

WOMEN, DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS SINCE 1500

Edited by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James

WOMEN'S AND GENDER HISTORY



ROUTLEDGE

WOMEN, DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS SINCE 1500

Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500 explores the role of women as agents of diplomacy in the trans-Atlantic world since the early modern age. Despite increasing evidence of their involvement in political life across the centuries, the core historical narrative of international politics remains notably depleted of women. The present collection challenges this perspective.

Chapters cover a wide range of geographical contexts, including Europe, Russia, Britain and the United States, and trace the diversity of women's activities and the significance of their contributions. Together these essays open up the field to include a broader interpretation of diplomatic work, such as the unofficial avenues of lobbying, negotiation and political representation that made women central diplomatic players in the salons, courts and boudoirs of Europe.

Through a selection of case studies, the book throws into new perspective the operations of political power in local and national domains, bridging and at times re-conceptualizing the relationship of the private to the public. *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* is essential reading for all those interested in the history of diplomacy and the rise of international politics over the past five centuries.

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First published 2016
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Women, diplomacy and international politics since 1500 / edited by Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James.

pages cm. — (Women's and gender history)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Women diplomats—Europe—History. 2. Women diplomats—History.
3. Women—Political activity—Europe—History. 4. Women—Political
activity—History. 5. Europe—Foreign relations. 6. International
relations—History. 7. World politics. I. Sluga, Glenda, 1962– II. James,
Carolyn.

HQ1236.5.E85W64155 2015

320.082094—dc23 2014043138

ISBN: 978-0-415-71464-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-415-71465-5 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-71311-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge the crucial assistance of Professor Giulia Calvi and the European University Institute in Florence, where an intense workshop was held in December 2011 with the precise aim of collecting a broad chronological cross-section of historical research on the presence of women in the history of diplomacy; and the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry at the University of Sydney, which found the funding to help us organize the workshop. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James would like to thank the Australian Research Council for their generous support of their respective projects on women in international and diplomatic history; Carolyn James has an added obligation to the Cassamarca Foundation for its support of her research. And, finally, our combined gratitude goes to the contributors for their patience with our editorial demands, and willingness to continually revise their essays. There is undeniably still more to be done on the *longue durée* history of women, diplomacy and international politics that takes us beyond the borders of a 'Western' past, and also looks more closely at the many more case studies that exist within the historical boundaries of a Western world. Watch this space closely.

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INTRODUCTION

The long international history of women and diplomacy

Carolyn James and Glenda Sluga

It is a curious fact of the contemporary world that more women are appointed to political roles as diplomats, and even to leading foreign affairs portfolios – across the ideological divides of liberalism and conservatism – than almost any other ministerial office. Here we might think of, most recently, Hillary Clinton (United States), Federica Mogherini (Italy) or Catherine Ashton (EU). The list would be much longer if we looked outside of the Western countries that are the focus of this volume.¹ These essays reveal that this accommodation of women in international politics is not simply an anomalous consequence of modernity. It is contiguous with practices since the origins of diplomacy, in which women acted as agents of cross-state and cross-cultural information-gathering, alliance-building and networking and as political negotiators, even if this was sometimes controversial.

Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500 introduces us to the long history of women acting as diplomatic agents in diverse ways across the Western world from 1500 to the late twentieth century. It puts on display the historical diversity of women's activities, the significance of their contributions, as well as the historically specific limitations of their agency. As importantly, this focus on women raises critical historical questions about the changing and consistent ways in which political power was wielded over the centuries in relationships between sovereign polities – whether as dynasties, empires or nation-states – and opens the field to a broader interpretation of diplomatic work and the nature of modern international politics.

There is nothing new, of course, about the study of women in international affairs.² Gender analysis was mooted as essential for the field as early as the 1980s, when, in the Anglophone world, Joan Scott, the American historian of France, drew attention to the importance of studying 'the social organization of sexual difference' in High Politics.³ In the intervening years, as political history moved to the margins and cultural history took its place at the centre of historical scholarship,

gender made regular appearances in the history of foreign policy formation, and the study of war and peace.⁴ But as masculinity and men tended to dominate historical studies of gender in these same politically oriented historical studies, the approach incited new controversies regarding the continued absence of women from historical study of High Politics.⁵ With the best of intentions, the argument still runs, one can study gender in these political settings where men remain dominant and women are rarely to be seen, on the understanding that women are just not there.⁶ The result has been that despite available evidence of women as agents and subjects in the arena of diplomacy, the core historical narratives of international politics have remained depleted of women.⁷

The 15 essays collected here redress this absence by analysing women's significance to the machinations of diplomacy in a range of geographical and temporal contexts: from Western, Southern and Northern Europe to Russia, Britain and the United States. Each essay emphasizes the significance of a specific case study for our more general understanding of women's agency and, where the evidence allows, for recording the ideas and opinions held by individual women, as well as their place in the larger history of diplomacy, foreign policy formation and implementation.

Women, Diplomacy and International Politics opens with an analysis of women's diplomatic roles in Renaissance Italy, traditionally regarded as the birthplace of modern diplomacy, because of the emergence there around the middle of the fifteenth century of long-term resident embassies and career diplomats. However, as the early modern contributions in the volume show, contemporaries recognized that these innovations were still just the tip of the diplomatic iceberg; they remained so for a long time to come. Diplomacy continued to be carried out through dynastic networking and lobbying by mainly aristocratic actors, including women, whose diplomatic credentials consisted of their physical proximity to those who exercised power. In Europe's many courts, the boundaries between state and dynastic politics were so blurred that precise distinctions between private and public spheres could hardly be made. However, as Jerome Duindam points out in the conclusion to a recently published collection of essays on ladies-in-waiting in early modern Europe, it is misleading to assume that there was a concordance between male and public, or female and private in this period – the ideological separation of spheres that would become fundamental to the organization of modern (usually nominally national) sovereign states.⁸

Evidence from the early modern period confirms that women of the high European nobility coveted desirable court sinecures, from the most prestigious and remunerative position of chief lady-in-waiting to a reigning or consort queen, to those for younger, less experienced, women, who hoped their appointments as ladies of the bedchamber might prove to be a launching pad to an advantageous marriage.⁹ Such appointees had privileged *entrée* to the inner sanctums of royal domestic life and the essays in this volume show that it was in these more secluded spaces, as much as in formal audience or reception rooms, that diplomatic parleying took place: Mirella Marini highlights the influence enjoyed by the Countess of Arenberg,

Margaret de la Marck, as *Oberhofmeisterin* to Archduchess Elisabeth of Habsburg; and Corina Bastian focuses on the compelling examples of Anne-Marie de La Trémoille and Madame de Maintenon, who exercised unrivalled diplomatic clout at the French and Spanish courts because of their routine and intimate contact with the king and queen in their 'private' apartments.

These analyses of the roles of women in the early modern period highlight the limits of studying politics and diplomacy within national demarcations. Europe's aristocratic dynasties were spread throughout the Continent and their political objectives and interests were often trans-regional as well as local. This was particularly true of the Habsburg dynasty, which exercised royal and other forms of power in Spain, the Low Countries, Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. However, as Marini demonstrates, it applied also to smaller European dynasties such as the Marck family, based in France, the Low Countries and the Empire, whose members enjoyed sovereign status in their own lands and significant levels of political agency beyond them. Margaret de la Marck, one of the wealthiest heiresses in the Netherlands, cultivated a multilingual European network of friends and relatives and proved to be a formidable diplomatic player in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The large social networks of such women, and their ability to maintain friendships over vast distances through regular correspondence, were central to their roles as newsgatherers and political intermediaries. Marini argues that Margaret de la Marck played a valuable part in the Arenberg family's rise to success. Her services to the emperor, Maximilian II, culminated in the family's elevation to the *Reichsfürstenwürde*, the highest honour in the empire. Franziska Schedewie's essay on the diplomatic role of the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, sister of Alexander I, who became hereditary Princess of Sachsen-Weimar after her marriage in 1804, shows that Pavlovna was sought out by Weimar statesmen in 1813/1814 for assistance in placing her father-in-law on the vacant throne of Saxony. When we add Glenda Sluga's analysis of Dorothea Lieven's influence in the first half of the nineteenth century, our volume demonstrates that through to the modern period there was a large degree of continuity in expectations regarding the capacity of well-placed women with dynastic connections to achieve desirable 'foreign policy' outcomes.

During the pre-modern centuries, when royal marriages defined the political map of Europe, it was inevitable that royal wives and their ladies-in-waiting were recognized by their contemporaries as major diplomatic actors. Marriage diplomacy was the means by which nobles from various regions, possessing great or small degrees of influence and wealth, were integrated into trans-European alliances and networks. It was also the way in which new rulers, with perhaps little claim to political legitimacy, improved their bloodlines while acquiring powerful allies that would help them to preserve their hold on power. Young women were pawns in such arrangements but, as Silvia Mitchell suggests, their diplomatic contribution lay in their fertility potential, since dynastic succession was the primary measure of political success, while their dowries and rights to inheritance shaped geopolitical boundaries. More mature women were usually at the forefront of lengthy

negotiations concerning their children's marriages. Mitchell's study of cooperation between Queens Mariana and Maria Theresa of Austria to achieve the marriage of Carlos II of Spain to the French princess Marie Louise – a union that brought 14 years of Franco-Spanish conflict to an end – provides a telling example of such work.

As Carolyn James's contribution to this volume explains, in Renaissance Italy, dynastic brides were expected to perform diplomatic tasks from the earliest stages of marriage. In an era when female literacy was a rare commodity, noblewomen destined for notable political unions were trained to deliver speeches to foreign powers and to dictate and write letters in correct chancery style, so they could participate fully in official diplomatic networks and correspondence, as well as keep in contact with their influential relatives. Elena Woodacre's case study of three granddaughters of Leonor of Navarre and Gaston IV of Foix, whose marriages propelled them into the thick of Franco-Iberian rivalry at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, shows how these women exploited their relationship as first cousins to promote the interests of their husbands, their family of birth and, in some cases, their own objectives.

The diplomatic teamwork of a husband and well-chosen wife was common enough in the sixteenth century. James analyses the close cooperation between Italian princely rulers and their dynastic consorts in their pursuit of strategies and policies that would protect their regimes in the unpredictable European political climate of these years. By the seventeenth century, the title of *ambassadrice* was given to women who accompanied their spouses to foreign postings. The English ambassadress to the Spanish court in Madrid, Lady Anne Fanshawe, manipulated contemporary gender prejudices to her own and her husband's advantage. She operated within female networks of sociability, conversing, writing and answering letters, receiving and paying visits and giving and receiving gifts – all activities that were fundamental to establishing warm Anglo-Spanish relations and expected of an ambassadress. Laura Oliván Santaliestra's essay also documents the extent to which Lady Fanshawe operated behind a conventional façade of the unassuming and obedient wife to share the diplomatic burdens of her husband Sir Richard Fanshawe. Through a well-thought-out division of labour and constant exchange of letters during the ambassador's absences from Madrid, the couple supported each other and won widespread acceptance in the upper echelons of Spanish society.

Lady Anne was indubitably a very successful ambassadress; however, Oliván Santaliestra's work on other seventeenth-century women who performed a similar role suggests she was far from unique. Indeed, envoys were increasingly selected with due consideration of the dynastic capital and social status of their wives, a practice that continued into the second half of the twentieth century, in the new world as well as the old. In this modern context, Kenneth Weisbrode's chapter usefully explores the official measure taken of American ambassadors in terms of their wives' abilities to use their personal charm and powers of domestic organization to transform the ambassadorial home into an effective space of informal diplomacy. Nevra Biltekin expands on this theme in the setting of the second half of the

twentieth century in Sweden. There, ambitious young diplomats inevitably endeavoured to find rich and socially accomplished wives who would improve their career prospects, a strategy that was not so far removed from many a dynastic marriage of earlier times.

The *longue durée* view offers us a wide range of evidence of individual women with formidable diplomatic clout, who operated not in a matrimonial team, but in their own right. Bastian's study of the letters of influential court-based women highlights the central place of Anne-Marie de La Trémoille and Madame de Maintenon in the relationship between the French and Spanish crowns in the second half of the seventeenth century. Anne-Marie de La Trémoille was one of the most noteworthy brokers of news and influence in Europe. Companion and first lady of the bedchamber to Marie Louise, the French wife of Philip V of Spain, and weekly correspondent of Madame de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of Louis XIV, La Trémoille was so close to the royal couple as to be viewed by some as a member of a triumvirate. She saw seven French ambassadors come and go at the Spanish court and although this degree of political longevity was probably rare, it is clear that her closeness to power, rather than her gender, was the key to diplomatic success. Both Madame de Maintenon and La Trémoille gathered information and represented the interests of the ruler in negotiating his affairs, standard tasks of any male ambassador. Bastian points out that nowhere were their duties written down, allowing them greater political flexibility than the formally appointed envoys. Occasionally, Madame de Maintenon and the Princesse des Ursins invoked the stereotypes associated with their gender, pleading ignorance and female incapacity when they wanted to disclaim their involvement in difficult diplomatic situations; but this occurred in the context of a widespread recognition, even by the Pope, that the women were unusually influential intermediaries with the French and Spanish monarchs.

As Glenda Sluga shows in her essay, Germaine de Staël and Dorothea Lieven offer more (relatively) modern examples of the ways in which similarly exceptional women, with noble connections through either marriage or birth, utilized letters, networks and new forms of sociability to influence key episodes in international politics through the first half of the nineteenth century, a period of dramatic political transformations. Importantly, these individual cases traversed the connected courts and distinctive political cultures of the Russian, British, Swedish and French empires. Staël and Lieven's involvement in the emergent European 'congress' system of international conferencing lead us to the cultural and political shifts that by the late eighteenth century had altered the contexts in which individual women could exercise agency.

The coinage of the term 'international' in the 1790s (in English at least) was symptomatic of the changing conceptions of political sovereignty and diplomacy in this period – under the auspices of the Enlightenment and the American and French revolutions. The 1814 Congress of Vienna that marked the end of the Napoleonic wars (precipitately as it turned out) was a crucial axis of these transformations, representing both the old ways – as the 'dancing congress' identified with courtly and aristocratic interests and the overt presence of women – and the new,

introducing the promise of a 'scientific' approach to diplomacy and international politics, characterized by reasoned discussion among men acting as the representatives of sovereigns or sovereign states.¹⁰ The history of those changes coincided too with slow inclusion of an emerging middle class in the politics and cultures of sovereign statehood.¹¹

Several essays included here illustrate that in the first half of the nineteenth century, new diplomatic practices and processes did not preclude women's agency and influence in that political sphere. The feminine salon, the means of political intervention favoured by aristocratic women in the Enlightenment environment of the eighteenth century, remained a staple of informal diplomatic sociability, albeit in historically specific forms.¹² Not all diplomatic sociability was about the salon, but all diplomacy still turned around the utility of sociability.¹³ Despite its French origins, the geographical reach of the salon reflected the supranationality of a persistently aristocratic diplomatic culture – whether we think of the practitioners of diplomacy, or its actual practices. As Sluga argues, in the first half of the nineteenth century, exceptional women such as Staël and Lieven made use of the salon as an informal forum from where they competed with courts and ministries for influence over state policy (including foreign policy) and over statesmen (including foreign statesmen).

At the same time, the entry in the nineteenth century of a new 'bourgeois' class was accompanied by new gender expectations.¹⁴ As the nineteenth century wore on, diplomatic processes formally shifted to the halls of institutionalized political power, where the elected as well as appointed representatives of 'the people' sat in session, away from the influence of women. This was a coincidence that overlapped with Staël and Lieven's own lives; both were pilloried at various times for exceeding their acceptable social roles. (The illustration on the cover of this volume, which ridicules Staël's political agency through sexual innuendo, was typical of such attacks.) The institutionalization of diplomatic processes and practitioners with obligations to sovereign and increasingly national states not only firmed up the masculine identification of the diplomat and state-based politics, but also meant that women's conventionalized roles were formally delimited to those of 'wives' complementing their husband's ambitions. The gendered division of labour that historians have noted in British diplomacy after 1780, with its origins in domestic policies and its impact on the importance of marriage for diplomats, and disapproval of 'libertinage,' gradually extended across the sovereign borders of European empires. These transformations fundamentally shaped the gendered practices of twentieth-century diplomacy, and the exceptionalism of women's international political agency.¹⁵

It is also true, as the contributors to this volume argue, that even as the division between the public and private became germane to the organization of modern political life, and the political influence of the *feminine* salon was somewhat tamed, the significance of sociability as well as the importance of the nexus of the private and public persisted. The French diplomat Maurice Paléologue described late nineteenth-century Parisian *société* as 'the world in which ambassadors moved.'¹⁶

Even as diplomacy was understood to be ‘a masculine realm of conquest and fame,’ the spaces of diplomacy were not offices, or even corridors, but rather salons ‘lined with mirrors, round oval tables covered with cloths of gold-fringed velvet, [where men] moved among long-trained dresses, deep mysteries, anguish concealed by smiles.’¹⁷ In Weisbrode’s reflective rendering of what we can know about Evangeline Bell Bruce, the daughter and wife of diplomats, who presided over one of the mid-twentieth-century’s great salons – initially in Paris, later in London and Washington – we discover a habit of sociability where elites would regularly gather, collude and conspire, although as much in personal matters as in the great issues of high politics. These salons, in partial contrast to their eighteenth-century predecessors, were less ostensibly about ideas than about furthering intimacy for its own sake, political and geopolitical ramifications notwithstanding. Biltekin’s essay on Swedish diplomatic wives in the second half of the twentieth century offers evidence too of the continuing importance of the figure of the ambadress presiding over the embassy as an extension of the household, and, simultaneously, as a symbol of the national culture. Biltekin lays out a landscape in which, ‘he as the official representative, she as the hostess, who with her femininity and her ability to “put on a show” helped promote Sweden in the sphere of the residence.’ When it came to international politics, without the presence of salons, and the force of sociability, male diplomats would have to spin a different fabric of international relations.

These contradictions inevitably produced anxieties around women’s international and diplomatic agency, further evidence of the significance of gender ideology and of cases of ideological transgression. They suggest, too, that a gendered division of diplomatic labour was at least in part a method of containing the influence of exceptional individual women above and beyond conventionalized feminine roles in sovereign state-based processes. The case studies analysed here highlight the ways in which feminism was as disruptive an influence on the history of diplomacy in the modern era, and on the reconceptualization of power in the international arena.

By the twentieth century, the rise of a liberal feminist movement was taking its own toll on the masculine exclusivity of international political cultures. Madeleine Herren’s global view of the gender discourses of diplomacy makes clear that these changes occurred in transnational or even international contexts, and that they did not take place without a struggle.¹⁸ Herren argues that, in the interwar period, the League of Nations acted as a crucible for the idea that women might represent state as well as non-state interests: ‘As the paradigm of new, multilateral, public-oriented international relations, the League showcased the importance of informal connections and networks, of expertise and technical know-how, the areas open to women.’ Laura Beers gives us a close-up view of the formative role of female non-state actors in expanding the possibilities for public diplomacy, and the social agendas that were eventually incorporated as the legitimate concerns of international politics. The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom was both of its time and ahead of its time; for our purposes, the group helped to make the first half of the twentieth century a period in which social justice issues and feminist ambitions were negotiated in diplomatic fora.

Through the twentieth century, as Herren and Beers maintain, women were more commonly to be found as non-state actors in the field of international politics – a terrain that, by that time, more easily accommodated them than the nation.¹⁹ Of course, the concept of a non-state actor is a relatively modern one. Through these essays we can track the changes in women's status and the kinds of agency they adopted in relation to other transformations in the nature of political cultures, including the rise of international organizations such as the League of Nations. Herren ventures that 'the difficult and inconsistent introduction of female diplomats shows that the dynamics of change started at the peripheries of international relations, within the informal international networks located in Geneva and at the lower end rungs of the ladder of diplomatic representation.'

The inroads made by early twentieth-century feminists – gaining suffrage and the right to national citizenship, even if not everywhere in Europe – were as important for the history of state-based diplomacy. Helen McCarthy's examination of women in the British diplomatic service, along with Philip Nash's overview of the careers of the first six American female chiefs of mission, takes us into a distinctive realm of female involvement: they tell us the story of how, in these circumstances, women became employed as the formal representatives of states. In the British case, women were eventually included in the diplomatic service only in 1946. Before then, the British state was determined to preserve diplomacy as an exclusively masculine profession. Indeed, in some cases, foreign ministries were most persistent in blocking the appointment of women, above and beyond the call of other state functions. It is no coincidence that in the first half of the twentieth century, the famous British diplomat (and historian of diplomacy) Harold Nicolson assumed that women's alleged qualities of intuition and sympathy rendered them a diplomatic liability.

The road from the early modern experiences of connected women to the modern moment of the state-appointed female diplomat proved to be long, winding, paradoxical and often unpredictable. McCarthy maintains that in the British case, after 1946, prejudice about women's capacity to construct viable professional identities as career diplomats continued to hinder their progress. She cites as an example the fact that until 1973 it was not acceptable for a female diplomat to be married. Indeed, even after women were formally admitted to the Foreign Service, diplomatic careers were structured in ways that privileged an elite form of masculinity, not least in relation to the unpaid labour supplied by diplomatic wives. As a result, the first generation of British female diplomats, although frequently sharing the same privileged social and educational backgrounds as their male colleagues, struggled to overcome their 'outsider' status. Anxious to be accepted as members of the diplomatic club, their presence nonetheless challenged the pre-existing gender hierarchies underpinning British diplomatic culture. Philip Nash's essay extends our understanding of the gender structures that pervaded a distinctive modern American diplomatic culture of political appointments. His essay illustrates the continuing importance of connections and money as enabling factors for the rise of individual women in diplomacy. In the case of Swedish diplomatic wives, however, as Bilteken explains, second-wave feminism was the spur to new demands for the

official recognition of their services to the state, moving the conventionally private contribution of the ambassadress more openly into the public realm.

We have conceived of this volume not as a women's history in place of a gender history, but rather as a contribution to an accumulating historiography, with a special emphasis on adding women to the *longue durée* of early modern and modern diplomacy and the evolution of national and international politics. Among our aims has been the foregrounding of new evidence and new themes that challenge existing versions and chronologies of national and international pasts. The essays here not only diversify our understanding of the place of women in the history of diplomacy, they also introduce distinctive methodologies. While the study of letters is a dominant means for accessing the stories of women's agency and ideas in the early modern era, the modern history of women in diplomacy and international politics has allowed for the use of oral histories (McCarthy, Weisbrode and Biltekin), and quantitative and qualitative structural analyses (Herren), as well as multiple national and transnational, public and private archives. Theoretically, the same histories that emphasize the agency and influence of women are implicitly gender histories. The contributors reflect on the significance of gender difference and the political importance of gender relations in the sense that Joan Scott intended so long ago: 'meanings of sexual difference are invoked and contested as part of many kinds of struggles for power.' The contestations of meaning that shaped the story of women's presence, and their absence, include the stories of the ways in which women's political ambitions were deemed illegitimate or channelled into informal and private outlets.

As a number of contributors point out, for both the early modern and modern era, women's correspondence was often separated from its original diplomatic context as busy archivists of the nineteenth century reordered earlier collections into public and private categories. It is no coincidence that in the early twentieth-century mainly male historians could describe diplomacy's modern qualities as precisely 'not the art of conversation' which implied feminine qualities, but, instead, the more masculine 'art of negotiating agreements in precise and ratifiable form . . . far better left to the professional diplomat.'²⁰ Herren's contribution analyses in close-up the twentieth-century tale of the disappearance of women from the disciplinary fields that constructed modern knowledge about international relations and gave it its dominant masculine flavour. We still know very little about the details of the role of disciplinary knowledge in silencing women and their concerns – whether in the social sciences or history. But adding women to mainstream international relations histories reminds us of both women's exclusion and the considerable ideological work that women themselves undertook in order to alter their situation, and that men employed to make them irrelevant to the concerns of international politics.

The emphasis in the volume overall on the recovery of female agency – 'the lost and silenced contribution of women to international relations' – constitutes a methodological choice.²¹ It allows us to recover the voices of the women agents themselves, who understood their weak standing. Recalling her role in a vital

foreign policy episode in 1825, the Russian *ambassadrice* Dorothea Lieven revelled in the fact that ‘the most cautious and discreet of Ministers [had been] compelled to entrust the most confidential, most intimate and most bold political projects to a woman. It was new and something to laugh at.’ She also used the voice of the Russian foreign minister to emphasize the special qualities a woman might bring to diplomacy: “‘A woman knows how to make people,” said Count de Nesselrode to me, “and that is precisely why the Emperor considers you are a unique opportunity and your presence here has been a unique opportunity.”’²² The chapters show how hard it is to overestimate the initiatives that women in the past took to engage in the larger questions that underscored foreign policy, namely war and peace.²³

For all the diversity of political cultures in Europe, let alone outside, the evidence in these essays proves that the similarities in modern gender cultures, and early modern courtly society, were the palimpsests that set the similarities in women’s experience of diplomacy and foreign relations. By placing studies of early modern women alongside those of later women, who accompanied their husbands to foreign postings, or endeavoured to carve out a career in their own right within the diplomatic services of their countries, we see great differences in the ways that women participated in politics over 500 years. This includes the changes and consistency in the status of women, different classes of women and their roles, in the transition from an ‘old’ to a new diplomacy, and the practices of modern ‘public diplomacy’ described by Nash, Herren and Beers. The continuities are as apparent in the common threads of family connections, personal friendships, ‘goodwill diplomacy’ and the salon or court as an enabling space for women who longed to be recognized as cultural and political mediators. If, as the cultural studies scholar Timothy Hampton has suggested, ‘the increasing importance of diplomacy in the conduct of political affairs, both foreign and domestic, was an innovation that built on and transformed earlier traditions of political communication and negotiation,’ those traditions included women’s simultaneous presence and absence.²⁴

Notes

- 1 The work of Sylvia Bashevkin has shown that over time, more women were appointed to decision-making posts in the traditionally masculine realm of foreign affairs. As expected, results varied widely in cross-national terms, with Finland, Sweden, the US and Norway tending toward highest levels of numerical representation. See the essay based on her presentation at the EUI conference that initiated this volume: ‘Numerical and Policy Representation on the International Stage: Women foreign policy leaders in Western industrialised systems,’ *International Political Science Review*, 2014, vol. 35.4, pp409–429.
- 2 In the 1990s, before Madeleine Albright took office as United States ambassador to the United Nations (1993–1997), let alone secretary of state (1997–2001), Edward Crapol had recovered the role of women as ‘lobbyists’ or ‘critics,’ rather than ‘insiders,’ operating from the margins, or sidelines, whether as Eleanor Roosevelt or Jane Fonda. See *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists Critics and Insiders*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987.
- 3 For a more detailed version of this argument, see Glenda Sluga ‘Madame de Staël and the Transformation of European Politics, 1812–1817,’ *International History Review*, published

- online January 2014; and Glenda Sluga, 'Gender,' in Patrick Finney, *Advances in International History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005, p300: 'The story is no longer about the things that have happened to women and men and how they have reacted to them; instead it is about how the subjective and collective meanings of women and men as categories of identity have been constructed.'
- 4 See, for example, Emily S. Rosenberg, 'Gender,' *Journal of American History*, 1990, vol. 77, pp116–124. Homer Calkin, *Women in the Department of State: Their Role in American Foreign Affairs*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978; Barbara J. Steinson, *American Women's Activism in World War I*, New York: Garland, 1982; Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, New York: Basic Books, 1988; Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1987.
 - 5 See, for example, Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World: The Rise of the Female Diplomat*, London: Bloomsbury, 2014; see Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917–1994*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995; Glenda Sluga, *The Nation, Psychology and International Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006; Julie Anne Demel, *Regard historique sur la diplomatie féminine en Autriche et en France*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013; Yves Denéchére, *Femmes et diplomatie, France-XXe siècle*, Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2004; Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz, *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009; Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
 - 6 For discussion of these developments, see Sluga, 'Gender.'
 - 7 It is also true that unlike other historiographies, where the turn to gender built on a preliminary interest in putting women back in the historical picture – first there was women's history, then there was gender history – the dicta of women's history has rarely been in evidence among international historians. Putting women back into the historical picture was a much more primitive phase in the development of gender history, but it was a crucial phase, and one that has been lacking in the renewal of international history. Turning their attention to gender, many international historians forgot, or forewent, the importance of looking for the agency that women have exercised in the past, or of using a search for their agency as the basis for reflecting on the nature of power in international political concerns.
 - 8 Jeroen Duindam, 'The Politics of Female Households,' in *The Politics of Female Household. Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadime Akkerman and Birgit Houben, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014, pp365–370.
 - 9 On the dangers of misleadingly dichotomous terminology such as public/private or informal/formal in relation to the political roles of women and men at court, see Duindam, 'The Politics of Female Households.'
 - 10 Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763–1848*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p803; Castlereagh to Liverpool, Aix, 20 October 1818, ff. 67–68. Ms 38566, *Liverpool Papers*, British Library.
 - 11 See Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, New York: New York Review of Books, 2005, p289.
 - 12 Hamish Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe,' in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, Scott, H.M. & Simms, B., eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp58–85, 83.; cf. Jennifer Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe 1750–1830*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, p10.

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- 13 Benedetta Craveri has argued, 'diplomacy and society had been closely interconnected in France for at least a hundred years, and the eighteenth century only wove the web more tightly.' Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, p289.
- 14 Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy*, p10.
- 15 Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy*, p213.
- 16 Maurice Paléologue, *The Romantic Diplomat. Talleyrand, Metternich and Chateaubriand*, tr. Arthur Chambers, London: Hutchinson, 1926, pvii.
- 17 Paléologue, *The Romantic Diplomat*, p16.
- 18 See also McCarthy's excellent survey of the British history of women in diplomacy, *Women of the World*.
- 19 Glenda Sluga, 'Female and National Self-Determination: A Gender Re-reading of "the Apogee of Nationalism,"' *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6. 4, 2000, pp495–521.
- 20 Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, London: Harcourt Brace, 1939.
- 21 Sluga, 'Gender,' p301.
- 22 Lieven in Harold Temperley, ed., *The Unpublished Diary and Political Sketches of Princess Lieven Together with Some of her Letters*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1925, p98.
- 23 See Joseph Turquan and Jules D'Auriac, *Une Aventurière de Haut Vol Lady Hamilton Ambassadrice d'Angleterre et la Révolution de Naples, d'après des document inédits (1763–1815)*, Paris: Émile-Paul, 1913.
- 24 Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 2009, p189.