.⁶⁵ When in 2016, the main actors of the film *Suffragette* partook in a promotional photo shoot wearing T-shirts with the print 'I'd rather be a rebel than a slave,' angry responses online were historically informed by knowledge of the complicated history of racism in the American suffrage movement.⁶⁶

Another example of the way historical knowledge about those forgotten in feminist narratives of white middle-class heroines has entered the public and popular domain of online newspaper discussions is the discussion that followed Nancy Fraser's gloomy analysis of second-wave feminism in *The Guardian*, 'How feminism became capitalism's handmaiden—and how to reclaim it,' in 2013.⁶⁷ Although her analysis was part of a body of criticism that addressed the white middle-class bias of large parts of twentieth-century women's movements, her interpretation also received critical response. Brenda Bhandar and Denise Ferreira da Silva, in their critical reply, argued that feminism as a social movement is not limited to the history of liberal women's emancipation, defined as the struggle for equal rights within the public and private spheres of capitalist world.⁶⁸ They contended that not all feminism has been co-opted by neoliberalism in the first place. Black feminism, and the struggles of women of color against racism, sexism, and capitalism have been as important for the development of contemporary feminism as the struggle of white middle-class women to join the capitalist labor market. The authors point out, for example, how some feminist claims that did *not* accept the logic of the capitalist labor market, such as 'wages for household work,' were substantially developed by Black feminists.

What we find particularly interesting in this public exchange at the crossroads of academic and activist discourse are the competing historical invocations. Fraser proposes to revise the image of second-wave feminism, pointing out that it was much more aligned with neoliberal ideas than commonly believed. Bhandar and Ferreira da Silva criticize this with a reference to the movement that claimed wages for household work, and by discussing the role black women played in developing feminist strategies. They write: 'Following [Angela] Davis, we note that White feminists need to recognize when they engage political strategies that Black and Third World feminists have already been theorising and practising for a long time.'⁶⁹ By situating themselves, via Davis, in an alternative canon of women's resistance and opposition, they actively contribute to enunciating the different genealogy for which they argue.

These historiographical interventions, within and outside academic historical research, make a double move; by revisiting highly iconized historical narratives, and researching and retelling them from decentered positions, they not only intervene historically, but also re-open the discussion on what it means to be a feminist. These forms of dealing with the colonial past of modern feminism articulate alternative canons, as new names and events are remembered and celebrated, and they also yield new theoretical horizons.⁷⁰ They open the channels for historical arguments like Sojourner Truth's and Anna Cooper's about the intersectionality of their experiences of oppression, to contribute to new interpretations of feminism.

The development of intersectional approaches has made more space for scholarship that addresses exclusion, both in activist and in academic circles.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it should be noted that to speak about feminist activism as a single social movement is problematic, as the political diversity of those claiming to speak on behalf of women is enormous. It ranges from progressive and radical anti-racist and anti-capitalist activists to conservative femo-nationalists who believe that the struggle for women's rights is a Western invention, and that non-Western cultures and religions would endanger the results of this struggle.⁷²

Completing overviews of global feminism

The second strategy is less explicitly political, and has as its stated aim to further expand scholarly knowledge about a mosaic vision of global feminism. Formally, it resembles first-wave historiographical practices of providing transnational overviews of women's movements in the form of collected volumes. It also recalls the practice of using reference books to support international cooperation. These works are often the products of commissions or institutionalized academic collectives, and as part of women's or gender history, they explore histories of feminism in connection with histories of women. Nevertheless, even though they resemble the first-wave representations of global feminism in these respects, it is important to note that these histories appeared after interventions made by scholars like hooks and Mohanty, and in many ways were responses to political

critiques of the historical imagination. Rather than adding to the pantheons of national or local accounts, they contextualize them in a broader global picture that is not Western-centric. Broadening the history of women, these volumes focus not only on feminism, but also on experiences that reflect the interaction of race, class, and gender. Hence, they ‘provincialize’ European genealogies by moving their gaze and adjusting their analytical toolkit accordingly.⁷³ Their focus is on providing references and background knowledge, and expanding the historical horizon of histories of gender and feminism.

Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World in the 19th and early 20th Centuries (1986), by Kumari Jayawardena, was first published in 1982 by the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands, and recovers historical data about feminist movements in non-Western countries.⁷⁴ *Expanding the Boundaries of Women’s History* (1992) resulted from a project funded by the Organization of American Historians. The editors hardly problematize exclusion as a political issue, stating that ‘Third World women (...) are *sometimes* separated by class, culture, ethnicity, ideology, national origin, religion, and “race” or color’ (x, our italics).⁷⁵ Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri’s volume *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* was result of the 1995 conference of the International Federation for Research in Women’s History, which was dedicated to ‘Women, Colonialisms, Imperialisms, and Nationalisms through the Ages.’⁷⁶ It focuses on histories that do not follow the pattern of Western women’s emancipation, such as those of women in Iran, the Punjab, and of ‘comfort women’ exploited by Japanese army during WWII. The collection of essays sets as its explicit goal to change the histories of colonialism and imperialism that have paid too little attention to gender, and to women’s roles in imperialism and resistance movements.

Bonnie Smith’s edited three-volume series *Women’s History in Global Perspective* (2004) is one of many collections that go beyond an overview of women in different geographical locations, to offer historical studies of gender as an analytical category in global history. It addresses women and gender in transnational connections and migration, and in transnational cultures, organizations, and institutions. The volume’s contributions were commissioned by the American Historical Association’s Committee of Women Historians. This fact in itself indicates that discussions about history of women and feminism became fit for academically recognized research. While the books we discussed in the first part of our chapter were produced and circulated by women’s suffrage groups, these books show how feminism as a social movement and the women participating in it were no longer excluded from academia. For some, this increasing overlap implied a deplorable loss of pure activism, while for others it constituted the chance to finally theorize with the experiences of those whose lives had never been considered worthy of scholarly research before.

The strategies of these works from the period since 1980 have in common a somewhat Whiggish hope that historical understanding can be improved, and that better, more inclusive views of women’s activism in the past might contribute to better, more inclusive feminism. They share with their predecessors from 1880 to

1914 the conviction that historical research, producing more and more sophisticated knowledge, can make a substantive positive contribution to public political debate. Yet writing the history of the women's movement is not the prerogative of historians; other disciplines also refer to the past. We close our discussion of historiographical interventions with a look at approaches that seem to move 'beyond history.' They are linked to historical research, but are at the same time skeptical about the idea that history as a discipline will provide the last word.

Beyond history

Close attention to the role of historiography in social movements blurs the traditional boundaries between grass roots and academy, between scholarly and vulgar knowledge, and ultimately between memory and history. This is reflected in the elements of skepticism about the value of historical interpretations in Mohanty's essay, when she suggests that the homogenized description of 'Third World Women' might 'tie into the larger economic and ideological praxis of "disinterested" scientific inquiry and pluralism, which are the surface manifestations of a latent economic and cultural colonization of "non-Western" world.'⁷⁷ Moreover, in 'Postmodern Blackness' (1990), bell hooks concludes that uncanonized popular cultures, Black pop music, films and their reception, constitute a better subject of inquiry to write about Black feminism.⁷⁸ Implicitly, hooks argues against research that locates Black feminists in history, suggesting that agency and subject positions are to be found in cultural practices, not historical narratives.

Another pioneer of the explicit refusal of history as the master narrative about feminist connections was postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak, whose 'Can the Subaltern Speak' (1985) suggested that literary scholars are better equipped to hear and analyze voices that have no place in the grand narratives about colonial oppression, resistance, and revolution. Like Mohanty, Spivak invokes Marx' description of petty landowning peasants in France as a class without 'class awareness,' whose members 'cannot represent themselves' in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (1869).⁷⁹ By showing how Marx' historical analysis declared the disconnect between some subjects and their representation as unbridgeable, Spivak demonstrates the 'epistemic violence' inherent in the historiographical approach of so-called emancipation and liberation movements. For Spivak, then, the solution cannot be more historical research.

For this type of engagement with past women's agency, the traditional historical methods, of collecting primary printed and textual sources from archival institutions and letting them speak to the present, are not enough. The innovations within historical writing, such as oral history and attention to material culture, and the linguistic, cultural, and affective turns, bring scholars beyond the boundaries of the historical discipline. They cross the boundaries between scholarly history and artistic, popular and mediatized representations. History from below, histories of marginalization, and oral histories dealing with the experiences and memories of the 'losers' of history find their way into research, education,

and popular awareness. The idea that ‘history’ as a disciplined narrative is about winners and hope, while other fields, such as literary scholarship and cultural memory take care of trauma, loss, and exclusion no longer holds. What started as alternatives for writing history now turn into scholarly and political cooperation.

In this process, new forms of understanding archives are proposed. In Amsterdam, one of the founders of ‘Black Archives,’ Jessica de Abreu, shows how books and papers collected by people from African descent outside official archives can change the perception of history.⁸⁰ Gloria Wekker, working with Edward Said’s concept of a ‘cultural archive,’ coined the concept of ‘colonial archive’ in order to analyze the set of symbols and attitudes that characterize Dutch postcolonial culture.⁸¹ These examples all reject the opposition between history and memory, pointing out that representation of the past is not limited to academic historiography but requires other forms of sharing, showing, and celebrating.

With this we come back to our claim that writing history is one of the mnemonic practices of social movements. The work of the Black Archives, just like the intervention by Wekker, can be considered as historiographical interventions. The same goes for Fraser and Bhandar and Denise Ferreira da Silva, who correct accepted images of respectively liberal feminism and of Black feminism. Again, references to a forgotten past become a tool in constructing new political positions, and history is used as a strategy. However, unlike the authors of movement histories of a century earlier, these activists not only refer to the past to make their political points; they also subvert the opposition between history and memory.

Let us return to Anna Cooper, who spoke in 1893 about the ‘yet unwritten histories’ of Black women under slavery. In a way, she already drew attention to the social dynamics and social life of historiography. She did not say that it was impossible to write such histories, but drew attention to the fact that Black women’s ‘painful, patient, and silent toil’ had thus far been forgotten, and reminded her audience of these women:

The white woman could at least plead for her own emancipation; the black woman, doubly enslaved, could but suffer and struggle and be silent.

Projects that think beyond the distinction between memory and history might do more justice to the forgotten suffering and struggles, and to the silences of history. They are also innovative mnemonic practices that help social activists to understand what binds them, and to invent new forms of representing their past as well as their future.⁸²

Notes

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- 2 Wright Sewall, 'World's Congress,' 711–712.
- 3 That the American author and researcher Gloria Watkins uses the name 'bell hooks' for her publications is itself an act of remembering that crosses public history and personal memories. With it she refers to her great-grandmother who was known for 'talking back.' The lower case indicates her commitment to showing the message is not hers alone.
- 4 For 'pantheon,' see Maria Grever, 'The Pantheon of Feminist Culture: Women's Movements and the Organization of Memory,' *Gender & History* 9, no. 2 (August 16, 1997): 364–374.
- 5 David S. Meyer and Deana A. Rohlinger, 'Big Books and Social Movements,' *Social Problems* 59, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 136–153.
- 6 Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and 'the Woman Question'* (London: Routledge, 1991); Harold Aram Veesser, ed., *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith, 'Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2002): 1–19; Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini, and Paul Thompson, eds., *Gender & Memory* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Ann Rigney, 'Remembering Hope: Transnational Activism beyond the Traumatic,' *Memory Studies* 11, no. 3 (July 7, 2018): 368–380.
- 7 Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Nitza Berkovitch, 'The Emergence and Transformation of the International Women's Movement,' in *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations Since 1875*, ed. George Thomas John Boli (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 100–126.
- 8 Kiene Brillenburg Wurth and Ann Rigney, *The Life of Texts: An Introduction to Literary Studies* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019).
- 9 Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,' *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (August 28, 1998): 105–140, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105>; see also Nicole Doerr, 'Memory and Culture in Social Movements,' in *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research*, ed. Priska Daphi, Peter Ullrich, and Britta Baumgarten (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 206–226.
- 10 Rupp, *Worlds of Women*; Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, 'Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism,' *Signs* 24, no. 2 (December 22, 1999): 362–386, <https://doi.org/10.1086/495344>; Berkovitch, 'The Emergence and Transformation of the International Women's Movement'; Mineke Bosch and Annemarie Kloosterman, *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902–1942* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990).
- 11 Theodore Stanton, ed., *The Woman Question in Europe: A Series of Original Essays* (London: Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/womanquestionine00stanrich/page/n4/mode/2up>; Käthe Schirmacher, *Le Feminisme Aux États-Unis, En France, Dans La Grande-Bretagne, En Suède et En Russie* (Paris: A. Colin & cie, 1898), Internet Archive, <http://archive.org/details/lefeminismeauxt00schigoog>; Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer, ed., *Handbuch Der Frauenbewegung* (Berlin: Omnia-Mikrofilm-Technik, 1901), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/handbuchderfrau00bugoog/page/n10/mode/2up/search/vorwort>.
- 12 Mineke Bosch, 'The Woman Question in Europe' in European History Contribution to the Web-Feature European History – Gender History, Themenportal Europäische Geschichte, 2009, <https://www.europa.clío-online.de/essay/id/fdae-1509>.
- 13 Frances Power Cobbe, 'Introduction,' in *The Woman Question in Europe: A Series of Original Essays*, ed. Theodore Stanton (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884), xiii–xviii, xiii–xiv, xiv, xv, <http://archive.org/details/womanquestionine00stanrich>.

- 14 Cobbe, 'Introduction,' xv.
- 15 Stanton, 'The Woman Question in Europe,' 6; see also Bosch, "'The Woman Question in Europe'" in *European History Contribution to the Web-Feature European History – Gender History.*
- 16 Kalliope Kehaya, 'The Orient,' in *The Woman Question in Europe : A Series of Original Essays*, ed. Theodore Stanton (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884), 457–472, 458, <https://archive.org/details/womanquestionine00stanrich/page/n17/mode/2up>.
- 17 Kehaya, 'The Orient,' 458.
- 18 Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer, 'Vorwort,' in *Handbuch Der Frauenbewegung* (Berlin: Omnia-Mikrofilm-Technik, 1901), v–x, iv, <https://archive.org/details/handbuchderfrau00bugoog/page/n10/mode/2up/search/vorwort>.
- 19 Lange and Bäumer, 'Vorwort,' vii.
- 20 *Ibid.*, ix.
- 21 *Ibid.*, ix.
- 22 Their biographer Angelika Schaser points out how they used their definition power in journals as well: Angelika Schaser, *Helene Lange Und Gertrud Bäumer : Eine Politische Lebensgemeinschaft* (Köln: Böhlau, 2000).
- 23 Schirmacher, 'Le Feminisme Aux États-Unis,' 2.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 73.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 28 For instance, the Parliament of the World's Religions gathered representatives of major religions to attempt to create a global conversation between faiths in September 1893.
- 29 Schirmacher, 'Le Feminisme Aux États-Unis,' 15.
- 30 Johanna Gehmacher et al., *Käthe Schirmacher : Agitation Und Autobiografische Praxis Zwischen Radikaler Frauenbewegung Und Völkischer Politik* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Co, 2018); Karen Offen, 'Kaethe Schirmacher, Investigative Reporter & Activist Journalist: The Paris Writings, 1895–1910,' *The Western Society for French History* 39 (2011), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.0642292.0039.019>.
- 31 Elisa Heinrich, 'Netzwerke, Beziehungen, Praktiken,' in *Käthe Schirmacher : Agitation Und Autobiografische Praxis Zwischen Radikaler Frauenbewegung Und Völkischer Politik*, ed. Johanna Gehmacher et al. (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Co, 2018), 159–282, 208.
- 32 Käthe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement; a Historical Survey* (trans. Carl Conrad Eckhardt) (New York: The Macmillan company, 1912), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/modernwomansrigh00schi/page/n4/mode/2up>.
- 33 Schirmacher, *Modern Woman*, 129, 130.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 108.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 120.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 37 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).
- 38 Schirmacher, *Modern Woman*, 1.
- 39 Alice Zimmern, *Women's Suffrage in Many Lands* (London: Francis & Co., The Athenaeum Press, 1909), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/womensuffrageinalic/page/n9/mode/2up>.
- 40 Carrie Chapman Catt, 'Foreword,' in *Women's Suffrage in Many Lands*, ed. Alice Zimmern (London: Francis & Co., The Athenaeum Press, 1909), i–ii, <https://archive.org/details/womensuffrageinalic/page/n7/mode/2up>.
- 41 Chapman Catt, 'Foreword,' i.
- 42 *Ibid.*, ii.
- 43 In a much later second edition (1928), Naber referred to her own original work as propaganda.

- 44 Johanna W. A. Naber, *Wegbereidsters* (Utrecht: Erven J. Bijleveld, 1928), 7, 8.
- 45 On the Naber's vanguardism, see Maria (Maria Christina Rosalia) Grever, *Strijd Tegen de Stilte : Johanna Naber (1859–1941) En de Vrouwenstem in Geschiedenis* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1994).
- 46 Anna Pappritz, 'Die Geschichte Der Frauenbewegung in Frankreich,' in *Handbuch Der Frauenbewegung*, ed. Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer (Berlin: Omnia-Mikrofilm-Technik, 1901), 361–398, <https://archive.org/details/handbuchderfrau00bugoog/page/n380/mode/2up/search/vorwort>.
- 47 Cobbe, 'Introduction,' xviii.
- 48 Berteke Waaldijk, 'Subjects and Citizens: Gender and Racial Discrimination in Dutch Colonialism at the End of the 19th Century,' in *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, ed. Guðmundur Hálfdanarson (Pisa: PLUS, Università di Pisa, 2003), 101–118.
- 49 Anne Firor Scott, 'Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations,' *The Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 1 (February 1990): 3–22; Maria Tamboukou, *Sewing, Fighting and Writing : Radical Practices in Work, Politics and Culture* (London: Rowman International, 2015).
- 50 Schirmacher, *Modern Woman*, 6.
- 51 Joan Kelly-Gadol, 'The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History,' *Signs* 1, no. 4 (1976): 809–823.
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- 53 Main developments to this globalized public sphere were the founding of the UN, the increasing efficacy of NGOs and the advent of globally consumed media channels.
- 54 Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Mosher Stuard, ed., *Becoming Visible : Women in European History*, 2nd compl. (Boston, MA etc.: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).
- 55 bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman : Black Women and Feminism* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1981), 13.
- 56 Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, 'Discrimination against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement 1830–1920,' in *The Afro-American Woman*, ed. Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (New York: Kennikat Press, 1978), 17–27.
- 57 hooks, *Ain't I a Woman : Black Women and Feminism*, 160.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 161.
- 59 Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1, 1986): 1053–1075; Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- 60 Mohanty is quoted in Donna Haraway, 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late 20th Century,' in *The International Handbook of Virtual Learning Environments* (Dordrecht: Springer, [1991] 2006), 117–158; Braidotti, 'Nomadic Subjects'; Nina Wallerstein and Bonnie Duran, 'Community-Based Participatory Research Contributions to Intervention Research: The Intersection of Science and Practice to Improve Health Equity,' *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no. Suppl. 1 (April 1, 2010): 40–46; Sara R. Farris, *In the Name of Women's Rights : The Rise of Femonationalism* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2017).

- 61 In 2003, Mohanty writes in *Signs*: 'Under Western Eyes' has enjoyed a remarkable life, being reprinted almost every year since 1986 when it first appeared in the left journal *Boundary 2* (1986). The essay has been translated into German, Dutch, Chinese, Russian, Italian, Swedish, French, and Spanish. It has appeared in feminist, postcolonial, 'Third World', and cultural studies journals and anthologies and maintains a presence in women's studies, cultural studies, anthropology, ethnic studies, political science, education, and sociology curricula. It has been widely cited, sometimes seriously engaged with, sometimes misread, and sometimes used as an enabling framework for cross-cultural feminist projects.
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- 64 Maria Grever and Bertekje Waaldijk, *Transforming the Public Sphere : The Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2004).
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- 69 Silva, n.p.
- 70 Grever, 'The Pantheon of Feminist Culture.'
- 71 Kimberle Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,' *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1241–1299, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039>
- 72 Farris, *In the Name of Women's Rights*.
- 73 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe : Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 74 Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London and New Delhi: Zed Books, 1986).
- 75 Cheryl Johnson-Odim, and Margaret Strobel, *Expanding the Boundaries of Women's History : Essays on Women in the Third World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).
- 76 Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhuri, and Beth McAuley, *Nation, Empire, Colony : Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- 77 Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,' *Feminist Review* 30, no. 1 (November 1, 1988): 353–354.
- 78 bell hooks, 'Postmodern Blackness,' *Postmodern Culture* 1, no. 1 (1990), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/27283>.
- 79 Karl Marx, *Der Achtzehnte Brumaire Des Louis Bonaparte* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1972), 117. Marx phrase, 'they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented' was also the motto of Said's *Orientalism*.
- 80 Krystel Singh, 'The Black Archives: Een Interview Met Jessica de Abreu,' *Stichting Democratie En Media*, last updated November 13, 2018, <https://www.stdem.org/2018/11/13/the-black-archives-een-interview-met-jessica-de-abreu/>.

- 81 Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).
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