

From Greenwich Village to the Bolshevik Revolution: Madeline Z. Doty's Foray Behind the Battle Line, 1917–1918

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“It is a noteworthy fact that a large number of those who have written of the present situation in Russia are women,” the writer Margaret Ashmun notes in a 1919 review essay entitled “Russia Through Women’s Eyes”:

The modern woman does not shrink from physical hardships, and her imagination overleaps hunger and danger when she sees an issue at stake. Moreover, this is preeminently the age of woman in revolt: and whoever has the courage to rebel against oppression, in actuality or only in spirit, is an object of intense interest to women in general. Any attempt, however bungling, to right a social wrong wins from them a throb of sympathy, even when their better judgment disapproved both method and result.... This strongly developed social sense in the best type of modern woman explains why they have responded to the appeal of Russia in Revolution.¹

Behind the Battle Line: Around the World in 1918 by Madeleine Z. Doty (1918) is among the books that Ashmun discusses, as half of that book is devoted to a discussion of the revolution unfolding in Russia. And Doty herself was in many ways the prototypical “modern woman.” Today, both Doty and her account of the Russian Revolution are largely forgotten. However, Doty’s own story and her reporting on the revolution, the latter drawn from *Behind the Battle Line* and reprinted here for the first time as a stand-alone volume, offer much that is of interest to contemporary readers.

Doty arrived in St. Petersburg (then called Petrograd) just days after Lenin and the Bolsheviks launched their coup against the Provisional Government, in November 1917.² The tsar had abdicated that March, and from that moment until

¹ Margaret Ashmun, “Russia Through Women’s Eyes,” *The Bookman* 48, 6 (1919): 755-57.

² The Bolshevik coup began on November 7, 1917, on the Gregorian calendar. Although Doty, near the end of her life, claimed (while seeking a publisher for her autobiography) to have arrived in Petrograd just “three days after the Bolshevik Revolution,” other evidence suggests that it was more like ten days after the revolution began. There is mention while

the Bolshevik coup, the Provisional Government struggled to maintain control, as Alexander Kerensky, a Socialist Revolutionary, presided over a fragile coalition of liberals and socialists, attempting to run a divided government, maintain order, and win a war while struggling to maintain the morale of a hungry and war-weary population.³

Doty's reporting on the Bolshevik Revolution, registering the "Alice-in-Wonder-land" quality of a world suddenly turned upside down, offers a unique perspective.⁴ Her descriptions are vivid, often humorous, and cover both the quotidian details of adjusting to life under the new regime as well as the machinations of an ongoing political struggle. Discussing female journalists from the West who covered the Russian Revolution, Choi Chatterjee has noted, "Women writers rarely kept a safe distance from the people they were observing; instead, they insisted on inserting themselves into the historical narrative and recording their personal experiences of the revolution."⁵ As such, many women's accounts, written in first person, are not just records of the social and political transformations wrought by the revolution but also, implicitly or explicitly, narratives of personal transformation. In Doty's case, this is subtle, as she, like other visitors, grapples with discomforts, dangers, bureaucracy, and a range of inconveniences, large and small, along with fear, hope, excitement, and—after the relief of leaving Russia—finding that she can't get the place out of her mind.⁶

Doty had gone to Russia as part of an assignment for the women's magazine *Good Housekeeping*, to travel "around the world" and document the World War from the perspective of women: "What are they thinking about—the women in Russia, England, France, all the countries that have been bearing the heat and burden and sorrow of the battle these long tragic years? We have sent Miss Madeleine Doty to talk with them and find out," a promotional story in the magazine noted just as Doty was making her way toward St. Petersburg. "When you read this,

she is still on the train to Petrograd of Kerensky attempting to quell the uprising, which happened November 7-11. (Kerensky, following his flight from St. Petersburg, rallied troops from Pskov and made some inroads before being defeated, forcing Kerensky into exile.) Madeleine Z. Doty, *Behind the Battle Line: Around the World in 1918* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), 35. For Doty's claim to have arrived three days after the revolution, see solicitation letter, Madeleine Z. Doty Papers, box 4, folder 35, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA (hereafter referred to as Doty Papers). In a letter to her parents dated November 27, 1917, she mentions that she sent a cable "last week as soon as I arrived here" (Doty Papers, box 2, folder 7).

³ The Socialist Revolutionaries grew out of populist movements in Russia and were among the "terrorist" groups that called for violence against oppressive figures in the tsarist regime. Even so, they were considered more moderate than the Social Democrats—which split into the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks—with whom they vied for power and authority.

⁴ In *Behind the Battle Line*, Doty twice mentions feeling like Alice in Wonderland in Russia. It is a metaphor that was used repeatedly in accounts of the Bolshevik Revolution. Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 47, 68.

⁵ Choi Chatterjee, "'Odds and Ends of the Russian Revolution,' 1917–1920: Gender and American Travel Narratives," *Journal of Women's History* 20, 4 (2008): 10-33.

⁶ Comparisons to Russia occur throughout other chapters of *Behind the Battle Line*.

Miss Doty will have passed through Yokohama and Vladivostok and will be nearing the scenes of the great civil conflict in Russia,” editors explain.⁷ Doty sought, she tells *Good Housekeeping* readers, “to discover the dreams and plans of the women of the future, what the folks at home strove for, where the spiritual drama led.”⁸ The *Good Housekeeping* assignment followed on the heels of Doty’s book *Short Rations: An American Woman in Germany, 1915–1916* (1917), which pulled together Doty’s accounts of her earlier travels in wartime Europe. It was likewise billed as a record of “what happens at home when men go to war.”⁹ Touching on Doty’s stops in The Hague, London, Paris, and Scandinavia, *Short Rations* focuses upon two visits to Germany, in 1915 and 1916: hence its subtitle.

In contrast, the title of *Behind the Battle Line: Around the World in 1918* is doubly misleading because half of the trip actually took place in 1917 and Russia, despite taking up half the book, is not in its title. While there are chapters on Japan, China, Russia, Sweden, Norway, France, and England, it is clear that on this trip, Russia was “at the heart of things” for Doty, just as Germany was in *Short Rations*.¹⁰ Indeed, most reviews of the book either concentrate on the Russia chapters or make clear that these are the most interesting part of the book.¹¹

Not long after Doty landed in Petrograd, she decided to extend the brief visit she’d originally planned. As she wrote to her parents, “It would be a shame not to be present at the making of history.”¹² Doty stayed in Russia for nearly three months, mostly in St. Petersburg, but she also visited Moscow. Although Doty’s first-person narrative of the revolution is also an account of her discomfort—and fear, and excitement, and skepticism, and many other emotional responses—she does not, in fact, foreground the “daily domestic battles” that Chatterjee says women tended to prioritize in their narratives over discussion of political events.¹³ Indeed, in the Russia chapters—in contrast to other parts of the book—women are not necessarily at the center of Doty’s story. Still, as Ashmun’s review would suggest, Doty’s feminism made her particularly interested in the Russian Revolution, and her account offers a woman’s perspective not only on some of the quotidian details of what adjustment to this “Alice-in-Wonderland” world entailed but also on “the drama of high Bolshevik politics.”¹⁴

Although Doty had never intended to publish her account of the Russian Revolution as a stand-alone book, the fact that it was—until now—buried amidst

⁷ Clipping in box 1, folder 3, Doty Papers, (mis)dated in pencil January 1917. Doty did not leave on her journey until the fall of 1917, and she arrived in St. Petersburg in November (on the New Style calendar; the Russians at that time were still using the Julian calendar, so it was October there).

⁸ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, viii.

⁹ Madeleine Z. Doty, *Short Rations: An American Woman in Germany, 1915–1916* (London: Methuen, 1917), xi.

¹⁰ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, viii.

¹¹ See “Eyewitnesses,” *The Nation* (London), March 22, 1919, 756, 758; Margaret Ashmun, “Russia Through Women’s Eyes,” 755–57.

¹² Madeleine Doty letter to parents, November 27, 1917, box 2, folder 7, Doty Papers.

¹³ Chatterjee, ““Odds and Ends of the Russian Revolution,”” 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

her discussion of traveling through seven other countries diminished its impact. Notably, when Doty wrote her autobiography, she included nearly all of the Russia chapters from *Behind the Battle Line* with only minor revisions. This trip clearly represented a pivotal moment in Doty's life, for she knew she was witnessing history unfolding. Moreover, the significance of her perspective on the day-to-day experience of living in a society in upheaval is more self-evident today than it may have been before women's history became a valid field of study.¹⁵ The Russian chapters from *Behind the Battle Line* offer a notable perspective on the Bolshevik Revolution because of Doty's background and outlook, her timing, the context in which she made her travels, and the particular events and figures she covered. Read alongside the accounts of other female journalists, such as Louise Bryant and Bessie Beatty (both of whom Doty knew and spent time with in Russia), it predicted some of the ways in which the larger number of American women who visited and worked in the Soviet Union in the decades following the revolution would respond to that experience.¹⁶

Madeleine Doty and the Greenwich Village Feminist Milieu

Born in New Jersey in 1877 to well-off parents, Samuel and Charlotte (Zabriskie) Doty, Madeleine Zabriskie Doty came of age at a moment in which women were increasingly gaining access to higher education and the professions, and she took full advantage of the new opportunities available to those of some means. She played an active role in the battle for women's suffrage and was a leader in the peace movement, which absorbed the attention of feminists well after women won the vote. She spent her 20s and 30s living amidst the Bohemian milieu of socialists, anarchists, reformers, artists, and freethinkers in Greenwich Village, ground zero for all that was "modern" in the United States. She was a lawyer and a leader in progressive-era battles to reform prisons and the juvenile justice system, in addition to having a career as a journalist (and, much later, as a teacher). Doty's love life—most famously, her unconventional marriage to civil libertarian Roger Baldwin—put her at the forefront of new women's efforts to recast romantic relationships on a more egalitarian basis. Her interest in revolutionary Russia can be understood in relation to all these aspects of her own history.

¹⁵ An editor who rejected the manuscript of Doty's autobiography in the early 1960s called her perspective on the revolution "peripheral, not on the level of meaningful transaction." However, an archivist at Smith College, Margaret Grierson, who was eager to obtain the unpublished autobiography for Smith's archives (which are among the strongest in the world in women's history), challenged this editor's view. After quoting the editor's comments, she notes in a letter to Doty's executor, "I should suppose that the observations of the intelligent concerned woman correspondent would be of great serious value in bringing life and color and meaningful interpretation to the more official records of history." Margaret Grierson letter to Mr. Philip H. Ball, Jr., November 11, 1963, box 1, folder 1, Doty Papers.

¹⁶ For discussion of this broader phenomenon, see Julia L. Mickenberg, *American Girls in Red Russia: Chasing the Soviet Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Doty attended the exclusive Brearley School for girls in New York City and was raised in comfort: she grew up moving back and forth between New York City and the Zabriskie homestead in New Jersey, with a governess, riding lessons, and summers often spent in the exclusive upstate New York resort town of Saratoga Springs. Her family regularly traveled to Europe, and one summer Doty was promised a pony if she would learn French.¹⁷ Although the family's fortunes had ups and downs, and Madeleine's mother suffered from mental illness, she had a relatively happy and protected childhood and youth. Doty graduated from Smith College in 1900—at a time in which less than 4 percent of all eighteen–twenty-one-year-old women attended college—and was among the even smaller minority of women who decided to pursue an independent career.¹⁸ As Doty suggests in a 1910 article on women's colleges in the popular women's magazine *The Delineator*, the “vague longings and aspirations” that college may awaken for women usually serve little purpose in the end: “We are women and are not taught to look forward to a career. We are to be simply women. Our fulfillment lies in doing for others. So these awakened longings, these aspirations, have no result, unless perhaps they make us attend a few more prayer meetings, or fill us with resolutions of working in a college settlement when we graduate, or determinations to be a good wife and mother.”¹⁹

Doty herself obviously had higher aspirations, attending New York University's law school after unsuccessfully attempting to take classes at Harvard, disguised as a man. “Dressed in a very simple tailored suit, with a soft felt hat pulled down over her hair, she would slip quietly into the back row, the students themselves being perfectly willing to help her conceal her identity.” She managed to attend four lectures before the professor discovered her, and she was forbidden to continue attending; hence on to New York.²⁰ At NYU, Doty was hardworking, serious, and apparently fairly innocent; she initially struggled socially, experiencing awkward and possibly romantic relationships with men as well as women, including a woman working at Smith College, which she visited to get a break from New York and law school. She would write, somewhat obliquely, in her autobiography, “I had learned much as a law student, many things besides the law. Among others is the relation between men and women, the meaning of sex. I had

¹⁷ Madeleine Z. Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference: The Life of Madeleine Zabriskie Doty*, ed. Alice Duffy Rinehart (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 35.

¹⁸ Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 297. Cott is citing Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 64.

¹⁹ Madeleine Z. Doty, “What a Woman's College Means to a Girl: In Most Instances It Is a Four Years' Course in Amusements, With a Little Social Training on the Side,” *The Delineator*, March 1910, 209.

²⁰ Mary B. Mullett, “Who's Who Among Progressive Women: Miss Madeleine Doty and Her Unique Experience as an Experimental Convict,” *The Washington Herald*, December 22, 1913, 7.

learned about the misuse of sex and the impure relation that can exist between women. I was appalled and upset.”²¹

Law school ultimately set Doty on a trajectory to achieve both professional and social success, despite failure to support herself as an attorney. She became close to several women, including fellow students Crystal Eastman, Jessie Ashley, and Ida Rauh, all of whom were outspoken feminists and activists: Eastman would become New York’s first female commissioner and had an important impact on New York labor law, and eventually became well-known also as a suffrage advocate and socialist. A leader in several feminist organizations and a birth control advocate, Ashley used her inherited wealth to support radical causes like amnesty for political prisoners.²² Rauh, from a secular Jewish family, would marry Crystal’s brother, Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*, in 1905. As a founder of the Provincetown Players theater troupe, which features prominently in the Warren Beatty film *Reds* (1981), Rauh earned notoriety both for her acting and her outspoken feminism (she never actually practiced law).

Following law school and a short stint teaching in Boston, Doty returned to New York and moved into a tenement on the Lower East Side with Rauh. She, Ashley, and another friend started a law office uptown: “We hoped that a swell office uptown on Fifth Avenue would attract society women. But of course it didn’t. In fact, we soon discovered that women are less ready than men to employ a woman lawyer.” The costs of maintaining the office amounted to more than the women’s combined income, so Doty began tutoring girls from her old school, and subsequently took up journalism.²³

Doty had some successes as a lawyer (she became one of the first women to be made a receiver in bankruptcy cases), but in some ways it was just as well that she could not make ends meet in that professional capacity: in the few years she practiced she began to see “many injustices in the law” and was troubled by the contrast between the wealthy world of uptown and Park Avenue where her law office was located, and the poverty of the Lower East Side, where she lived.²⁴

Doty and Rauh lived close to the University Settlement, a haven for wealthy male reformers and socialists, among them J. G. Phelps, the “millionaire socialist” who married the young Jewish radical Rose Pastor; William English Walling, another wealthy White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) who likewise married an immigrant Jew, Anna Strunsky; and Ernest Poole. Most men in the settlement were intensely interested in Russia; several would travel to St. Petersburg in 1905 to start a “Revolutionary News Bureau” to report on the first Russian Revolution for American readers. It was at the University Settlement that Doty “first heard about Karl Marx and socialism”; there she also could have met “the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution,” Catherine Breshkovsky (or Breshkovskaya in Russian). Breshkovsky earned many admirers, especially among the Settlement

²¹ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 49.

²² See Editors’ Notes, “Ashley, Jessie, 1861–1919,” <http://editorsnotes.org/projects/emma/topics/90/>.

²³ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

House crowd, when she toured the United States in 1904–05 to build support for the Socialist Revolutionaries, a populist group that would later vie for authority with the Bolsheviks. (Doty's 1918 article in *Good Housekeeping* on the "Women of Russia" features a photograph of Breshkovsky, but the article's only discussion of her is a mention of the fact that Breshkovsky had apparently gone into hiding after the Bolsheviks took power.)

In the spring of 1906, after Rauh became ill with pneumonia and was taken off to Europe by her parents, Doty received an invitation to join the cooperative house on 3 Fifth Avenue known simply as "A Club." (The name arose after a reporter asked the housing collective's president what the group's name was, and he "casually replied, 'Oh, just call it a club.'") A-Club, which was bankrolled by Chicago settlement worker and factory inspector Helen Todd, housed many of the leading literary figures of the day, all of whom were "more or less radical."²⁵ Journalist Mary Heaton Vorse suggests that A-Club essentially functioned as "the American press bureau of the Russian 1905–1907 revolution": William English Walling and his wife, Anna Strunsky, Anna's sister Rose, Ernest Poole, Arthur Bullard, and Leroy Scott had all been to Russia to report on that first, unsuccessful revolution, and other A-Club residents, including Vorse herself, Scott's wife-to-be Miriam Finn, and Doty, would travel to Russia in the wake of the 1917 Revolution. Vorse notes, "All sorts of people from Russia came to A Club—refugees, returned travelers."

Members of A-Club were among the chief American supporters of Maxim Gorky's ill-fated visit to the United States; the scandal that erupted during his visit reveals volumes about the Victorian mores that still held sway in the 1900s, their relationship to popular conceptions of revolutionary Russia, and the extent to which Doty's radical milieu was out of step with most other Americans when it came to sexual morality. Along with Breshkovsky, Gorky was among a number of exiles and revolutionaries who traveled to the United States in the early 1900s to solicit support for their cause: as Doty notes of Gorky in her autobiography, "He came with his tragic story of the Czar's dictatorship and the abuse of the peasants. He told of the pogroms and the beatings and the people sent to Siberia. He came to appeal to America for aid."²⁶

Gorky was probably the most famous of the revolutionary visitors to the United States. Despite his open support for the radical Bolshevik faction of the Social Democrats, who sponsored his trip to the United States, Gorky was scheduled to be feted by many of the literary and cultural luminaries of the day, including Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Jane Addams. However, a scandal erupted when a newspaper revealed that Gorky's traveling companion, the acclaimed actress Madame Andreeva, was not his legal wife. Suddenly nearly all of the dinners and celebrations in Gorky's honor were cancelled, and Gorky

²⁵ Howard Brubaker and Charlotte Teller, quoted in Gerald W. McFarland, *Inside Greenwich Village: A New York City Neighborhood, 1898–1918* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 120–21. On Todd and Breshkovsky, see Mickenberg, *American Girls in Red Russia*, 54.

²⁶ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 59–60.



Figure 1. Maxim Gorky and Maria Fyodorovna Andreyevna, from Gorky's 1906 visit to the United States. Madeleine Z. Doty Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College (Northampton, MA).

and Andreeva were refused rooms in several hotels. But they were welcomed at A-Club, and later ferried off to stay at the Staten Island home of the Fabian socialist John Martin and his wife, friends of Doty; he also spent time at the Martins' Adirondack retreat, Summerbrook, a haven for urban intellectuals and activists.²⁷

²⁷ The "news" about Gorky and Andreyevna's relationship, published in the *New York World*, was not even really news, at least among "the reading public of Europe" and "most American reporters," who were part of an "off-the-record agreement" to keep the story out of the news until editors of the *World*, learning that Gorky had given exclusive rights to Hearst's *New York American*, a rival newspaper, broke the story in retaliation. See Filia Holtzman, "A Mission That Failed: Gorky in America," *Slavic and East European Journal* 6, 3 (1962): 227-35; Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 59-60.

“During [Gorky and Andreevna’s] stay in Staten Island we spent many Sundays with them on the beach. I have vivid memories of Gorki in his long black cape and soft black hat,” Doty writes. “He spoke only Russian, but Marie was his interpreter.”²⁸

Doty would later insist of the public shunning that “the barbarity of this treatment was unbelievable.” She’d met Gorky early in his visit to the US at a reception, and credits meetings such as this—she met H. G. Wells at the same gathering—with a loosening of her inhibitions: “These people impressed me greatly. My intolerance began to drop from me. I had long since learned to smoke cigarettes and look with amusement at my former attitude. I was living a far different life from the sheltered one of the Brearley School and Smith College.”²⁹

It was around this time that Doty launched her journalism career: hearing that *The New York Times* was looking for a man to write book reviews, Doty “asked to be given a three-week trial without pay, saying [she] would take a man’s name and no one would know the difference. They reluctantly consented, and a weekly review about books and authors began to appear under the name of ‘Otis Notman,’ a name they accepted though it really meant ‘O ’tis not [a] man.’” Doty interviewed three or four authors a week, wrote several thousand words, and earned enough money to cover her living expenses; all of her earnings from practicing law went back into the law firm, which was still struggling.³⁰

As Doty became increasingly enmeshed in the New York literary milieu, she became more involved with feminist, progressive, and socialist organizations. She was a member of the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, a group started by Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) that promoted equal pay and women’s suffrage. Blatch, who lived for two decades in England, had close ties with radical suffragettes from Britain, bringing an international focus to her organization.³¹ Doty was also involved with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and frequented the Liberal Club, “Greenwich Village’s first institution for free speech,” which “brought together older progressives and younger bohemians for debate and lectures.”³²

On Summerbrook, see Richard Plunz, “City: Culture: Nature—The New York Wilderness and the Urban Sublime,” in *The Urban Lifeworld: Formation, Perception, Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 68.

²⁸ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 60.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 60-61.

³¹ See David Dismore, “July 10, 1908: Police Intervene As Suffragists Invade Financial District,” *Feminist Majority Foundation Blog*, July 10, 2014, <https://feminist.org/blog/>; Cott, *Grounding for Modern Feminism*, 24-25; “Equality League of Self-Supporting Women to Governor of New York,” June 8, 1907, Alice Duer Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/>.

³² Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 78; Peggy Lamson, *Roger Baldwin, Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union: A Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), quoted in Duffy, “Introduction to Chapters 11-12,” in Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 211.

In addition, Doty was probably a member of Heterodoxy, a luncheon club for “unorthodox women” that met on alternate Saturday afternoons “for over twenty years to discuss women, literature, and politics.” Heterodoxy was founded in 1912 by Marie Jenney Howe, an ordained minister and suffragist who was friendly with many of the unconventional women who lived near her in Greenwich Village, including Crystal Eastman, free love advocate Henrietta Rodman, sex educator Mary Ware Dennett, playwright Susan Glaspell, and progressive educator Elisabeth Irwin, along with other women who would become prominent figures in the suffrage movement like Inez Milholland, Rheta Childe Dorr, and Doris Stevens.³³ Heterodoxy would eventually come to include dozens of the most prominent women of the era, among them Emma Goldman’s niece Stella Ballantine (Goldman herself addressed the group at least once); journalist Bessie Beatty (fellow journalist Louise Bryant went to at least one meeting of the group);³⁴ dancer Agnes de Mille; the sexologist Havelock Ellis’s wife, Edith Ellis, who openly engaged in same-sex relationships; writers Fannie Hurst, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Vida Scudder, Rose Pastor Stokes, Mary Heaton Vorse, and Rose Strunsky; anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons; patron of the arts Mabel Dodge Luhan; and psychologists Leta Stetter Hollingworth and Beatrice Hinkle. Although radicals were overrepresented, the group included women of diverse political views, a number of open lesbians, and even one African American woman, Grace Nail Johnson, a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist who was married to the writer James Weldon Johnson (this at a time when nearly all aspects of American life were marked by de facto if not legal segregation).³⁵

Despite involvement in these circles, Doty’s maturation as a feminist and activist—and as a woman increasingly in touch with her own sexual appetites—actually matured as she, in her words, “forsook my feminine world,” spending most of her time with men. She entered into a relationship with the novelist, journalist, and muckraker David Graham Phillips after interviewing him in her Otis Notman guise. Of their relationship Doty writes, “I was to learn through suffering and anguish the meaning of love between man and woman.” Phillips was drawn to Doty’s independence, intelligence, and ambition, and was attracted to her physically, but he had no interest in marrying her. “And he didn’t realize how immature I was, how little I knew of love and sex. He thought a woman lawyer and writer must be sophisticated. His letters troubled me.” In her autobiography Doty quotes Phillips’ letters, in which he professes his desire for her, suggesting that she would

³³ Quote from Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 13; Judith Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912–1940* (Lebanon, NH: New Victoria, 1982), 9-10. Cook mentions Doty among a list of women who were members of Heterodoxy, citing Inez Haynes Irwin’s papers at the Schlesinger Library; most other references I have found that mention Doty’s membership cite Cook.

³⁴ Mary Dearborn, *Queen of Bohemia: The Life of Louise Bryant* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 44. Dearborn mentions that Bryant’s friend Sara Bard Field brought her to a Heterodoxy meeting, and that “through Heterodoxy she made friends, among them Madeleine Doty, another journalist” (*ibid.*, 45).

³⁵ Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy*, 86-94.

be betraying herself if she took the conventional route of marriage simply so that she might be able to experience the delights of physical love. As he wrote to her in January 1907:

Certainly “it” shall be as you say. You don’t suppose I would want it otherwise, do you? That garden is not a prison into which one is thrust or dragged. And I don’t wonder that you are not sure you want to go there. I am disposed to think you don’t. I am also disposed to think that you are deceiving yourself about your state of mind in many ways. But that’s the way it is with all of us. Now, wouldn’t it be quaint if what you really wanted was to stop work and all the anxieties incident to a career and secure some man, nurse your children, and superintend servants?³⁶

Doty would eventually give herself completely—in the physical sense—to Phillips, but his wish to have ongoing intimate relations without marriage was intolerable to her, in part because she seems to have gotten pregnant with Phillips’ child.³⁷ Early on in their relationship, Doty developed gastrointestinal problems that would plague her for the rest of her life, and though she recognized that her physical discomforts came from struggles to control her own “passionate nature,” this knowledge did not make the problem any easier to bear. “He wanted me to agree that a secret relation without marriage was right. This I was never able to do.”³⁸ Their tormented relationship lasted on and off for a number of years until Phillips was shot and killed by a mentally ill man. Phillips would be one of the two great loves in Doty’s life.

Bolshevik attitudes about sex (that it was a private matter; that abortion, though discouraged, should be legal and free; and that no child could be considered “illegitimate”) were appealing to significant numbers of modern women from the United States. Doty never commented in her writings on the topic, even when reporting on her interview with Alexandra Kollontai, chief spokesperson for some of the Bolsheviks’ most radical challenges to morality. At the time of Doty’s writings about Russia, her own attitudes concerning sex were likely still unresolved.

At the time of Phillips’ death, Doty had been working for nearly a year on a child-welfare exhibit for the City of New York, focusing on the courts and delin-

³⁶ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 60. Quotations from 62, 64.

³⁷ A letter in her files from one of Doty’s Boston doctors, dated October 9 (with no year, but 1911 is penciled on the letter in Doty’s files), notes “your daughter was operated on” and “survived” (quoted in Duffy, “Addendum,” in Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 258). As Duffy notes, “A lady did not admit to an illegitimate birth in those days. And Doty was a lady; by not telling she protected the man’s reputation and her own.” No further information is available about when the child was born or what happened to her.

³⁸ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 73.

quent children.³⁹ As part of this work, Doty traveled throughout the United States to gather material; in St. Louis she met Roger Baldwin, who at the time was chief probation officer: “As I talked with him I little thought that this very attractive young man would one day become my husband.”⁴⁰ Because of Doty’s work on the child welfare exhibit the Russell Sage Foundation hired her as executive secretary of a new Juvenile Court Committee “to reform conditions in New York.” Doty’s growing notoriety as a social investigator and reformer brought a new urgency to her career as a journalist, as she gave up her law practice completely: “My dream of being a great woman lawyer, a Portia, seemed a silly dream. I was afraid. Afraid I would never be able to earn my living,” she recalled later.⁴¹

Through her work on the juvenile court system, Doty became a major force in prison reform more generally. She came to conclude that harsh treatment of juvenile delinquents had the effect of increasing (rather than decreasing) recidivism. Doty played an active role in the creation of a separate juvenile court system in New York City, began writing exposés for the popular press, and was appointed a New York State Prison commissioner, “without a salary but with full liberty to investigate all prisons and reformatories.”⁴² Doty and a friend spent two weeks under cover, living in the State Prison for Women in Auburn, posing as Maggie Martin and Lizzie Watson, check forgers. The exposés Doty published in magazines and newspapers caused a sensation. These articles, along with a discussion of the relationship between the juvenile justice system and adult criminality—based on extensive interviews—formed the basis of her first book, *Society’s Misfits*, a stunning critique of the prison system, based on inside experience, that led to important reforms. As Doty reflected later:

The whole prison system seemed based on stupidity and ignorance. With a little common sense the physical if not the spiritual aspect could be transformed in a day. As it is, hundreds of working people are given into the state’s care and are taught nothing, produce nothing, are ill-housed and ill-fed. Their time and that of the guards or keepers is wasted. The result is an organization which manufactures criminals, and is maintained at great cost to the state.⁴³

³⁹ In this sense, Doty was like “progressive maternalists” who gained public authority through child-related reform work in the early twentieth century. See Molly Ladd Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

⁴⁰ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 75. Baldwin himself says that they met at a national conference of social work in 1912, after he’d just left a job in the St. Louis juvenile court; his account seems to imply that they met in New York City. Roger N. Baldwin, “A Memo on Madeleine Zabriskie Doty for the files at Smith College,” October 1978, box 1, folder 4, Doty Papers.

⁴¹ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 74–75.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 105; Madeleine Z. Doty, *Society’s Misfits* (New York: Century, 1916), 52.

Society's Misfits was published in 1916, but by then Doty was already well known. She had gotten to know prominent men (not just Gorky and Phillips, but also Theodore Dreiser, Theodore Roosevelt, John Galsworthy, Judge Ben Lindsey, and others) and her writings were widely read. A sketch of her published in *The Washington Herald* in December of that year offers a striking portrait:

Miss Doty is young and attractive. The look out of her clear blue eyes is fearless. She is tremendously in earnest, but with it all she has a keen sense of humor. In fact, she seems to have a keen sense of everything. That is the dominant impression she makes on you—that she is intensely alive, absorbed in the vital things of today.

For so young a woman she has had a remarkable experience and she means to use it in bettering social and industrial conditions, especially as they affect women and children. But she isn't likely to find many ways of doing this as picturesque as her convict experience was.⁴⁴

Doty's undercover journalism fit squarely into a tradition of "girl stunt reporters" that stretched back to the late 1880s, when Nellie Bly feigned insanity to go undercover as a mental patient in the insane asylum on Blackwell's Island, hitting upon "a strategy that transformed her own white, middle-class body into a vehicle of publicity that anchored her pursuit of 'the real' in corporeal experience."⁴⁵ Unlike Bly and others of her ilk, Doty's goal was not sensationalism but social change, and in this she had significant successes, both in helping individuals she came to know through her research and in instituting systemic changes in the New York penal system.

Doty's realization that she could better support herself as a journalist than as a lawyer or bureaucrat coincided with the onset of World War I, which dramatically shifted her attention to the cause of peace. That cause would preoccupy her for the rest of her life.

Peace Activism

Even as Doty became increasingly involved in the movement for women's suffrage (see figure 2), she connected this work with efforts to achieve peace, joining the American Union Against Militarism as well as the Women's Peace Party (WPP), both of which were founded by friend Crystal Eastman. In *Peace as a Women's Issue*, Harriet Hyman Alonso suggests that the historic link between peace and women's rights activism comes from a connection that women have made between violence against women and institutionalized violence. Essentialist ideas about women as naturally more nurturing and caring "and more committed to producing a humanistic and compassionate world than men as a whole"

⁴⁴ Mullett, "Who's Who Among Progressive Women."

⁴⁵ Jean Marie Lutes, *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 15.



Figure 2. Doty in suffrage parade (standing beside woman carrying “lawyers” sign), undated. Madeline Z. Doty Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College (Northampton, MA).

were also widely accepted in Doty’s time. The notion that all women were natural mothers or metaphorical mothers to the world also suggested a feminine responsibility to counter men’s violent tendencies; in the vision of a new world that “women’s rights peace activists” imagined, women would “play a key role...no longer the abused, exploited, and angry outsiders, but rather the creative, productive, and nurturing insiders.”⁴⁶ Doty joined other women in speaking against the prominent English suffragist, Christabel Pankhurst, when she came to the United States urging women to support the allied war effort.⁴⁷ After seeing Alla Nazimova’s moving performance in *War Brides* (a play about newlywed women having to send their husbands off to war), Doty decided to gather other peace activists to stand outside the theater “after each performance and pass out to each red-eyed woman literature calculated to crystalize her emotion into action which will make such scenes she has just seen enacted impossible.”⁴⁸ Beyond distributing material for the WPP, Doty joined about seventy-five other members of the group, among them Settlement House pioneer Jane Addams, doctor Alice Hamilton, child welfare advocate Grace Abbott, and economist and sociologist Emily Balch, for the

⁴⁶ Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace As a Women’s Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women’s Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 11.

⁴⁷ “American and English Suffragists and Antis Denounce Miss Christabel Pankhurst’s Recruiting Campaign in America,” *New-York Tribune*, January 15, 1915, 9.

⁴⁸ “Some Women Sniffed, and the Peace Movement Received Sudden Impetus,” *New-York Tribune*, February 3, 1915, 7.

first Women's International Peace Convention at The Hague, where the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) would be founded.

After the United States entered the war, Doty made direct links between war and the need for women's suffrage. As she told a Senate committee in 1917, in a state of war woman needed the vote so "that she may conserve the prosperity of her country, keep freedom alive in the land and permit no deterioration of those ideals of social service which have been established." Indeed, she added, "If we are really sincere in our declaration that we are fighting for the freedom of the people then let us prove it by an act so democratic that even German autocracy cannot deny our sincerity. Let us grant the suffrage now and at once to all the women of America."⁴⁹

World Travel and Marriage

Doty had opened her book *Short Rations* with an account of her journey to The Hague, where Doty would be among the founders of WILPF. The news articles that she published about this trip—and her travels through Germany, France (where she served briefly as a nurse), and England—brought her renown as a credible source for news of the war's effects on the home front, and she subsequently returned to Germany, bringing supplies for war orphans as her cover. *Short Rations* describes all of these travels. However, Doty's open peace advocacy brought an avalanche of criticism once the United States entered the war. Luckily for Doty, it was before this shower of criticism really commenced that *Good Housekeeping* sent her on the trip "round the world" that would fortuitously drop her into the midst of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Behind the Battle Line would be Doty's last published book, although she continued publishing articles for a number of years, and after she moved to Geneva in 1925, where she lived out much of her life, she served as editor of *Pax International*, the journal of the WILPF, from 1925 to 1931. She also served as the league's international secretary. Prior to that time, and inseparable from her travels to and return from revolutionary Russia (where a new ideal of comradely love had been articulated by women like Kollontai), Doty fell in love with Roger Baldwin. The two married in 1919 in a small ceremony in the woods with vows that became legendary for the new ideal they embodied. "We deny without reservation the whole conception of property in marriage," they declared, rejecting "the whole Puritan philosophy of life" and framing their union as a contribution to the cause of "the great revolutionary struggle for human freedom, so intense, so full of promise today."⁵⁰ Doty kept her name after marriage and showed no interest in giving up her career, contrary to usual practice at that time.

Doty and Baldwin's "50-50" arrangement of sharing all household expenses and refusing to value one person's work or social commitments over another's, which echoed Soviet practice, was as idealistic as it was ultimately unsustainable:

⁴⁹ Madeleine Doty, "Voteless Women in Warring Europe," *The Suffragist*, May 5, 1917, 7. [A speech delivered before the Senate committee on April 26, 1917.]

⁵⁰ Madeleine Z. Doty and Roger Baldwin marriage vows, box 1, folder 4, Doty Papers.

Baldwin “paid” Doty when she took over housework after they had to let go of the maid, and although their arrangement made for good media fodder, eventually the independent lives each partner led proved divisive.⁵¹ Although they’d met five years earlier, Doty and Baldwin formed a real connection when their paths crossed again in 1917 through peace activism after Baldwin replaced Crystal Eastman as director of the American Union Against Militarism. Years later, Baldwin recalled of meeting Doty that he was “attracted to Madeleine at once.” He described her as “the rare type of independent professional woman, feminist, socialist, but not radical in a revolutionary sense, a writer in the national magazines, and a lawyer who did not practice, or had only briefly. She was like me essentially a social reformer. I was attracted also by her gayety and humor, her clear blue eyes, her trim figure and her professional women’s style of dressing.”⁵² Although it was peace activism that brought them together, Baldwin and Doty’s shared interest in Russia cemented their bond: “He was thrilled with the struggle of the Russian people for freedom,” Doty wrote later. “I was full of my experiences in Russia.”⁵³ Although within months after Doty’s return from Russia the two would decide to marry, the marriage was delayed by Baldwin’s imprisonment for refusing to be drafted into the military.

Once they were finally able to be together, their years of happiness turned out to be brief, as Baldwin and Doty wound up spending too much time on their own work (Baldwin was a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union) and not enough time nurturing their relationship. Doty had an abortion early on in their marriage (she was 40 by this time), and the two drifted apart emotionally and eventually physically. When Doty left for Geneva in 1925 their marriage was essentially over. They formally divorced in 1935, but stayed in touch until Doty’s death in 1963, and despite their “50-50” ideal, Doty relied on Baldwin for assistance financially.⁵⁴

In Geneva, Doty worked with various peace organizations, started a Smith College year abroad in Geneva program, and obtained her PhD. She taught for several years at a girls’ school in Florida so she would qualify for social security benefits in the US, and then obtained another teaching position back in Geneva, where she remained until the last year of her life. She returned to the United States in the spring of 1963 and moved into a retirement home in the Berkshires, where she died six months later.

⁵¹ See, for instance, “Married Life on Fifty-fifty Basis Succeeds,” *Grand Forks Herald* (ND), September 20, 1920, 16.

⁵² Roger Baldwin, “A Memo on Madeleine Zabriskie Doty for the files at Smith College.”

⁵³ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 213.

⁵⁴ “Even on my small income I had been helping her out,” Baldwin writes. “She had never made demands on me but when it came to divorce she had wanted far more than I could give. So we settled on a joint sum of \$5000 to which I contributed half for her to draw on as needed. We had gone along 50-50 in our married years while she worked, as she did most of the time, and wanted to, but I helped when she was between jobs” (Baldwin, “A Memo on Madeleine Zabriskie Doty for the files at Smith College”).

Women Writing the Russian Revolution

When Doty arrived in St. Petersburg in November 1918, a number of female journalists from the United States—just about all of them active in the suffrage movement—were already in Petrograd. As Chris Dubbs notes in his study of American journalists reporting on World War I, echoing Ashmun’s review essay from a century prior:

Those journalists who championed social causes such as labor reform and women’s suffrage, who fought against poverty, political corruption, and social privilege were inspired by the birth of democracy in Russia. Conspicuous among them was the largest group of female reporters ever assembled in the war. Most could not be labeled as war correspondents. They had cut their journalistic teeth by exposing corruption in government and the exploitation of women and workers. They felt in sympathy with the socialistic values of the revolution and its provisional government.⁵⁵

A few of these women, like Florence Harper, had gone to Russia to report on the war and found themselves in the midst of revolution; this might be said of Doty as well, but she was less interested in reporting on the war itself than on the war’s impact, and she was eager, at least at first, to watch the Russian Revolution unfold.

Rheta Childe Dorr, a prominent member of the National Woman’s Party and editor of the *The Suffragist*, left Russia not long before Doty arrived; although Dorr had been eager to see a new, democratic Russia, she was even more critical of the Bolsheviks, and fearful of their violent tendencies.⁵⁶ Louise Bryant and Bessie Beatty’s accounts of the Bolshevik Revolution are better remembered today than Doty’s in large part because Doty’s discussion is buried amid the other chapters of *Behind the Battle Line*, and the book’s title makes no reference to Russia or the revolution. Beatty and Bryant also stayed in Russia for a longer period and were able to discuss the impact of both the February and October Revolutions: Beatty arrived in St. Petersburg early in the summer of 1917 and Bryant arrived in September; all three women left Russia together in February 1918. (Warren Beatty’s *Reds*, which focuses on Bryant and her husband John Reed as chroniclers of the Russian Revolution, also contributed to Bryant’s longevity as a public figure.)⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Chris Dubbs, *American Journalists in the Great War: Rewriting the Rules of Reporting* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 180.

⁵⁶ Rheta Childe Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1917).

⁵⁷ Virginia Gardner, “Friend and Lover”: *The Life of Louise Bryant* (New York: Horizon Press, 1982), 125. Several sources repeat reference to the three women traveling together. However, Doty’s “Women of the Future” article in *Good Housekeeping* (which Gardner cites) and books by all three women imply that each woman traveled alone. Bryant’s testimony before the Overman Committee does suggest she knew that Doty and

As historian Lynn Dumenil notes, “The chaotic conditions meant that intrepid male and female reporters had unusual opportunities to report the extraordinary events, such as the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd that unfolded as the Bolsheviks solidified their power.”⁵⁸ The intensity and proximity of events that women like Beatty, Bryant, and Doty reported are striking, though striking too are some of the subtle differences in the way they did so. Beatty and Bryant were both younger than Doty when they came to Russia: Beatty was thirty-one and Bryant was thirty-two, while Doty was nearly forty. This slight generational difference may have had some impact on their perspectives. All three women had some association with the feminist group Heterodoxy; all were active in the suffrage struggle; and all were relatively sympathetic to the revolution, though Bryant was more actively pro-Bolshevik than the other two.

In comparing the three women’s accounts of the revolution, Doty seems somewhat less intrepid, despite the fact she, like Beatty, traveled to Russia on her own (Bryant traveled with her husband, John Reed). Indeed, in multiple instances throughout Doty’s writings, it is clear that, her reputation and history as an independent woman and feminist notwithstanding, she relied heavily upon men to help her: in Harbin she was aided by a man “in European dress” who helped her find the British Consulate; on the train to Siberia, she was aghast at having been asked to share a sleeping compartment with a Cossack soldier and she was relieved when a group of English-speaking businessmen traveling for an American firm offered to give up one of their compartments so that Doty could have a berth to herself. One of these businessmen essentially adopted Doty after she became ill, continuing to care for her once they arrived in St. Petersburg; indeed, although she does not acknowledge this in the text of *Behind the Battle Line* itself, other versions of her account make it clear that it is from this man, Nick, that her initial account of the Bolshevik coup was taken.⁵⁹

Doty’s distress at the violence unleashed by the revolution is also a striking aspect of her narrative. Like both Bryant and Beatty, she initially found many things to admire about what she discovered in revolutionary Russia. Even in the eerie silence of her landing in St. Petersburg, she was impressed by people’s eagerness to talk, to argue, to engage: “Everywhere there was movement and action, but no violence.” She writes:

People stopped to argue. Voices rose high and arms waved wildly. It was a people intensely alive and intensely intelligent.

Beatty had, like her, agreed to serve as couriers for the Bolsheviks, which would give some indication that they traveled together. See “Bolshevik Propaganda: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Sixty-fifth Congress, third session and thereafter, pursuant to S. Res. 439 and 469, February 11, 1919 to March 10, 1919,” <https://archive.org>.

⁵⁸ Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War I* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 142.

⁵⁹ Madeleine G. [sic] Doty, “Among the Bolsheviks II—Petrograd,” *The Nation* (London), April 20, 1918, 60-62.

Every one had an opinion. It was my first glimpse of Russia. My heart leaped up. These people had not been contaminated by proximity to German militarism. They were not cogs in a machine. In spite of suppression they were not servile. They were alive and free. Continually that first impression was verified. Every Russian I met could talk. Those who couldn't read or write could talk.⁶⁰

Besides this, simply being there was exciting: "There was one great joy about life in Russia. It was thrillingly interesting. You could not be bored." In her article in *The Atlantic*, Doty describes the particular relish with which she experienced at least one of the new Bolshevik decrees: "Every day the Bolsheviks issued some new decree. One day all titles were abolished; the next, judges and lawyers were eliminated. They and their knowledge were deemed to be useless. I confess to a wicked delight on that occasion. I am a lawyer and know how little justice there often is in the law."⁶¹ She was critical of the Bolsheviks' violent methods, but recognized their sincerity and their appeal and frequently notes finding their lack of airs and general informality refreshing. As to their appeal, she describes the way in which she herself was involuntarily swept up by Lenin's presence and words when she first heard him speak:

He started in like a college professor reading a lecture. He didn't pound or rant. But in a few minutes the crowd was still. His words burnt in. Each one came liquid clear. It was like a stream that started small and grew to a deep swift running river. The man was sincere, a fanatic, but an idealist. I found myself swept along, throbbing and beating with every emotion of the great rough peasants. My reason was against what was being done. I didn't believe in winning by force. I believed in democracy. I believed everyone should have a voice. The bourgeoisie were not all bad, nor the proletariat all good.... Not a class conscious but a world conscious decision of right was what was needed. Yet in spite of my belief I found myself shouting and clamoring with the left. It was infectious.⁶²

Doty had ambivalent feelings about both the Bolsheviks and the Russian bourgeoisie. Although Beatty acknowledged that she'd have preferred the moderates who supported Kerensky, she nonetheless ends her account of the revolution, *The Red Heart of Russia* (1918), by insisting, "To have failed to see the hope in the Russian Revolution is to be as a blind man looking at a sunrise."⁶³ In contrast, although Doty would say that Russians deserved Americans' support, she none-

⁶⁰ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 40.

⁶¹ Madeleine Z. Doty, "Revolutionary Justice," *The Atlantic*, July 1918, 129-39.

⁶² Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 92.

⁶³ Bessie Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia* (New York: Century, 1919), 480.

theless expressed hope that more moderate forces would ultimately replace them. As she notes in a piece she wrote for *The Nation* (London), much of which is included in *Behind the Battle Line*, “When I went to Russia I was keen on revolution; but, having seen one, I didn’t want any more—at least not bloody ones conducted by brute force.”⁶⁴ Or, as she puts it in the book, “The working class fought for power and became dictators. They rule not by the vote, but by force. They pulled existence down to the conditions of the poorest workingman. They failed to live up to their ideals of beauty, brotherhood, fair play and freedom.”⁶⁵

On a train to Moscow, Doty sat with a Russian woman who was wearing a Red Cross uniform. Early in their journey, in a striking scene of female solidarity, Doty, her interpreter, and the Russian woman blocked the door of their cabin to keep a Russian merchant from taking the unoccupied berth in their compartment, after which the women all got to talking. The Russian woman admitted she was a member of the former aristocracy, in disguise to protect herself. All her family’s land and belongings had been seized. Her husband, formerly an officer in the army, was now a common soldier. And once the cash she had on hand ran out she would probably have to work as a domestic. “Again I had a bewildered sense of a turned upside down world,” Doty remarks. “I felt I ought to hurry back to New York and get the Charity Organization Society to do work among the nobility.”⁶⁶ However, not all of the former nobility seemed to Doty to be worthy of such sympathy or charity. At a trial for a monarchist and reactionary, Vladimir Purishkevich, Doty was appalled by a group of very obviously wealthy women who entered the courtroom four hours after her and expected Doty to move to the back of the room so that they, relatives of the defendant, could have her spot. The woman “reddened with anger” when Doty refused:

Her insolence was intolerable. She seemed to have forgotten that there had been a revolution. She planted herself half on me and half on the bench. She was very beautiful, but her body was as hard and rigid as her face. I found my temper mounting. I understood the rage of the Bolsheviki at the insolence of the autocracy. I drove my elbow with a vicious dig into the young woman. She grew furious, but she no longer had the power to order me to a dungeon.⁶⁷

Doty adds that she wound up sitting between these “duchesses” and a couple of cooks who had come straight from a kitchen, their arms covered in grease. Still, “of the two, the cooks had better manners.”⁶⁸

That Doty could be critical of Bolshevik methods but still empathize with their rage at the aristocracy helps bring balance to her discussion; so, too, the perspec-

⁶⁴ Doty, “Among the Bolsheviks II,” 62.

⁶⁵ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 49.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

tive she had on Germany—having recently spent significant time there—made her chapter on peace negotiations with Germany one of the richest in the book. Most notable here is her attention to certain particulars of the negotiations—especially the visit of a German delegation to Petrograd—that receive little attention in books by writers who were in Russia longer than Doty and thus probably had too many other things to report on. Striking in this chapter is her account of gaining entry to a meeting in the Alexandrinsky Theater in Petrograd. Using a combination of incomprehension and patience that finally frustrated the soldier on guard, Doty was taken through a back door and then actually led across the stage in front of Trotsky, Spiridonova, Kollontai, and other Bolshevik leaders before finding her seat with members of the press: “Each moment I expected to hear jeers from the gallery,” she writes. “But the Russian is used to eccentricities and informalities. No one paid the slightest heed to us.”⁶⁹

Doty’s ambivalent feelings about the Bolsheviks, her strongly negative view of German militarism, and her hidebound commitment to peace all came into conflict in Doty’s discussion of the German peace negotiations. In Germany, Doty had made strong connections with Social Democrats like Clara Zetkin and Karl Liebknecht, who had ties to the Bolsheviks in Russia. And as a pacifist, she could certainly appreciate the Bolsheviks’ desire for peace. But she blamed the Bolsheviks for having signed “undemocratic peace terms,” suggesting that “had the Russians had the faith to refuse” to sign these terms, “the war might have been over today.”⁷⁰ Beatty, in contrast, blamed the Allies for refusing to support the Bolsheviks in their negotiations, despite her stated belief that Russia ought to have stayed in the war: “What the Russian did not know was that his brothers in Germany are themselves enslaved to the military ideal, and that the only way to win freedom is to defeat them and the power that keeps them in bondage. He did not realize that the only way to give constructive Germany back to the world is to destroy destructive Germany.”⁷¹ As Beatty notes in a chapter entitled “The Great Betrayal”: “The Russians were blind to the true character of the men who came to Brest-Litovsk to negotiate a Kaiser’s peace; but the blindness of those Russian dreamers was lucid vision as compared with the blindness of the enlightened democratic world as to the real significance of the various forces at work upon the Russian tragedy.” Beatty adds, “We will pay for that blindness—we must pay—for democracy is not safe in the world while Russia is enslaved. No settlement of the international situation will be lasting that does not leave the peoples of Russia free to work out their own democratic salvation.” The Germans, Beatty says, had successfully driven a wedge between the Russians and their real allies, and this was the greatest betrayal.⁷²

Doty did not blame the Allies, and although she was critical of the peace terms that the Bolsheviks signed, she makes clear that they did not make peace with Germany out of any pro-German feeling, but out of necessity. Doty con-

⁶⁹ Ibid, 102.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁷¹ Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 89.

⁷² Ibid., 473.

cludes, “It is not Germany that will conquer Russia, it is Russia that will revolutionize Germany.”⁷³ Lenin had erroneously made this very argument, expecting a German revolution would quickly follow on the heels of Russia’s making a peace treaty between the two countries no longer necessary. Negotiations to get Russia out of the war were stalled further by Trotsky’s insistence that if the Bolsheviks simply refused to keep fighting without signing a treaty they could have peace on their own terms. Trotsky’s “no war no peace” strategy, a failed attempt to pull Russia out of the war while refusing to make peace on German terms, ended up forcing the Bolsheviks to sign a treaty even less desirable than they’d originally been offered after a predicted revolution in Germany failed to materialize and German troops approaching Petrograd called Trotsky’s bluff.⁷⁴ Although Doty echoed the Bolshevik position on Germany’s revolutionary potential, she criticized Bolshevik hypocrisy in dealing with their own people, noting that “the idealist must preach with clean hands,” and condemning “suppression of the press, the arrest of moderate socialists,” and other acts of intolerance that the Bolsheviks displayed.⁷⁵

Despite Doty’s outspoken opposition to “German autocracy” (and her criticism of the Bolsheviks’ treatment of those who challenged their authority), she was not immune from prejudices that would make Germany the world’s leader in promulgating racist hatreds. Doty’s vision of herself as a “Portia” cannot be separated from the anti-Semitic connotations of this character in Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*: Disguised as a man, Portia plays the role of a lawyer’s apprentice who uses her impressive knowledge of the law to outwit her unjust father, a character often referred to in the play as simply “the Jew.” In her autobiography, Doty mentions the unpleasant smell emitted by the “Russian German Jews” from the Lower East Side in her law school class, and in some versions of her reporting on Russia she identifies a rude Russian man on the train to St. Petersburg as a “little Jew.”⁷⁶

Such prejudices were not unusual for women in Doty’s milieu. In *The Feminist Avant-Garde*, Lucy Delap makes clear that anti-Semitism “was a theme widely expressed and discussed within the feminist intellectual community” in both Britain and the United States in the early twentieth century. But Delap points to the “complexity of such a discourse, which could be both progressive and conservative, and sometimes quite friendly to Jewish ‘emancipation.’”⁷⁷ Indeed, a significant number of American feminists were active in campaigns for “Russian freedom” that exploded following the Kishinev Massacre in 1903, one of a series of anti-Jewish pogroms. In Kishinev, a Russian city in the Pale of Settlement (to which Jews were restricted under the tsar), hundreds of Jews were killed or

⁷³ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 118.

⁷⁴ John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace, March 1918* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1938), 137, 207-39.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁷⁶ Doty, *One Woman Determined to Make a Difference*, 43.

⁷⁷ Lucy Delap, *The Feminist Avant-Garde: Transatlantic Encounters of the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 277.

badly injured, over a thousand Jewish homes and over 500 Jewish businesses were destroyed.⁷⁸ Thus, although mistreatment of (Russian) Jews, along with that of African Americans, provided direct inspiration for feminist activism (the first women's movement grew directly out of abolitionist activism among women), Jews were also associated with qualities that feminists tended to reject. According to Delap, "The frequently feminized qualities of 'the Jew'—imitative, parasitic, and uncreative—corresponded to those of 'bondwomen,' and was therefore a rhetorical device to indicate dislike of capitalism and a critique of conventional femininity."⁷⁹

Revolutionary Women

Perhaps the most striking difference between Doty's accounts and those of Beatty and Bryant is that despite Doty's ostensible mission of studying the situation of women during the war, she gives Russian women surprisingly little attention. This can likely be best explained by the fact that, landing in the midst of a revolution, and with limited time, Doty apparently felt compelled to devote her attention to where it seemed the real action was. As she notes in an article in *The Nation*, "I had come to study Russian women, to find out their hopes and plans for the future. But in the turbulent struggle hopes and plans had temporarily disappeared. The women were down to rock bottom. They stood in line and struggled for food and clothes for the family. It was they who ran the cars and tended the switches. It was they who worked in the stores and cleaned the houses. Without them the world could not have gone on."⁸⁰ This is an important acknowledgment, but by saying little about women apart from the points she makes in her chapter on "The Women of Russia—The Woman Comrade," she implies that women were not, in fact, at the core of all the action.

Beatty, in some sense, suggests this too, starting her chapter on "Women in the Revolution" by stating outright, "there was no feminist movement in Russia," words almost identical to Doty's claim that there is "no feminist group" in Russia. Recent scholarship by Rochelle Ruthchild challenges this claim, suggesting that while activists on behalf of women's rights did not use the term "feminism," significant "women's rights victories" were achieved in conjunction with "Russia's twentieth century revolutions."⁸¹ Notwithstanding, Beatty's account of the gender distribution at an important political meeting in St. Petersburg is striking, encompassing a critique of gender dynamics in the Western world as well:

Here, as elsewhere, governmental honors were largely to the male; but the mundane business of making the world of meat

⁷⁸ See Philip Ernest Schoenberg, "The American Reaction to the Kishinev Pogrom of 1903," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 63, 3 (1974); Mickenberg, *American Girls in Red Russia*, 45.

⁷⁹ Delap, *Feminist Avant-Garde*, 278.

⁸⁰ Doty, "Among the Bolsheviks II," 62.

⁸¹ Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality & Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 10.

and drink was largely left to women. Women in Russia do what women of the Western world do. At the big democratic convention in the Alexandrinski Theater, I counted the number of seats occupied by women. There were sixteen hundred delegates and twenty-three of them were women. Many other women were in evidence, but they were behind the samovars, serving tea and caviar and sausage sandwiches. Some wore red armbands, ushered the men to their seats, took stenographic reports of proceedings, and counted ballots. It was so natural that it almost made me homesick.⁸²

Doty claims that “the Russian woman is a man in petticoats” who “hasn’t given her life to personal service and social welfare, but to man’s fight for political freedom.”⁸³ However, Beatty’s further discussion suggests that Doty’s insistence that in Russia “woman was [nothing more than] man’s comrade and mate,” and her “womanhood had been cast from her for the sake of revolution,” says more about Doty’s own assumptions and biases than it does about Russian women.⁸⁴ Doty is correct to assert that “it is as revolutionists that Russian women are famous,” but Russian women’s striking visibility in revolutionary struggles, going back to the 1870s, had made them legendary in the United States, and had attracted many American women to the cause of Russian freedom. Doty says that “[the Russian woman] did not seek to express herself but instead adopted man’s methods in the fight for freedom.”⁸⁵ Beatty, instead of suggesting that Russian women are unwomanly, rationalizes the absence of a separatist feminism in Russia by pointing out that with nearly all of the people oppressed, Russian women, instead of fighting for women’s rights in particular, had historically fought alongside men for basic human rights: “In the days of the terrorists,” Beatty writes, “women claimed the right to throw bombs as well as men. It was granted them. With equal generosity, the government rewarded them with hard labor, exile in Siberia, and even hanging. They spent their strength and their blood as lavishly, as recklessly, as courageously, as any of their brother Nihilists.”⁸⁶

Most notably, in contrast to Bryant and Beatty, Doty fails to comment on the elements of the Bolshevik program—already being implemented while she was there—that would attract hundreds of Western women to the Soviet Union in coming years. Like Beatty and Bryant, Doty interviewed Alexandra Kollontai and Maria Spiridonova—the two leading Bolshevik women—and she reported on the trial of the liberal Countess Panina, Kollontai’s predecessor as minister of welfare, who was imprisoned and tried under the Bolsheviks for refusing to turn over funds that she’d raised for *Noradnyi Dom*, a library and social hall created

⁸² Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 358.

⁸³ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 119-29.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁸⁵ For further discussion, see chapter 1 of Mickenberg, *American Girls in Red Russia*.

⁸⁶ Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 357.

for the benefit of St. Petersburg workers. (Doty was more sympathetic to Panina than Bryant, who reported a young workingwoman's comment: "Panina really does like poor people—she thinks they are almost as good as other people.")⁸⁷ Doty missed the opportunity to speak to Catherine Breshkovsky, who had already gone into hiding by the time she arrived. And despite the fact that Doty spoke with both Kollontai and Spiridonova, her portraits of both of these women are very short and give the impression that she did not manage to establish a real rapport with either.

Unlike Beatty and Bryant, Doty also does not discuss the early interventions made by Kollontai to revolutionize women's position in Russia, beginning with paid maternity leave before and after women gave birth, time off from work for nursing infants, and a "Palace of Motherhood" designed to educate women about maternal health and hygiene. Within a few years after the revolution, according to the historian Wendy Goldman, Soviet marriage laws and family policies "constituted nothing less than the most progressive family legislation the world had ever seen," making women equal under the law, simplifying divorce, ending the category of illegitimate children, giving women property rights, legalizing divorce, and extending a guarantee of alimony to both men and women.⁸⁸ Although Bolshevik interventions on behalf of women had only just begun by the time Doty and the others left, they would gain attention from all over the world, especially from modern "new women" in the United States.⁸⁹

In addition to a more extensive discussion of women and "women's issues," Bryant's book also includes a chapter on Russian children, who would be another significant draw for American women in coming years: Bryant describes Russian children's sweet temperament, their cooperative instincts, the Bolshevik efforts to institute "self-government" in schools, and Russian children's dire need for material aid. Significant numbers of American women would travel to Russia as relief workers to help Russian children, especially during the 1921 famine and its aftermath; others came as social workers, educators, and journalists, eager to witness Soviet attempts to create the "new person."⁹⁰

Doty does acknowledge women's efforts to secure the vote in Russia immediately following the fall of the tsar, and notes women's visibility in all areas of Russian society. Early in her narrative, discussing the train ride across Siberia that took her to St. Petersburg, Doty notes that "the Siberian women, like the men, were strong, rough creatures. They wore rubber boots and short skirts and had shawls tied about their heads. The younger women had the beauty of health and strength. They worked in the fields with men, their labor was the equal of theirs."⁹¹ She describes Russian women as men's "comrades and equals," and also

⁸⁷ Louise Bryant, *Six Red Months in Russia* (New York: George H. Doran, 1918), 122.

⁸⁸ Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy & Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51.

⁸⁹ Mickenberg, *American Girls in Red Russia*.

⁹⁰ Bryant, *Six Red Months in Russia*, 251–58.

⁹¹ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, 36.

remarks upon a Siberian woman traveling on the same train with her as representative of the women of her village “to demand that clothing be sent to her town in exchange for the foodstuff being sent to Petrograd.” This woman, through Doty’s telling, offered at once a haunting portrait of the dangers women faced as well as an inspiring tale of their strength, solidarity, and resilience: “She was full of tales of her village. Two deserting soldiers had just visited her town and raped a young girl. The women had risen up in wrath and beaten the men and thrust them out.” Doty concludes, “It was a crude, elemental world, full of hot passion, into which I was rushing.”⁹²

Books by both Bryant and Beatty include a chapter on the Women’s Battalion of Death, organized by Maria Bochkareva, a veteran of Russian military service. With an intense desire to fight for her country, and in response to flagging morale and increasing desertions among Russian military men, Bochkareva had organized an all-woman regiment to shame the men into continuing their fight. Her battalion was called to defend the Provisional Government at the Winter Palace during the Bolshevik coup, but they were quickly overpowered. Doty apparently interviewed Bochkareva during a tour she took of the United States in 1918 but did not include the article she subsequently published, “Women Who Would A-Soldiering Go,” in her book. Doty clearly was deeply uncomfortable with the idea of women on the battlefield and because her interview with Bochkareva occurred in the United States, may have decided it did not fit the parameters of her book. Beatty, in contrast, suggested in her chapter on the battalion that women’s military service proved their strength and fitness for voting. Bryant spent much of her chapter on the battalion trying to prove that the women had been duped into supporting the Provisional Government, and were now mainly in support of the Bolsheviks.

Behind *Behind the Battle Line*

It is in some ways surprising to find only one chapter on Russian women in Doty’s book, given her ostensible focus on women. The chapters on countries other than Russia, which have not been included in this edition, do focus on women: Chapter 1, “Autocratic Japan,” was subtitled “The Woman Slave”; Chapter 2, “Awakening China,” was subtitled “The Bound Woman”; Chapter 10 was called “Swedish Women—The Genius” (although in the table of contents it is entitled “Materialistic Sweden”); Chapter 11, “Vital Norway,” was subtitled “The Woman Pioneer.” While the chapters on France and England—“Inspiring France” and “Warriors of the Spirit: Democratic England,” respectively—do not have women in their titles, their focus is upon women as well, and the “warriors of the spirit” in England are, in fact, women. Still, *Behind the Battle Line*, with seven chapters on Russia and only one chapter on each of the other countries Doty visited, contains as much material about women in Russia as it does about women elsewhere. This difference in focus is another reason the Russia discussion seems best read apart from the other chapters in *Behind the Battle Line*.

Beyond the challenges posed by the fact that the Russian chapters of *Behind the Battle Line* were not intended for publication on their own is the fact that

⁹² Ibid.

Doty published similar accounts in multiple venues. All originally appeared, with slight variations, in periodicals and newspapers, including *Good Housekeeping*, the *New-York Tribune* (which syndicated some of her pieces), *The Atlantic*, and *The Nation*, a British weekly. Reading all of these accounts gives a fuller portrait of her experiences, but because they contain a great deal of the same material, including all of these pieces would be repetitive. For the sake of coherence this edition uses the text published in *Behind the Battle Line*, but when there are significant differences between the version published there and elsewhere, it is noted in the footnotes. This edition incorporates relevant parts of the introduction and conclusion to *Behind the Battle Line* and some material from Chapter 1 (here retitled “Crossing the Pacific” from the original “Autocratic Japan” to reflect that only material marking Doty’s travels has been included). Also included are selections from Chapters 10–14 (collectively titled “Heading Home” in this edition) in order to give a sense of Doty’s journey from and back to the United States, and specifically into and out of Russia amidst the challenges posed by wartime. Inclusion of Doty’s travel to and from Russia reflects conventions of other narratives.⁹³ In editing this text for publication, I have tried to maintain a balance between preserving Doty’s original language (e.g., keeping her use of “czar,” though “tsar” is more typically used today) and making changes to reflect proper or more contemporary spelling and usage and to maintain consistency through the text. Ellipses indicate where material has been cut from the original versions. I have taken some liberties with the illustrations, adding, for instance, an image of Doty and Florence Harding on the boat to Japan and Russia and an illustration from material Doty published in *Good Housekeeping*, and leaving out some images from the Russian part of *Behind the Battle Line* that felt less essential to Doty’s narrative (such as additional pictures of her permits to enter various buildings).

Doty’s experiences and observations about women in other countries remind us that the Russian Revolution cannot be considered apart from the World War in which it appeared or the feminist transformations that were affecting all parts of the world—despite the fact that Doty did not emphasize the latter in her discussion of Russia, with other circumstances too pressing to ignore. Indeed, *Behind the Battle Line* opens with a preface that gives little indication of Russia’s dominance in the book itself, framing the revolutionary events in the context of stages of world development:

In Japan, for instance, women are openly sold into industry and prostitution, and a God sent emperor sits upon the throne. In that land to be a member of the Y.W.C.A. was to be a rebel and a revolutionist. Japan socially is in the Middle Ages. When I reached Russia on the other hand I found that the working people had seized the government and that Maxim Gorky was in danger of imprisonment as a conservative. I had leaped forward into the Twenty-first Century.

⁹³ Both Beatty and Bryant recount the circumstances of their travels to and from Russia.

Importantly, although Doty places Bolshevik Russia ahead of several other countries in terms of development, she is careful to condemn the violent methods by which they had arrived at this point. In that sense, though still nominally ruled by a king—and this only in the “twentieth” rather than the “twenty-first century”—Doty suggests that England has achieved an ideal balance of orderly, democratic development: “In England the people are slowly taking possession of their own,” she asserts. They were doing so “not as in Russia by the force of the bayonet, but through universal education and the intellectual intelligence of the masses.”⁹⁴

Although left out of the text itself in this edition, Doty’s portrait of her friend Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence—to whom *Behind the Battle Line* was dedicated (the book’s front matter contains a full-page photograph of Pethick-Lawrence, and the dedication, “To Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence,” adds, “who has made my dream of great women a reality”)—is worth quoting at length, for it suggests the way in which Doty herself envisioned societies ideally evolving not simply to include more women, but in fact fundamentally remade along lines inspired by women’s activism. Doty met peace activist and suffragist Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence as part of her 1915 journey to The Hague with the Women’s Peace Party. The two women remained friends for life; Doty admired Pethick-Lawrence’s commitment to social justice as well as her companionate marriage to Frederick Lawrence (after the two married they shared the combined last name of Pethick-Lawrence). The wealthy couple’s homes in London and Surrey would become sites of refuge and comfort for Doty over the years. In her chapter of *Behind the Battle Line* on England, Doty notes:

The two names that will go down in history as the famous leaders of the militant movement are Emmeline Pankhurst and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. But Mrs. Pankhurst was the body, Mrs. Lawrence the spirit. When the militants took to smashing store windows and burning houses Mrs. Lawrence protested. She would give her life for the cause, but she would not hurt others. Her way of winning was through the spirit. It was the woman’s way. She left the organization. Today she continues true to those ideals. Her method of service in the great world struggle is through the spirit. She urges women to be warriors of the spirit. She goes back and forth through the land speaking. I heard her many times and wherever she went hearts were unlocked and leapt to meet hers, and there came a great determination to die if need be for the race to come. This is the gist of what she said:

“Along with the physical battle that engulfs the world, goes a gigantic spiritual struggle, and day by day that spiritual battle wins new victories. We see it in the enfranchisement of women, in the fight for Mothers’ Pensions, in President Wilson’s speeches, in the democratic peace terms, in the overthrowing

⁹⁴ Doty, *Behind the Battle Line*, vii-viii.

of the Czar in Russia. These are victories that can never be lost. Whichever army advances on the field of battle the fight for freedom will be won. The spirit arises triumphant. Come, join this army of the spirit. Be a soldier of life.” ...

Such is the battle the women wage. They seek to create a new and better world, a world in which each new life will be born unfettered.⁹⁵

As is evident in the wider resonance of this portrait, Doty’s own feminist activism and her ardent commitment to peace have to be seen as influencing the book as a whole, a book that is in a sense complicated by the fact that Doty happened to find herself in the midst of the Bolshevik Revolution. As she concluded at the end of her chapter on England:

In the years to come when the war is over, women of every land must meet together. In great international groups they must discuss the problems of mothers and babies, and when these women return to their homes they must live and fight for these plans and dreams, and then at the end of a year or two years return again to recount triumphs and failures. Until finally through the inspiration of organized motherhood—each baby that opens its eyes will open them to a world rid of war and to a life of freedom and love.

Doty did not find such a world in revolutionary Russia, but she appreciated the opportunity to witness efforts to remake a society, and undoubtedly the experience gave her hope that the wider world might one day be remade along more just and humane lines.

About the Author

Julia Mickenberg, Professor of American Studies and an affiliate of the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies and the Center for Women and Gender Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, is the author, most recently, of *American Girls in Red Russia: Chasing the Soviet Dream* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), which was selected as a Financial Times best book of 2017. She is also author of the award-winning *Learning from the Left: Children’s Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States* (Oxford, 2006), and co-editor of *Tales for Little Rebels: A Collection of Radical Children’s Literature* (2008) and *The Oxford Handbook of Children’s Literature* (2011). She has published articles in edited volumes and journals including the *Journal of American History*, *American Quarterly*, and *American Literary History*. Her edition of Madeleine Z. Doty’s writings on the Bolshevik Revolution, excerpted from *Behind the Battle Line: Around the World in 1918*, will be published this fall.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 186-87; 189-90.