

Edited by Jill Campbell-Miller,  
Greg Donaghy, and Stacey Barker

# Breaking Barriers, Shaping Worlds

## Canadian Women and the Search for Global Order



# Contents

Acknowledgments / ix

Introduction: “Where Are the Women?” / 3

*Jill Campbell-Miller and Greg Donaghy*

## **Part I: Women in Missions, Aid, and Development**

- 1 Quietly Contesting Patriarchy: Dr. Jessie MacBean’s  
Medical Work in South China, 1925–35 / 21  
*Kim Girouard*
- 2 A Mission for Modernity: Canadian Women in Medical  
and Nursing Education in India, 1946–66 / 39  
*Jill Campbell-Miller*
- 3 Life Stories, Wife Stories: Women Advisors on Economic  
Development / 63  
*David Webster*

## Part 2: Women in International Resistance

- 4 Historically Invisible: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1914–29 / 93  
*Sharon Anne Cook and Lorna McLean*
- 5 Collecting Teeth for Peace: The Voice of Women, the Baby Tooth Survey, and the Search for Security in the Atomic Age / 116  
*Susan Colbourn*
- 6 Marie Smallface-Marule: An Indigenous Internationalist / 135  
*Jonathan Crossen*

## Part 3: Women in Diplomacy

- 7 P.K. Page and the Art of Diplomacy: An Ambassadorial Wife in Brazil / 161  
*Eric Fillion*
- 8 Jean Casselman Wadds: Patriation, Dinner Party Wars, and a Political Diplomat / 183  
*Steve Marti and Francine McKenzie*
- 9 Flora MacDonald: Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1979–80 / 205  
*Joe Clark*

Conclusion: Breaking Historiographic Barriers / 212  
*Dominique Marshall*

Greg Donaghy: An Appreciation / 222  
*Patricia E. Roy*

Bibliography / 226

Contributors / 246

Index / 248

# Introduction

## “Where Are the Women?”

*Jill Campbell-Miller and Greg Donaghy*

IN 1994, POLITICAL SCIENTIST Deborah Stienstra asked, “Can the silence be broken?”<sup>1</sup> Stienstra referred to the silence surrounding gender in the analysis of foreign policy within Canadian political science. It was not enough, for her, to merely tackle “women as a subject.”<sup>2</sup> Rather, it was imperative to analyze the underlying gender relations on which the whole field was constructed. Stienstra, along with her colleagues Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander, coedited a book titled *Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy* nearly a decade later, in 2003. In the preface to that volume, they noted that their reports, based on two roundtables on gender and Canadian foreign policy “attracted much interest, but also some hostility, from policy makers.”<sup>3</sup> In the introduction to their book, they asked “why there might still be reluctance to integrate feminist critiques and to address gendered analysis in the analysis of Canadian foreign policy and foreign policy more generally.”<sup>4</sup>

Much has changed. For example, by 2019 some of the top positions at Global Affairs Canada (GAC), including foreign minister, deputy minister, and assistant deputy minister of strategic policy, were filled by women (though significantly, all white women). The department itself had reoriented to focus on issues applicable to gender and women, particularly in the arena of international development. In 2017 the department renamed Canada’s foreign aid program the Feminist International Assistance Policy. Though skeptics remain guarded about the concrete outcomes of this female-forward

reorientation within GAC, the difficult questions posed by scholars such as Stienstra in the 1990s and early 2000s helped make such a change possible.

Canadian historians of diplomacy and foreign policy can be less sanguine about their field's achievements. With a few notable exceptions, the silence surrounding women and gender relations in histories that investigate Canada and the world has been profound. Despite the changing nature of Canadian international history over the last twenty years, women still rarely feature as central characters. In striking contrast to recent US historiography, there is little scholarship investigating the participation of Canadian women in global affairs as diplomats, aid workers, or members of non-state transnational networks. When reviewing the present state of Canadian international historiography, one can still easily ask, as political scientist Cynthia Enloe did of US international relations history in 1990, "Where are the women?"<sup>5</sup>

This book offers a concise answer: they are everywhere. Though often hidden, forgotten, or ignored, wherever Canada's global influence has been felt in the past century, Canadian women were there. Whether as activists working at home to change Canada's foreign policy, through nascent efforts in humanitarianism and international development, or in the arena of formal diplomacy, women's paid or unpaid work was consequential in shaping the trajectory of Canada's relationship with the world in the twentieth century. This book is the first edited collection to specifically examine women who shaped Canada's international history.

The chapters within this volume break barriers, taking seriously the role of women in a variety of contexts, whether it be within the domestic sphere or as official agents of the state. More often, as these chapters show, women's work occupied the liminal space between these two extremes and thus remained hidden; their so-called domestic activities greased the wheels of officialdom, while their paid work often operated in gendered spaces considered worthwhile yet unremarkable. This collection not only makes visible these usually hidden or downplayed efforts, it also treats them with the same analytic rigour that traditional diplomatic history is granted. The authors do not seek to make new heroes, or to celebrate women who operated in the same complicated, imperialist, and racialized spaces as men. Rather, they aim to fill out a fuller and more comprehensive picture of Canada's global past.

## Canada's New International History

As such, this book fits in with historiographical efforts already under way in Canada. For decades, Canadian international history unfolded as the story of Canada's diplomatic and trade relations with a small set of countries managed by a small set of actors. Generations of historians tracked prime ministers and foreign ministers, all white and mostly male, as they toiled alongside a similar group of ministers, diplomats, and bureaucrats. Diligently, historians documented Ottawa's pursuit of the national interest within the narrow confines of John Bartlet Brebner's "North Atlantic triangle," even as they debated the relevance of his phrase, primarily interested in the outsized role that London and Washington played in defining Canada's domestic and international histories.<sup>6</sup> The best work was meticulously researched, solidly grounded in archives and interviews, and elegantly written. It illuminated the profound ways that global events have shaped Canada's national history and, in turn, how Canada has influenced world affairs.

Over the past two decades, international history in Canada has changed dramatically. Inspired by the emergence of transnational history in the United States and Europe, historians interested in Canada's international past have broadened their outlook and subject matter considerably. As editors Asa McKercher and Philip Van Huizen explain in the introduction to their 2019 collection, *Undiplomatic History: The New Study of Canada and the World*, the "goal is to move away from an exclusive focus on diplomatic history, viewed (rightly, in certain ways) as hidebound, elitist, and overly concerned with the state and the small group of white males who dominated it."<sup>7</sup> Instead, by expanding their scope of analysis, McKercher and Van Huizen aim to situate past diplomacy in its broadest domestic and external contexts, incorporating the approaches of transnational and global history into the study of Canada's international history.<sup>8</sup> In the introduction to their earlier collection, *Dominion of Race: Rethinking Canada's International History*, Laura Madokoro and Francine McKenzie succinctly summarize this shift as an expansion in the field's "subject, geography, and methodology."<sup>9</sup>

These changes are especially evident in three ways. First, historians are more curious than ever about *who* is relevant to Canada's international past. Here, historians of Canadian foreign policy have gained inspiration from

other historical approaches. For example, primarily since the 1980s, historians have begun to study traditionally marginalized immigrant and refugee groups, expanding their interest beyond those hailing from the British Isles and considerably broadening our understanding of Canada's domestic political and social histories.<sup>10</sup> Yet it is only recently that historians of international relations and diplomacy have begun to understand how previously overlooked populations are relevant to Canada's role in the world, and to employ new methodologies to examine these groups.

Transnational methodologies extract Canada and its peoples from their singular state and relocate them within a global context of interconnected empires and communities, ideas, and relationships. As the chapters in the 2015 collection *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History* demonstrate, important domestic policies surrounding colonialism and assimilation, immigration, or even health care are thrown into new light when connected to ideologies and movements extending beyond Canada's borders.<sup>11</sup> Such methodologies are also useful for excavating the histories of Canadians who reached out globally to find inspiration and drive change at home or abroad outside the confines of government institutions. Reframing who is of interest in Canada's international history allows for an expanded view of what constitutes influence and power.

Second, historians have broadened *where* they are looking for global connections in Canada's international past. Just as studies of migration highlight an expanded geography in understanding Canada's domestic past, looking beyond the United States and Great Britain yields fascinating insights into Canada's connections with the world. Though relations with countries in Asia, Africa, or Latin America may rarely have been at the centre of the Department of External Affairs' political map, these geographies nevertheless generate important stories about events and activities central to Canada's self-image and place in the world. Some recently published edited collections focusing largely on topics that look beyond North America and Europe, including *Canada and the Third World: Overlapping Histories*, edited by Karen Dubinsky, Sean Mills, and Scott Rutherford, and *A Samaritan State Revisited: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Aid*, edited by Greg Donaghy and David Webster, exemplify this interest.<sup>12</sup>

Third, historians have broadened their view of *what* is relevant to Canada's international history. As historians look beyond formal diplomatic relationships for deeper insights into Canada's global engagement, they have exploited innovative theoretical and methodological approaches to raise

new and sometimes difficult questions about this history. Indigenous history and postcolonial theory have been particularly influential. While Canada's own position as a colony preoccupied early generations of historians interested in international relations, relatively little thought had been given to Canada's own history as a colonial and imperial actor. However, newer scholarship examining interactions between the British and French Crowns and sovereign Indigenous nations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries allows for a fuller understanding of the significance of 1867.<sup>13</sup> This appreciation provokes and troubles previously held assumptions about Canada's "domestic" history, something that many Indigenous leaders have long understood, and as Jonathan Crossen points out in [Chapter 6](#). Seeing Indigenous peoples as nations acting within an international context of transnational empire brings new, complex dimensions to the study of Canada and the world.

Despite the many original contributions made in recent years to Canada's international history, there has been an omission. In the five edited collections mentioned above, only seven chapters of sixty have focused exclusively on women or gender.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, almost every academic paper on women and gender published in the *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* has been written by political scientists about contemporary issues.<sup>15</sup> This collection offers a starting point for scholars interested in rectifying women's absence in Canada's international history.

### **Finding Women in the Historiography**

Though it explores a new dimension of Canadian historiography, this book naturally builds on the shoulders of other historians who have written about women on the global stage. Much of this work has occurred outside of Canada. As well as a growing number of biographies and memoirs, scholars have focused on the work of European, British, and American women abroad, for example, by examining women who have been unofficial partners in diplomacy.<sup>16</sup> The journal *Diplomatic History* has often been a venue for writing about the history of women in international relations in the United States.

In Canada, there is a small historiography on women in global affairs. There is very little, for instance, on women diplomats and diplomatic partners. Yet to understand the history of Canadian diplomacy and the Department of External Affairs, it is necessary to look beyond those formally

employed by it. This is a point made by Christine Hantel-Fraser, who recorded her own experiences and interviewed others about their lives as “diplomatic wives.”<sup>17</sup> Journalist Margaret Weiers’ *Envoys Extraordinary: Women of the Canadian Foreign Service*, published in 1995, profiled pioneers and individual women working in the Department of External Affairs and its successor departments.<sup>18</sup> Claire Turenne Sjolander also wrote about one of Canada’s most important female diplomats, Margaret Meagher, in an edited collection about the department published in 2009.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, as British scholar Vivien Hughes lamented over a decade ago, there are still no memoirs by significant Canadian career women diplomats.<sup>20</sup>

Canadian scholars have focused on women’s role in the peace movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and on international meetings that brought women together to pursue political action.<sup>21</sup> They have also looked at women’s roles within international organizations, such as the Red Cross and the Girl Guides.<sup>22</sup> Tarah Brookfield, for instance, has examined the careers of women who worked for international agencies such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, as well as the varied experiences of women’s activism in Canada on international issues related to child welfare throughout the Cold War.<sup>23</sup> Traditionally, such gendered efforts were seen as beyond formal state-to-state relations and, therefore, of less importance. Yet as Brookfield demonstrates, they played crucial roles in the creation of durable international and transnational networks between people and organizations. These types of networks fostered conditions that allowed for the formation of a rules-based global international order among Western nations after the devastating ruptures of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Women’s work, invisible or visible, helped form the backbone of postwar male-led international organizations, societies, and regimes.

Two other overlapping areas have received particular attention from Canadian and international scholars interested in women and their relationship with global movements: missionary history and the history of medicine and nursing. While much older writing about missionaries amounted to little more than hagiographies, recent scholarship has found new ways to understand the work and roles of missionaries within the context of imperialism.<sup>24</sup> Like the “modern women” doctors that Ruth Compton Brouwer studies in her work, medical missionaries often displayed an unyielding commitment to their scientific professions while maintaining strong beliefs surrounding their Christian faiths.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, nurses who travelled abroad

to work played a role in shaping perceptions about the role of women in public life and institutions. Karen Flynn's scholarship shows that Caribbean nurses who worked abroad not only filled an important need in newly developing public health systems in the UK and Canada, but also engaged in international nursing organizations that built networks between professional women living in different countries.<sup>26</sup> Understanding the stories of working women in global professional environments adds a new dimension to Canada's role in the twentieth century, moving the conversation beyond government-sponsored actions.

### **Breaking Barriers, Shaping Worlds**

The chapters in this book explore three major themes associated with the role of Canadian women on the world stage during the twentieth century. The first three chapters explore the role of Canadian women in the fields of foreign aid, international development, and global humanitarian work. They went first as missionaries, but by the second half of the twentieth century, they were volunteering abroad through international non-governmental organizations. Though some Canadian women, such as Lotta Hitschmanova, the founder of USC Canada, rose to public prominence for their work, most laboured in obscurity. This was certainly true of Jessie MacBean, the subject of the book's opening chapter, by Kim Girouard. It examines an important precedent to women's work in the postwar international development field – the role of medical missionaries abroad. Though the work of such women is controversial, given the association between mission work and “Anglo-Saxon” imperialism, it was nonetheless meaningful and important. MacBean played a leading part in the organization of the first preventive health services for mothers and infants in South China at the Hackett Medical College for Women in Guangzhou (Canton) between 1925 and 1935. A parallel theme in Girouard's work is the opportunity granted to MacBean to rise above the restrictions based on gender in place for women in medicine in her own country.

This theme is echoed in Jill Campbell-Miller's chapter on the work of two Canadian women in India as medical educators during the two decades immediately after India's independence: Edith Buchanan and Florence Nichols. In this era so close to India's recent imperial past, these two white Canadians were granted privileges based on their connections to this history. Yet, their undoubted medical expertise was acknowledged and valued as

institutions in India worked hard to modernize and create an independent postcolonial state. Both women were educational leaders at historically significant nursing and medical colleges in India. Their work illuminates India's post-independence ambitions and the role that these professional women played in the context of the newly developing field of international development.

Women played other vital yet overlooked roles in shaping Canada's post-war relations with an emerging Global South. Historian Susanna Erlandsson reminds us that traditional diplomatic historians have misunderstood the crucial role of gender and women's work in the diplomatic field, which often blended the domestic and public spheres and, as a result, have produced factually incorrect scholarship.<sup>27</sup> Both David Webster and, later in the book, Eric Fillion explore this overlap and the crucial role that Canadian women have played in shaping their spouses' diplomatic postings.

Wives, Webster insists, were often diplomatic assets necessary for the success of development work in the middle decades of the twentieth century. His chapter on the wives of technical assistance advisors explores four "wife stories" that offer insights into the forgotten role of women's labour in this field. Barbara Cadbury, Beatrice Keyfitz, and Beatrice Harding were women married to so-called experts employed to live and work abroad as technical advisors. Eleanor Hinder's case diverges from the other three in that she was legally and socially unable to marry her long-term partner, a woman who worked in the US foreign service. Taking UN posts working in technical assistance allowed Hinder to remain close to her life partner. Regardless of their sexual orientation or their roles "behind the scenes" or as professionals in their own right, the women in Webster's piece demonstrate the intertwined nature of the professional and personal in diplomacy, highlighting the role that women played in "caring labour" and social duties in an international context.

The second section of the book profiles women who acted internationally or who became politically active on issues and in networks of international significance. Sharon Anne Cook and Lorna McLean survey the range of women's peace-based organizations before and during the First World War, resulting in the founding of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), in 1915. Their chapter profiles six prominent women from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom who were recognized as global leaders in peace ideology. Despite their influence on important public figures of the day, most of these women have received

little public or scholarly attention. Why, Cook and McLean pointedly ask, is there such public amnesia around women peace activists during the First World War and interwar period, even as organizations such as the League of Nations remain firmly within public and historical memory? Their answer is complex. They describe women who upended prevailing gender norms, arguing for peace from an academic rather than maternalist position. Yet, as Cook and McLean show, they were also self-effacing, adhering to gendered expectations that valued their silence, modesty, and submission. They were sadly complicit, this chapter points out, in erasing their social and political contributions.

Women were also written out of later histories of Canadian peace activism. This is true, for instance, of the national debates over nuclear weapons policy in the late 1950s, usually depicted as a confrontation between Progressive Conservative prime minister John Diefenbaker and his male ministers. Susan Colbourn's chapter on the women's peace movement in this era examines a generation of women activists who fiercely opposed atomic weapons testing programs, restoring women to the larger story. Focusing on the Voice of Women/la Voix des Femmes, a Canadian women's peace organization founded in 1960, Colbourn explores the strategies that this group employed in opposing nuclear testing, including making use of women's gendered roles as child care providers to enlist their participation in baby teeth research. She examines how the Voice of Women/la Voix des Femmes shaped the public conversation around militarization and nuclear weapons testing, arguing that they "blended personal, national, and global understandings of security."

The final chapter in this section, written by Jonathan Crossen, examines Indigenous internationalism through a profile of Marie Smallface-Marule. Born to the Indigenous Káínai community near Lethbridge, Alberta, Smallface-Marule developed an interest in both First Nations politics and international politics while studying at the University of Alberta in the 1960s. After encountering pan-Africanist ideas during volunteer stints with the international development organization Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) in Zambia, Smallface-Marule came to understand Indigenous oppression within its full global imperial and colonial context, tapping into a rich vein of intellectual and political power that could be mobilized for change. As a founding staff member of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, she helped push Indigenous activism beyond domestic politics and onto the global stage.

The final part of the book examines women who acted in the formal realm of diplomacy. Eric Fillion tackles the diplomatic journey of P.K. Page, the poet, author, and wife of Canadian diplomat W. Arthur Irwin. Irwin and Page spent much of the 1950s in Brazil, where he was posted as Canada's ambassador. Though Page did little public writing during this time, she was, as Fillion writes, "neither silent nor invisible." Her independent status as an "artist-ambassador" gave her access to a uniquely cultivated cultural capital and made her an effective cultural representative of Canada in Brazil. Fillion's description of Page's journey through the field of cultural diplomacy adds another dimension to Canadian international history that has gone largely unexamined, though it has been a subject of interest outside of Canada for some time.<sup>28</sup> Studies of cultural diplomacy allow for another way of finding women's contributions to international history outside of the confines of the embassy.<sup>29</sup>

Both Fillion and Webster's chapters name these women as diplomats, even though they were not officially recognized that way. Yet by the late twentieth century, it was increasingly common for women to be appointed as diplomats by the Canadian government, a theme explored in the book's third section. Steve Marti and Francine McKenzie examine the life and work of one high-ranking diplomat, Jean Casselman Wadds, the first Canadian woman appointed high commissioner to the United Kingdom. Though Casselman Wadds became high commissioner during a particularly sensitive time in Anglo-Canadian relations, as negotiations were under way to repatriate the Canadian constitution, her role has been diminished in historical memory and her mission minimized as just a "dinner party war." Marti and McKenzie challenge that view. Though Casselman Wadds downplayed her gender as irrelevant to her work, it profoundly shaped her diplomatic and strategic choices. Cultivating a "civil, refined, and charming" professional persona, Casselman Wadds emerged as an outstanding and effective high commissioner. Yet, Marti and McKenzie also point to Casselman Wadds' position as a privileged political insider, allowing her to navigate the gendered terrain of international affairs without fundamentally challenging or questioning the sexist barriers in place for other women.

Our final chapter stands apart from the rest. It offers a memoir and personal reflection on Canada's first woman secretary of state for external affairs, Flora MacDonald, the long-time Progressive Conservative politician. Authored by her former boss and colleague, Joe Clark, the prime minister who appointed her to his cabinet in 1979, it is a candid reflection on the

barriers to women's advancement in Ottawa. Most important, it is a forthright account of both MacDonald's shortcomings and accomplishments as foreign minister. More women have found homes within the arena of formal diplomacy in recent years. For example, as already alluded to, in 2019, Marta Morgan became the first female deputy minister of foreign affairs. In 2020, Kirsten Hillman became the first ambassador to the United States, and as in that same year women were serving as ambassadors to both the UK and France, all considered prestige postings. Yet by 2020, only three women had ever held the position of minister of foreign affairs, suggesting that Canadian federal politics remains one of the most regressive professional spaces for women in the country.

## Conclusion

Historians of Canada's international history must confront the silences embedded into our writing. As this book demonstrates, women's work has been consistently ignored, overlooked, or forgotten. However, more than that, this book also invites others to continue the work of uncovering how gender shaped Canada's presence in the world. In the past, Canada's search for a global order was limited by its adherence to strict gender roles that constrained its ability to solve diplomatic problems, increase trade, and address poverty. Finding women and other groups marginalized by traditional concepts of gender, including 2SLGBTQQA (two-spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual) people is an increasingly important task for historians of Canada's international history.

Several common themes emerge from these chapters. The first is the importance of biography and, as David Webster points out, prosopography (the collective biography of a linked group) to examining the history of women in international affairs. As many of these chapters show, the presence of Canadian women working and living abroad in the twentieth century, or working on political issues of international concern, was usually tied to very particular and personal life trajectories that set them apart from the dominant culture in which they lived. Whether they were staying within social boundaries as missionaries or wives, or contesting them as activists, understanding their unique life histories is important to placing them within their own social and historical context.

Related to this theme is the presence of women on the margins of political power. The cases of Barbara Cadbury and P.K. Page, or those profiled by

Sharon Anne Cook and Lorna McLean, are especially instructive. Despite Cadbury's vital role in shaping her husband's views and expertise on family planning (and the fundamental importance of women in the history of that often problematic transnational movement), Webster is the first historian to highlight Cadbury's own body of work as influential. P.K. Page seemed to fall silent while in Brazil, yet, as Fillion shows, measured by a different metric she was a sustained voice for Canada while in the country. Similarly, the women leaders of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, such as Canadian Julia Grace Wales, interacted with prominent politicians of the day, including Woodrow Wilson. Yet as Cook and McLean demonstrate, these activists' role as promoters of peace during an era very much concerned with international stability has been consistently forgotten, even if their ideas had currency among decision makers of the day.

The women who Cook and McLean discuss, as with Marie Smallface-Marule or those in the *Voice of Women/la Voix des Femmes*, found intellectual and physical homes in countercultural spaces as academics and activists. Sometimes, exclusion from political power allowed for a certain type of freedom. Unlike Jean Casselman Wadds or Flora MacDonald, who remained circumscribed by the political structures within which they worked, such women were free to speak truth to power. These were women who may have found themselves marginalized based on their gender (and race, in the case of Smallface-Marule), but that hardly prevented them from agitating on behalf of the issues that motivated them.

Yet even those women that stayed within the acceptable boundaries of their gender had to push against the dominant trends of their societies. For women like Jessie MacBean or Florence Nichols, simply to obtain their professional credentials was a major achievement in an era when few women joined the ranks of professional medicine. Though becoming Protestant missionaries as unmarried women was the height of propriety, as women with careers they used overseas positions to pursue professional achievement denied them in Canada, an act of rebellion cloaked in respectability. Similarly, as politicians and diplomats, Jean Casselman Wadds and Flora MacDonald were engaged in an act of feminism even if they rarely applied that label. Their willingness to shoulder these roles spoke to an inner belief in their equality with men, not to mention a steely determination that by its very nature countered sexist stereotypes.

The common element among all the women in this book, named or unnamed, high profile or invisible, remembered or forgotten, is an implicit

refusal to be confined within a space determined solely by predetermined gender roles. This is not to valorize them, as for the most part this book represents upper- or middle-class, educated, and white women with opportunities that others in their societies did not have. It is not the historian's job to find or make heroes to celebrate. At the most basic level, what the historians writing in this book do show is that *women were there*, that they are part of the story of Canada's place in the twentieth-century world, and that they influenced the societies within which they worked and lived, in sometimes immeasurable ways. Most profoundly, they show that as Canadian governments sought to construct a global order that allowed the country to remain secure and prosperous, women were assuredly and assertively part of that search, whether they stood within the diplomatic corps or, more often, beside and outside of it.

## Notes

- 1 Deborah Stienstra, "Can the Silence Be Broken? Gender and Canadian Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 50, 1 (1994–95): 103.
- 2 Stienstra, "Can the Silence Be Broken?" 104.
- 3 Deborah Stienstra, Claire Turenne Sjolander, and Heather A. Smith, "The Genesis and Journey of This Volume," in *Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy*, eds. Claire Turenne Sjolander, Heather A. Smith, and Deborah Stienstra (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003), xii.
- 4 Stienstra, Turenne Sjolander, and Smith, "Taking Up and Throwing Down the Gauntlet: Feminists, Gender, and Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy*, 2.
- 5 Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 1. The phrase was also used as the title in Rosemary Foot's review of Enloe's book: Rosemary Foot, "Where Are the Women? The Gender Dimension in the Study of International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 14, 4 (Fall 1990): 615–22.
- 6 For a recent historiographical review of past works of Canadian international history, see David Meren, "The Tragedies of Canadian International History," *Canadian Historical Review* 96, 4 (Winter 2015): 534–66.
- 7 Asa McKercher and Philip Van Huizen, "Introduction – Undiplomatic History: Rethinking Canada and the World," in *Undiplomatic History: The New Study of Canada and the World*, ed. Asa McKercher and Philip Van Huizen (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 5.
- 8 McKercher and Van Huizen, "Introduction," 3.
- 9 Laura Madokoro and Francine McKenzie, "Introduction: Writing Race into Canada's International History," in *Dominion of Race: Rethinking Canada's International History*, ed. Laura Madokoro, Francine McKenzie, and David Meren (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 5.
- 10 For summaries of this trend and relevant historiographies, see booklets produced in the Canadian Historical Association's Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series, for example, Marlene Epp, *Refugees in Canada: A Brief History*, Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada

Series 35 (Ottawa, ON: The Canadian Historical Association, 2017), <https://cha-shc.ca/uploads/5c374fbo05cfo.pdf>.

- 11 Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu, eds., *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).
- 12 Karen Dubinsky, Sean Mills, and Scott Rutherford, eds., *Canada and the Third World: Overlapping Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Greg Donaghy and David Webster, *A Samaritan State Revisited: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Aid* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2019).
- 13 For example, J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contact, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). See also scholarship by Peter Cook, e.g. "Onontio Gives Birth: How the French in Canada Became Fathers to Their Indigenous Allies, 1645–73," *Canadian Historical Review* 96, 2 (2015): 165–93.
- 14 This count excludes the introductions and conclusions of each volume. Whitney Wood, "Spreading the Gospel of Natural Birth: Canadian Contributions to an International Medical Movement, 1945–1960," in McKercher and Van Huizen, *Undiplomatic History*, 137–60; Amanda Ricci, "Making Global Citizens? Canadian Women at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City 1975," in McKercher and Van Huizen, *Undiplomatic History*, 206–29; P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Race, Gender and International 'Relations': African Americans and Aboriginal People on the Margins of Canada's North, 1942–48," in Madokoro, McKenzie, and Meren, *Dominion of Race*, 112–38; Karen Flynn, "'She Cannot be Confined to Her Own Region': Nursing and Nurses in the Caribbean, Canada, and the UK," in Dubinsky, Perry, and Yu, *Within and Without the Nation*, 228–49; Kristine Alexander, "Canadian Girls, Imperial Girls, Global Girls: Race, Nation, and Transnationalism in the Interwar Girl Guide Movement," in Yu, Perry, and Dubinsky, *Within and Without the Nation*, 276–92; Bettina Bradbury, "'In England a Man Can Do as He Likes with His Property': Migration, Family Fortunes, and the Law in Nineteenth Century Quebec and the Cape Colony," in Yu, Perry, and Dubinsky, *Within and Without the Nation*, 145–67; and Laura Ishiguro, "'How I Wish I Might Be Near': Distance and the Epistolary Family in Late-Nineteenth-Century Condolence Letters," in Yu, Perry, and Dubinsky, *Within and Without the Nation*, 212–27.
- 15 There are exceptions. Historian Janice Cavell offers an analysis of the highly gendered nature of the historiography about Canadian foreign policy in "Like Any Good Wife: Gender and Perceptions of Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945–75," *International Journal* 63, 2 (Spring 2008), 385–403.
- 16 See, for example, Susanna Erlandsson, "Off the Record: Margaret Van Kleffens and the Gendered History of Dutch World War II Diplomacy," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21, 1 (2019): 35–37; Dana Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations, 1865–1945* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014); Helen McCarthy, "Women, Marriage and Work in the British Diplomatic Service," *Women's History Review* 23, 6 (2014): 853–73; Molly Wood, "'Commanding Beauty' and 'Gentle Charm': American Women and Gender in the Early Twentieth-Century Foreign Service," *Diplomatic History* 31, 3 (June 2007): 505–30; and Molly Wood, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the 'Social Game' in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905–1941," *Journal of Women's History* 17, 2 (Summer 2005): 142–65.
- 17 See Sondra Gotlieb, *Wife of ... An Irreverent Account of Life in Washington* (Halifax, NS: Formac, 1987); and Christine Hantel-Fraser, *No Fixed Address: Life in the Foreign Service* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Other writings by "diplomatic wives" include Rae Hardy, *Distaff Diplomacy, or, My Elegant Life as a Diplomat's Wife* (Victoria, BC: Trafford on demand, 2001); Landon Pearson, *Letters from Moscow* (Newcastle, ON: Penumbra Press, 2003); and Tova Clark, *Compartmentments* (Newcastle, ON: Penumbra Press, 2005).

- 18 Margaret K. Weiers, *Envoys Extraordinary: Women of the Canadian Foreign Service* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995).
- 19 Claire Turenne Sjolander, "Margaret Meagher and the Role of Women in the Foreign Service: Groundbreaking or Housekeeping?" in *Architects and Innovators: Building the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1909–2009*, eds. Greg Donaghy and Kim Richard Nossal (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 223–36.
- 20 Vivien Hughes, "Women, Gender, and Canadian Foreign Policy, 1909–2009," *British Journal of Canadian Foreign Studies* 23, 2 (2010): 172.
- 21 Mary Jane Woodward Bean, *Julie Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace, 1914–1918* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2005); Mary Kinnear, *Woman of the World: Mary McGeachy and International Cooperation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Ricci, "Making Global Citizens?"
- 22 Kristine Alexander, "Canadian Girls, Imperial Girls, Global Girls: Race, Nation, and Transnationalism in the Interwar Girl Guide Movement," in Yu, Perry, and Dubinsky, *Within and Without the Nation*, 276–92; Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Sarah Glassford, *Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).
- 23 Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012).
- 24 See the recent issue of *Diplomatic History* on missionaries, and especially Laura R. Prietao, "Introduction: Women and Missionary Encounters with Foreign Nationalism in the 1920s," *Diplomatic History* 43, 2 (2019), 238.
- 25 Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902–69* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).
- 26 Karen Flynn, *Moving beyond Borders: A History of Black Caribbean and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Karen Flynn, "'She Cannot Be Confined to Her Own Region': Nursing and Nurses in the Caribbean, Canada, and the UK," in Yu, Perry, and Dubinsky, *Within and Without the Nation* 228–49.
- 27 Erlandsson, "Off the Record," 38.
- 28 For example, Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations 1938–1950* (Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997). Kailey Hansson offers a Canadian perspective on this field in "Dancing into Hearts and Minds: Canadian Ballet Exchanges with the Communist World, 1956–76," in McKercher and Van Huizen, *Undiplomatic History*, 233–52.
- 29 For example, see Ashley Brown, "Swinging for the State Department: American Women Tennis Players in Diplomatic Goodwill Tours, 1941–59," *Journal of Sport History* 42, 3 (Fall 2015): 289–309.

© UBC Press 2021

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher.

---

### Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Title: Breaking barriers, shaping worlds : Canadian women and the search for global order / edited by Jill Campbell-Miller, Greg Donaghy, and Stacey Barker.

Names: Campbell-Miller, Jill, editor. | Donaghy, Greg, editor. | Barker, Stacey, 1973- editor.

Description: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print) 20210290846 | Canadiana (ebook) 20210290978 | ISBN 9780774866408 (hardcover) | ISBN 9780774866422 (PDF) | ISBN 9780774866439 (EPUB)

Subjects: LCSH: Women in development—Canada. | LCSH: Women—Political activity—Canada. | LCSH: Women diplomats—Canada. | LCSH: Canada—Foreign relations—1945-

Classification: LCC HQ1240.5.C3 B74 2021 | DDC 327.0820971—dc23

---

### Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada (through the Canada Book Fund), the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Awards to Scholarly Publications Program, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Set in Myriad and Garamond by Artegraphica Design Co.

Copy editor: Robyn So

Proofreader: Alison Strobel

Cover designer: David Drummond

UBC Press

The University of British Columbia

2029 West Mall

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2

[www.ubcpress.ca](http://www.ubcpress.ca)